



Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies

EASTERN TRADE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**PEGILOTTI'S AYAS-TABRIZ ITINERARY AND ITS
COMMERCIAL CONTEXT**

Thomas Sinclair

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Eastern Trade and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages

At the end of the High Middle Ages in Europe, with buying power and economic sophistication at a high, an itinerary detailing the toll stations along a commercial artery carrying eastern goods (from China, India and Iran) towards Europe was compiled, and later incorporated in the well-known trading manual of the Florentine bank official Pegolotti; Pegolotti was twice stationed in the city of Famagusta in Cyprus, which lay opposite the city of Ayas where the land route ended. The Il-Khanid capital, Tabriz in Iran, attracting expensive merchandise such as spices and silk from a variety of origins, was the road's starting-point.

To demonstrate the importance of the route in its own time, parallel and contemporary routes in the Black Sea and the Levant are traced and the effect of trade on their cities noted. To compare the Ayas itinerary (1250s–1330s) with previous periods, the networks of commercial avenues in the previous period (1100–1250) and the subsequent one (1340s–1500) are reconstructed. In each period, the connection of east–west trade with the main movements of the European economy is fully drawn out, and the effects on the building history of the three main Italian cities concerned (Venice, Genoa and Florence) are sketched.

Attention then turns to the Pegolotti itinerary itself. The individual toll stations are identified employing a variety of means, such as names taken from the Roman itineraries (Peutinger Table and Antonine Itinerary) and archaeological data; this allows the course of the track to be followed through diverse topography to the city of Sivas, then across plains and through passes to Erzurum and finally to Tabriz. A picture is drawn of the urban history of each major city, including Sivas, Erzurum and Tabriz itself, and of the other towns along the route.

Thomas Sinclair was a professor of Turkish History at the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies in the University of Cyprus. He is the author of *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey* (4 volumes, 1987–90), contributed three sheets to the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (2000) and has published numerous articles, including many in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edition; he writes principally on economy and administration in Armenia during the late pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman periods.

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To my wife Mary and my two daughters Ioanna and Sophia



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Author's preface

The preparation of this book began in the summer of 2001, when I was staying in the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul in order to work in the Başbakanlık Arşivi. In the evenings and at weekends I was able to read in the Institute's extensive library in extraordinarily quiet conditions: the library was closed during the summer except to staff and guests staying in the Institute. Moreover at that time guests had completely free access to the book stacks. I was able to put maps, atlases and texts out on the broad, white tables and, knowing the Pegolotti itinerary and the ancient itineraries well, was able to solve most of the outstanding identification problems in both.

My original intention was to write an article concerning exclusively the identification of places and roads in Pegolotti and the two ancient itineraries. I presented such an article to *Anatolian Studies*, whose editor was Prof. Bryer (who sadly has recently died). When it turned out that the length of the "article" was 40,000 words, it seemed that an article was more or less ruled out. However Prof. Bryer suggested that I expand the short introduction, which covered among other things the itinerary's commercial role, and so bring the "article" to monograph length. Independently I had concluded that descriptions of the major cities along the route (Sivas, Erzincan, etc.) and of the lesser cities (such as Akşehir/Pürk) were needed: without such descriptions a misleading impression would have been given of the cities' relative size and of the commercial impact exerted on them by the road. Comparisons with the periods preceding and following the Ayas-Tabriz itinerary were already in the "article", but expanding this aspect of the work necessitated the description of several additional routes and the investigation of all the routes' complexities on an increased scale. I then accepted that a study of trade flows requires a study of coins, a giant and unusual undertaking, even within the limits I had set myself.

Chapter II, which concerns the whole commercial background to the Pegolotti itinerary, is based to a large extent on the secondary sources. It is in the chapters concerned with the course of the Pegolotti itinerary (which I still regard as the kernel of the book), in the analysis of trade flows along the Ayas-Tabriz line itself, and of course in the study of the coins, that I put in a special effort on the primary sources. With these exceptions the investigation of the international commercial element on the basis of primary sources went beyond my own interests as a student of Turkish and Armenian history, and I hope in future to collaborate with experts on the late medieval trade of Italian and other European mercantile cities. Given the long chronological scope and wide geographical reference of the present book, it was inevitable that those parts which concern the political and social history strictly of Asia Minor and Armenia should likewise be based mostly on secondary sources. This aspect, however, I hope to address in future by means of a more complete reading of the primary sources. Practicality demanded that the examination of coins here be confined to mints lying

either on or near the Ayas–Tabriz line; again I hope in future to widen the investigation so as to include mints lying on competing lines of commercial movement, and to collaborate with specialists on medieval European coins.

The expansion of the book's scope and many other factors meant that relevant secondary work came out in the meantime. I have included some of this secondary work, thus delaying the completion of my own book even further, but tried to confine myself to publications of special significance to the present book's subject. This apart, I have tried to keep down the number of works cited, whether primary or secondary, by referring to more recent studies. Two important books on the coinage of the Seljuks of Rum, by Broome and İzmirlir, came out after I wrote the relevant sections in the present book: although I have benefited from the two works in other connections, I decided not to deploy their material here and so involve myself in a reworking of my accounts of Rum Seljuk coinage. Of course their material would have enriched and improved the present book; among the several reasons for not including it was that the authors' strictly typological approach would not have exerted an outstanding influence on the arguments here, which depend more on an analysis in the aggregate.

The reference system in the footnotes is that of *Anatolian Studies*. I would not have chosen it myself, but in such a long book, once the system was in place, I did not want to rake over all the references again. Certain details of this system are inconsistent with the typesetting conventions of the main text, but no inconvenience or optical shock seems to result.

I gratefully acknowledge the help of Robert Hewsen, who died only in 2018, in reading the first draft and winking out points which were obscurely or misleadingly expressed. Jos Weitenberg, another unfortunate loss, commented on some of the phonetic arguments and suggested clearer ways of setting out my conclusions. Bob Moore gave me some suggestions as to the bibliography on the monetary history of Europe in the second half of the Middle Ages. David Jacoby, yet another loss, and again a recent one, sent several articles. Teresa Fitzherbert led me to some work on architecture and manuscript illumination in Baghdad and elsewhere in the period after that of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary. Rachel Goshgarian and Peter Cowe have drawn my attention to relevant passages in the colophons. Catherine Delano-Smith sent a relevant article and referred me to several others. Corradino Astengo kindly found for me in Italy two books which I was unable to find in Britain, gave me several books and suggested further bibliography. My daughter Ioanna helped me by creating in Word the two road diagrams, figures 1 and 2.

I must thank the Coin Room of the British Museum and the Forschungstelle für Islamische Numismatik at the University of Tübingen for their help during many visits. In particular I thank Lutz Ilisch, curator of the Tübingen collection until 2017, for extensive help in interpreting a sizeable number of coins and in making available relevant trays in quick succession. Here I should like to add a note of thanks to Steven Album, who in the beginning helped to form my approach to Islamic coins, and to Judy Kolbas for several conversations on Il-Khanid coins particularly. The responsibility for all parts of the book remains my own.

My wife Mary and elder daughter Ioanna have been forbearing, especially during the last nine years, when we have been occupied with the care of our younger daughter Sophia.

My research has been well supported by the University of Cyprus library, and particularly by a highly efficient interlibrary loan system. In the British Library I have found many rare and important books and have received much courteous help. The library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London has as usual been a source of many texts in Middle Eastern languages. In the London Library I have found much material on European commercial history, travel literature and literature on other subjects. The Bodleian Library has furnished several rare books. A week spent at the library of the Società Ligure Di Storia Patria

in Genoa was helpful in providing at the last moment publications on Genoese trade. In other libraries I have searched, either randomly or methodically, and found relevant items, some of which I had not found elsewhere: that of Tübingen University, those of the University of California at Los Angeles and Sacramento, and the Library of Congress.

The maps were prepared by Sophoklis Roussos; Philippos Ioannou in the university administration was always willing to help with prints of drafts and of base maps.

Markings, transliteration and symbols

Markings of proper names, quotations, symbols

- ‘ ’ Quotation from another text
- “Arzerone” Emphasis on the name as spoken; or the form quoted is presented as incorrect; or translation of name
- *Bagavana Reconstructed name (rarely used)
- Italics* Name newly introduced, or presented as in some manner strange, e.g. form in a different language, loan word
- de- Element of a word, emphasis on written form
- /de/ Element of a word, emphasis on sound

Transliteration

1. Modern Turkish names or names appearing in texts in the modern Turkish alphabet. These are kept in the modern Turkish alphabet.
2. From Ottoman. In general the modern Turkish spelling is used, but if there is doubt about the sound values, then an adaptation of the transliteration system in the *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İA: 1, opp. p. 1) is used.
3. Arabic. Generally a common-sense transcription without special symbols, but, where precision is required, this is accompanied by a transliteration according to an adapted form of the system in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (EI²: 1.XIII). Note, for example, -j- for -dj- of EI², -q- for -k-. (Despite the respective advantages of the systems for Ottoman and Arabic used here, they conflict in many ways, e.g. Ott. -c- / Arab. -j-.)
4. Persian. Similarly common-sense transcription, sometimes with transliteration according to an adaptation of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* system.
5. Armenian. The Hübschmann-Meillet system, but with one or two adaptations, e.g. -ë- for -Ə-. Generally accompanied by an indication of sound: the system is not by any means self-explanatory, and many sound changes took place between the Classical language and the modern Western form. Note the remarks on indexing below.
6. Greek. Often not transliterated, but where transcribed (not a strict transliteration system) no diacritical symbols. -ch- for -χ- (chi), -ph- for -φ- (phi), -ou- for -ου-, -y- for -υ-, -e- for -η- as well as -ε-.

In the index, we have put the form standardly used in the text as the main entry; its transliterated forms are then included in this entry. The transliterated forms are each given a separate entry.

Part A

Introduction



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1 The documents and the routes

1. Date and significance of the route

The *Pratica Della Mercatura* of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti is a handbook for merchants which appears to have been compiled at the end of the fourth decade of the fourteenth century AD (perhaps over the years 1336–40). It includes a well-known itinerary from Ayas in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia to the great commercial city of Tabriz in Iran; this crosses the Taurus northwards to arrive at Sivas, then turns eastwards to Erzincan and Erzurum before turning again southeast to Khoy and Tabriz. The kingdom of Cilicia, during the period (the 20 years up to and including 1335) at some point in which the itinerary was composed, although militarily weak and about to enter the period of its steepest decline in terms of political power, nevertheless enjoyed three-quarters of a century of prosperity, ending around 1335, owing precisely to the use of the commercial route we are about to trace.

Pegolotti was the agent in Cyprus of the Florentine banking operation the house of Bardi, which was responsible, among other things, for four chapels in the church of Santa Croce in Florence. Among these was the Bardi chapel (built by 1316), whose walls carry various cycles painted by Giotto, probably during the years 1310–16.¹ The Bardi were a holding company, not in fact confined to purely banking operations, with agents in such commercial centres as London and Antwerp as well as ones in the Mediterranean. In Florence, the capital of the European banking industry, they were the biggest of the banks, 50 per cent bigger than the nearest, that of the Peruzzi. The Bardi bank, most of whose partners were members of the one family, was a leading creditor of the city-republic of Florence, and the family was regularly represented in the city's legislative and judicial institutions over the first four decades of the fourteenth century.²

The period of compilation of Pegolotti's handbook, we argue later, perhaps started with his return from a stay of duty in Cyprus which seems to have included the month of January 1336.³ But the period of compilation of the handbook as a whole is likely to have started after the end of the period over which the information specifically on the route was gathered. In the text itself, reference is made to Abu Sa'id (AD 1316–35) as the Il-Khan reigning over the territory entered as soon as one left the kingdom of Cilicia. Abu Sa'id's reign is the likely period during which information on the toll stations was gathered and at some point in which the itinerary was composed. In any case this period cannot go much beyond 1335, for the viability of the route as a whole was shattered a few years afterwards by the factional strife within the Il-Khanid empire.⁴

Pegolotti's route is of the utmost historical significance. It represents a Golden Age in east–west trade, when demand was at its highest in the west and commercial exchange at its most intense. Within the period (mid-1250s to the Mamluk acquisition of Ayas in 1337)

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when the Ayas–Sivas–Tabriz line as a whole was in use, the line forms part of a relatively stable configuration of intercontinental trade flows along given routes. Apart from the Ayas–Tabriz line itself, these routes included the Inner Asian tracks, to be described later, between the northerly Black Sea ports and China, and the Alexandria–Red Sea line. But this relatively stable pattern of routes was both preceded by an equivalent but different network in the previous period and followed by yet another in the subsequent period. It thus forms the intermediate link in a chain of three; moreover, as the period of most intense trade, it constitutes a kind of peak between the preceding and following.

The first of these periods could be described as a fairly stable state representing a period of great prosperity in medieval and late medieval Europe. It developed in the late tenth and eleventh centuries AD, and was in full swing during the twelfth century and the early and mid-thirteenth century. During this period, merchants travelled along two different axes. Of these the first was the sheaf of routes from the Persian Gulf, ultimately India, and Baghdad to Aleppo and thence by sea to the Italian cities and others in the western Mediterranean (southern France, Spain, Sicily). In this first bundle of routes there figured routes through Mosul, Mardin and Ruha/Urfa, others across the Syrian desert and others, somewhat longer and more roundabout, attracted by “cross-routes” taking off northwestwards towards cities on the second and more northerly axis such as Kayseri and Sivas. The second axis, on which full-scale activity perhaps started somewhat later than on the first, came from Iran through the Rum Seljuk sultanate via Erzurum, Sivas, Konya and Kayseri and the port of Antalya, from which again goods were shipped to the western Mediterranean. The first of these axes was finally shattered by the Mongol pillage of Baghdad (1258) and destruction of Aleppo (1260). The second, or rather its westerly portion, that between Antalya and Sivas, fell out of use as a principal carrier of international trade by virtue simply of the Ayas–Tabriz route, a product largely of Mongol policy. We shall describe the configuration of trade flows in the period following that of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, i.e. starting in the late 1330s and early to mid-1340s, after elucidating some aspects of Pegolotti’s route and certain points of historical interest in connection with it.

Ayas’s activity as a port, first attested in 1255, started essentially because hostilities between Mamluk and Mongol forces in the basin of the river Euphrates (‘Ayntab/Gaziantep, Bir/Birecik and other cities) precluded any large-scale movement of commercial traffic between Baghdad, Upper Mesopotamian cities such as Amid and Mardin, and Aleppo. There followed the Mongol attack on Baghdad in 1258 and the catastrophic devastation of Aleppo in 1260; the latter in particular strengthened the need for the Ayas–Sivas–Tabriz route.⁵ Even if the grim and merciless warfare in Upper Mesopotamia were to cease, without Aleppo, Upper Mesopotamia (Ruha, Amid, Mardin, etc.) could not function as a trading corridor between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf on the one hand and the north Syrian ports, ultimately the Italian and southern French merchant cities, on the other. Antioch and the port of St. Siméon on the Syrian coast were no longer relevant as outlets to the west, and the same was true of other ports, mostly lying further south, on the Syrian coast.⁶ Although our first news of Ayas as a port seems to date to 1255, the first points at which the passage of goods for serious commercial purposes fall first in 1257, then in 1259 and 1261.⁷ By the time of Marco Polo’s visit in 1271, activity was already in full swing. The route described by Pegolotti may in fact have been taken by Marco Polo as far as Sivas and Aqshahr/Akşehir.⁸

The Mamluk/Il–Khanid border warfare was, it is true, one of the factors occasioning the development of the Ayas–Sivas–Erzurum route, but by the beginning of Abu Sa‘id’s reign (1316) the hostilities with the Mamluk sultanate had already ceased. On the other hand, the past hostilities and other factors, to be enumerated shortly, are an adequate explanation for

the maintenance of the route along the same line during the period when the information on Pegolotti's route was gathered. Political conditions could not be guaranteed in advance; facilities such as bridges, forts, toll stations, accommodation (in whatever form) and other services to travellers could not suddenly be transferred from one route to another, in whole or in part; Aleppo would have had to be reconstructed to the extent of being commercially functional. The great northern trading cities (Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum) offered both links with other emporia (Sinop, Trebizond, cities in Georgia) and opportunities for exchange not available on the southerly route. Changes in the trade patterns supporting the northerly cities required time. These northern cities were also in the districts belonging to the province of Rum in the Il-Khanid empire, a province administered by powerful and increasingly independent governors: there was every reason to keep trade within them rather than allowing it to take a more southerly route through cities many of which were not controlled by the Il-Khanid empire at all ('Ayntab, Ruha, etc.) or else were in the hands of Il-Khanid vassals (Amid, Hisn Kayfa, Bitlis, etc.).

But there is a more specific reason for the maintenance during Abu Sa'id's reign of the line established in the 1250s and 1260s. In 1315, Mamluk forces, far from evacuating Upper Mesopotamia and so leaving the more direct way between Aleppo and Tabriz clear for the resumption of commercial movement thereon, had pushed further north and taken Malatya.⁹ Given a passage of the Taurus via Geben, the most direct way to Erzincan was to turn east at Göksün and take a well-established line, on which a string of caravansarays already existed, to Malatya; this was the line, too, of an important Roman road. From Malatya another Roman road could be taken northwards along the bank of the Euphrates and then, after the confluence of the river's two branches, along that of the Upper Euphrates, all the way to Erzincan.¹⁰ The Mamluk administration now controlled the easterly leg of the route just mentioned (approaching Malatya and the Euphrates valley).

But more generally, given such a sudden thrust on the part of the Mamluk sultanate, the conditions were hardly right for a switch of the route southward; after such a move, was it guaranteed that no more fighting would take place in Upper Mesopotamia (the districts of Ruha, Amid, etc.) or that Mamluk forces would withdraw either from Malatya or from Upper Mesopotamia? The official peace treaty signed in 1323 might temporarily put fears of renewed fighting to rest, but ultimately could not prevent such fighting. Moreover, if the movement of commercial traffic through Upper Mesopotamia were to resume, it would be beyond Il-Khanid control in the western district of that region (Ruha, 'Ayntab, etc.), which at present was held by the Mamluks.

The Italian cities established permanent merchant communities in three cities along the route. Ayas, the Cilician port, was primarily populated by merchants, both from Italy and from other European ports, not to mention some originating from the Middle East.¹¹ There was a Genoese business community in Sivas by the 1270s. It possessed its own *fondaco*, or lockable building containing warehouses, shops and sometimes accommodation.¹² Tabriz, *par excellence*, had its western merchant communities. The Genoese and Venetians were there from the 1280s onwards. In the first four decades of the fourteenth century, when Tabriz was in the heyday of its commercial activity under the Il-Khans, merchants from the smaller Mediterranean republics, such as Pisa, as well as from Venice and Genoa, resided in the city.¹³

Commercial activity along the route became more intense from 1323 onwards. After the fall of Acre in 1291, papal bans on trade with the territory of the Mamluk sultanate had been announced. But these did not have the effect of stopping that trade, especially as they were sometimes interpreted as bans on the export of war materials only.¹⁴ But from 1322 the bans were more strictly interpreted and were generally taken more seriously by the republics

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themselves. Venice, for example, withdrew consular protection from all her subjects in Alexandria, which resulted in a transfer of many Venetian merchants from Alexandria to Tabriz.¹⁵

Thus apart from its primary significance as the summit of east–west trade during the late Middle Ages and as a link between two major steady states in east–west trade, the period of the Pegolotti route reveals other historical developments. The geographical transfer of commercial activity, beginning in the 1250s, from the Baghdad–Aleppo axis northwards to the Pegolotti route (Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum) did not of necessity affect another great axis of world trade, the maritime spice route through the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and Egypt. But the transfer of Venetian personnel from Alexandria to Tabriz after 1322 represents a shift which precisely did affect the Red Sea spice route. This apart, the Pegolotti route and the European communities along it meant a different kind of contact between east and west. Before the 1250s, when the need for the Pegolotti route first arose, the trading cities of the western Mediterranean (French and Spanish as well as Italian) all had their communities in the Levant. But these were all at the ports. The western merchants did not establish communities in the cities further inland. Later on, as just stated, they did precisely that. The establishment of merchant colonies in inland cities meant, in turn, a new kind of contact with the societies of the territory through which the trade route passed.

After the most active period of its life began, however, little more than two decades passed before the route as a whole became untenable. Immediately after the death of the Il-Khan Abu Sa'id (1335), the factional strife within the empire made for local conditions inimical to the carriage of goods and the conduct of trade along the Pegolotti route. Venice in 1338 and Genoa in 1340 banned their own merchants from trading in the Il-Khanid empire.¹⁶ In 1337, Ayas and several other castles in its vicinity were ceded to the Mamluk sultanate by a treaty.¹⁷ The operation of the Ayas–Sivas–Erzincan route was at an end. After a period of strict prohibition, permission to send galleys to the ports of the Mamluk sultanate was first granted by the Pope in 1344, and in the same year a treaty was signed between Venice and the Mamluk sultanate.¹⁸

The closure of the Ayas–Sivas–Tabriz route and other factors swiftly caused a part of the India trade to shift back to the Red Sea alignment, where the principal points of exchange with European merchants were Alexandria and Damascus. The swing back to the Red Sea was substantially complete by 1344: the Papal permission and Venetian treaty of that year merely set the seal on the movement.¹⁹

Meanwhile, in Asia Minor one line of communication remained open, that between Tabriz and Trebizond on the south coast of the Black Sea: from Trebizond, goods could be carried by sea to Constantinople. But in the late fourteenth century, two new axes between Iran and the west were established; these were to remain stable until the end of the period considered in this book, and well beyond. The northern axis, that through Asia Minor, incorporated part of the Ayas–Tabriz line, but differed from it, essentially because west of Erzincan it was aimed at the Ottoman manufacturing and commercial centre of Bursa, where European merchants bought Iranian silk and traded European cloths. In more detail, the main route passed to the north of Sivas, Tokat assuming the latter city's role. Eventually Aleppo was restored as a commercial centre by the Mamluk sultanate, and activity there grew rapidly during the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century. The long track from Aleppo through Ruha, Mardin and Bitlis to Khoy and Tabriz, now free of the type of hostilities which had closed it during the Il-Khanid period, saw a strong increase in activity. The strength of commercial activity along this axis was helped by the revival of Baghdad under the Jalayrids in the mid-fourteenth century.

To recapitulate, then, we examine trade and its geographical alignment in three successive periods. We argue that in the middle period, that of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, east–west trade attained its greatest intensity within the whole second half of the Middle Ages; it was truly the Golden Age of the European economy and of economic exchange between east and west. Within the period, the Ayas–Tabriz line

was a principal, and possibly the principal, artery of east–west trade. Besides examining the pattern of trade movements within the middle period, we examine also the equivalent in the preceding and subsequent periods. This examination shows us that in each period, a stable network of commercial movement exists, which at the end of the period is upset by political circumstances but is then replaced by another stable network. The study also allows us to establish how the routes in one period relate to those in the others – for example, how parts of a given route in one period are preserved in the subsequent period, or revived in the third.

Despite its immense significance, the precise line of the Pegolotti route remains unknown, and the stations along it, apart from the large cities (Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum) unidentified. The failure to identify the precise line of the route, given that the principal nodes (Sivas, etc.) fix its approximate line, might seem unimportant. However, without knowing the exact line and without identifying the stations, it is impossible to understand the nature of the route: what category of travellers (lightly laden merchants, heavily laden caravans, or other) it was designed for, how travellers were protected, what facilities for travellers were provided along the route and other questions.

2. Sources, date, etc. of the *Pratica* and of the itinerary

The question of the date of composition of the itinerary and of the *Pratica* and other questions bearing on the status of the information in the itinerary, for all their intractability, deserve the fullest attention. Let us consider to begin with the only extant manuscript of the whole work. This manuscript was finished in 1472 by Filippo di Nicolaio Frescobaldi, also in Florence. Frescobaldi was in turn copying from a manuscript made by a certain Agnolo di Lotto dall'Antela. The latter manuscript, claims Frescobaldi, was copied from Pegolotti's manuscript itself.²⁰ Frescobaldi's manuscript was not the final copy, at least of certain parts of the text: subsequent handbooks draw heavily on Pegolotti's.²¹ However, the circumstance that the only extant manuscript was penned around 130 years after the date of composition, if we assume the latter date to have been 1340, shows the vulnerability of certain basic assumptions often made about the text, and particularly the assumptions that it was penned by one person, and that the penning took place continuously over one period rather than over a series of different periods.

Pegolotti's employment in the house of Bardi is first attested in 1310, but he probably started working in the company at an earlier date.²² He is known to have worked as a factor or agent of the Bardi house in Antwerp and London in 1318 and 1321 respectively.²³ By 1324 he was in Cyprus, and he remained there certainly until 1329.²⁴

Meanwhile, in 1322, fiscal pressures on the organs of government had led to the creation of a body called the Office of Twelve Good Men. The Priorate, the highest judicial council (founded in 1282), was obliged under this shortlived régime (1322–25) to consult with the Office of Twelve Good Men on all fiscal matters. A little later, still in the year of the Office's foundation, a moratorium on public debt was declared. The new régime thus managed to divert tax income to its operations in a war on the nearby city of Lucca. This was something of a blow, however, for the big banks, some of whose members served in the Priorate. There followed not only a crushing defeat by Lucca but also three bank failures.²⁵ The republic's

Signory and its adjunct councils then decided (1325) to confer on Charles, Duke of Calabria, a form of lordship over the city-republic for a 10-year term; and this resulted in a much higher tax income for the state. Charles, however, died in 1328.²⁶

In the same year, the Signory, the legislative body of the city-republic, and the adjunct councils were now remoulded in such a way as to give full play to the city's great families, including the Bardi and other banking families. Of the two adjunct councils (which had the power to veto legislation, but were not in themselves legislative bodies) one, the so-called Council of the Commune, was a naturally conservative force, since the new régime required that one-fifth of its members be from the great families of the city. The régime naturally worked in favour of those great families, failing to extract appropriate quantities of tax precisely from the richer among them. It was a régime which could work only so long as the city's economy prospered.²⁷

Under this régime, in November 1331, Pegolotti was elected a city councillor of Florence; his term of office was to last from 1st December 1331 to 31st March 1332.²⁸ So he must have been back in Florence at least from November 1331 to March 1332. But in January 1335, he obtained a charter from the king of Cilicia freeing his own company from customs dues in the kingdom.²⁹ So he is more likely to have come back to Cyprus by that date.

The period of the decline and fall of the great Florentine banks now started. For several decades Florence's leading banks had been lending to the English kings. After Edward III's fruitless campaign in France (1338–39), the king announced that he was reneging on all his debts to the banks, excluding, however, the Bardi and Peruzzi. In a second campaign (April–May 1340), Edward III succeeded in inflicting a decisive blow on the French fleet, but nevertheless asked for more credit.³⁰ Edward's reneging on his debts would appear to have had no direct effect on the Bardi and Peruzzi, but it contributed to a credit crisis and a contraction of the European economy which was already in progress and which were eventually to lead to the Peruzzi and Bardi's dissolution. However, the troubles of Florence's economy and of its banks had now begun. In the years 1336–38 the city's economy generally took a downward course, a trend which, we argue later, was part of the whole contraction of the European economy. Meanwhile the government's need of income had grown; the additional need arose out of the undertaking of another war. In Florence, credit was now in short supply. In 1338 began a stream of bankruptcies which by the time they ended in 1346 were to total at least 300.³¹

On All Saint's Day (30th October) 1340, the Bardi and other families mounted a coup against the government. The motives are not entirely clear, but at any rate the occasion of the conspiracy must have had to do with the ugly economic climate. On 2nd November, five members of the Bardi family were exiled, and another member was exiled a few days later.³² By this time Pegolotti was back from Cyprus. He was elected a member of the special advisory council to the Signory in August 1340, to serve from 1st September to 1st December.³³ Thereafter he must have stayed in Florence; after another term as city councillor (December 1341 to March 1342) he moved on to higher responsibilities. Presumably he witnessed the events of the conspiracy from very close to.

The city's shortage of tax income now led to the foundation in July 1341 of what amounted to an emergency régime, that of the Rule of the Twenty. The Twenty were, as before, the city's leading creditors, including banking families, and these creditors assumed the state's fiscal burden. They did not include the Bardi, but, after paying a substantial sum, six members of the Bardi family were allowed to return to the city in September of the same year. The new régime was unable to set the city's finances to rights: the following year another moratorium was declared, and the foreign customers of the big banks started to reclaim their deposits.³⁴

This led to an invitation by the Signory to Duke Walter of Brienne to assume the government of the city as despot (September 1342). The Duke diplomatically set about the necessary tax reforms and applied himself to a reshaping of the administration. But in the following year he was thrown out in a coup. The latter was mounted, among others, by the Bardi and other prominent banking families (3rd August 1343).³⁵ A government of Forty Citizens was formed; as usual, many of the prominent banking families were among the Forty, and, partly on the insistence of the Bardi, it was agreed that four of the seats in the Priory (judicial council) should go to the great families, while the four others would go to the populace. But these moves produced a riot in which the Bardi's palaces were burnt down (24th–25th September 1343).³⁶ Meanwhile Pegolotti seems to have been in Florence continuously. He was involved in the winding up of the Bardi bank; in July and August 1346 he is known to have been a prior of the state, holding the position of *vessilifero di Giustizia* (with responsibility, essentially, for the enforcement of the constitution).³⁷

Let us turn back to the subject of Pegolotti's authorship of the *Pratica* and the date of composition.

We shall argue here that the *Pratica* is essentially a compilation of different contributions and documents, all composed at different dates. Some sections were certainly composed and presumably penned by Pegolotti himself, but for practical purposes authorship in the case of the *Pratica* is a question of responsibility for a project for which the resources of the Bardi office in Florence would have been needed. The penning of those segments which reproduce previously existing documents (sometimes with changes) could have been carried out by others with humbler positions within the firm's central office in Florence.

Such a project could have taken a short time, in which case it is meaningful to talk of a date of composition, or many years. But, assuming that Pegolotti was responsible for the initiation of the project, he must have been in Florence in order to start it. The history of the Bardi family and Pegolotti's personal history exclude certain periods. Short periods such as those between 1318 and 1321 and between 1321 and 1324, when we do not know where Pegolotti was, are all possible, but very unlikely. Between 1329 (Pegolotti's return from Cyprus) and 1335 (his second journey to Cyprus) Pegolotti could have started the project. However, certain events referred to in the text took place after 1335, so the compilation as a whole cannot have been finished by that date: certainly the relevant sections were composed after 1335. Moreover, it is doubtful if Pegolotti had obtained a senior enough position within the firm, nor do we know if he was actually in Florence rather than in some other posting. These considerations leave us with the period between Pegolotti's return from his second stay in Cyprus (1336 at the earliest) and 1340. The latter period seems much the most likely, and we shall see that the internal evidence points towards this period too. Our narrative here makes it clear that although the Florentine economy had taken a serious knock in the years 1336–38, which was to result in a flow of bankruptcies in banking and other firms, and although the Bardi's lending operations in England may have seemed at times over the years 1338–40 to put the bank in a precarious position, in fact the Bardi themselves were not seriously affected until 1340.

The course of events thereafter demonstrates not only the close involvement of the Bardi in the state's affairs, but also that from 1340 onwards this involvement was disastrous. A failed conspiracy and banishment (1340), a run on the banks (1342), a foreign despotism (1342–43), involvement in a coup and a riot against the bank (1343) are not the circumstances in which to be starting the compilation of a trade manual. Pegolotti's own tenure of high office (1340, 1341–42 and 1346), too, would by itself tend to preclude a starting date in 1340 or afterwards. If Pegolotti was involved with the *Pratica* in or after 1340, his involvement was more of an overall supervisory nature.

On grounds, therefore, of occupation with city and state affairs, it is unlikely that the compilation of the *Pratica* was begun after 1340, a date at which, as we shall see, the compilation was certainly in progress. But if, as is very likely, the project was started before 1340, Pegolotti's involvement after that date must have taken the form of a more organisational and supervisory role. Before 1340 the compilation of the manual would have taken the form of composition by Pegolotti himself of certain sections and the inclusion by copying of certain others, whereas after 1340 only the copying of pre-existing documents could have continued. Before and after 1340 such copying work would have been supervised and co-ordinated by Pegolotti.

The text of the *Pratica* that we have is certainly a compilation from different sources rather than an original work written continuously by one man. Passages evidently composed by Pegolotti himself (on the basis of material compiled by others, including merchants actually trading in given cities or travelling along given routes) are included, for sure. But the text also contains sections which are copies, or near copies, of documents known elsewhere. These are of varying dates. The implication for the date of composition of Pegolotti's text is clear: whatever the *termini* for given parts of the text, which we shall shortly consider, we cannot necessarily talk of a date of composition of the whole manuscript at all. A continuous, rapid penning by one man, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, is of course one possibility. But it is equally possible that the manual we have was compiled, partly by copying from extant documents and partly by composition *de novo*, over a period or over different periods separated by others in which Pegolotti was occupied with other activities. It is also possible that different hands participated in the first compilation. Straight copying of documents could have been carried out, on Pegolotti's instructions, by others in the Bardi office in Florence. It is even possible that Pegolotti took a pre-existing manual and augmented it, partly in his own hand – the sections penned by him would include those which evidently derive from his own experience – and partly by instructing others to copy given documents.

All these possibilities suggest that it may make no sense to talk baldly of a date of composition without any conception of the circumstances or procedures of composition. The year 1340 has been accepted as the date of composition on the grounds that the Easter table opens with that year.³⁸ The argument would seem valid for the particular section, but not for the whole work.

Let us now consider those sections of the text that copy documents which had clearly been composed separately before incorporation into the *Pratica*. Most of these documents, though not the first, are known in the original or else in copies made somewhere other than in the *Pratica*. The first document is a list of coins, ostensibly coins current at some point towards the end of the thirteenth century. It occurs in the account of coin denominations, their minting and use at the end of the *Pratica*. The provenances of the coins cover Italy, France, Spain and parts of north Africa. A sprinkling of other coins seems to have been added, perhaps as an update immediately following the initial compilation, perhaps as an addition subsequent to the initial compilation by a clear interval. The list's initial compilation has been put at around 1290; the additions can safely be dated before 1300. These additions do not include the substantial passage concerning coins relevant to trade conducted in Cyprus, which must have been composed by Pegolotti himself, either during his first stay in Cyprus (1324–29) or during his second (mid-1330s). Considering that Pegolotti was active as late as 1346 and that his first documented employment dates to 1310,³⁹ it seems unlikely that Pegolotti himself composed the list. But even if he had done, this would make little difference to our argument: the list, including sundry and minor additions, was complete by 1300 and afterwards remained intact as a body of information until Pegolotti's first or second stay in Cyprus. Conceivably

the compilation of the list was the first act in a putative long-drawn-out compilation of the whole manual, but the list is much more likely to be a self-contained, finite document which was copied into the *Pratica* well after the list's initial composition.⁴⁰

The coin list apart, an order for the production of coins, including the *grossi*, in Florence, dates to 1318, and another for the minting of the *lanainoli* dates to 1332.⁴¹ Similarly a list of concessions made to the Germans and Genoese in Antwerp in 1318 is reproduced in Pegolotti with only two differences.⁴² A list of brokerage fees charged in Pisa, dated 1323, is reproduced with certain differences. This seems to mean that the changes introduced into these documents in the versions appearing in Pegolotti's text reflect a new edition of the original, whose date could be any year up to, or a little beyond, 1340.⁴³ There is a reference to the day on which the Calends of 1337 fell,⁴⁴ so at least the relevant section was copied into the present text in 1337 or afterwards, but this is not necessarily true of the composition or copying of the whole text. A list of duties charged by the Republic of Venice certainly dates to a point after 1338,⁴⁵ so certainly this section of the *Pratica* was copied after that date.

These passages apart, certain other details within the text have a bearing on the date of its composition, or at least of the composition of the particular passage where they occur. Certain details in the chapter on Genoa can be dated after the Catalan war (1332) and before the raising of the tariff on Genoese goods in 1340.⁴⁶ A charter was issued by the king of Cyprus in 1324 exempting Florentine merchants from paying more customs dues than had previously been the case for Pisans. The charter was renewed in 1325 and 1326, and the privileges were granted in perpetuity in 1327. All these events are referred to in Pegolotti's text.⁴⁷ Pegolotti is very well informed about Cyprus: an unusual amount of detail is to be found in his account of the island.⁴⁸ However this quantity of detail itself does not help us in deciding when the section on Cyprus was written – certainly by Pegolotti himself in this case – or when the section on the Ayas–Tabriz route was first compiled and when it was incorporated into the *Pratica*.

The compilation of the handbook, in whatever version or form, could have started in 1318 or even before. However, at so early a stage, Pegolotti would not have been in a senior position in the company, and would probably not have been charged with the job of compiling the handbook. Moreover, the weight of *terminum post quem* falls in the late 1330s, and Pegolotti is unlikely to have started on the compilation before his return from his first sojourn in Cyprus in the years 1323–29. He could have started on the compilation of the handbook in 1331 or 1332 or at some point up to 1336: he is known to have been in Florence in 1331 and 1332, and could well have stayed there until his second period of duty in Cyprus, which ended no earlier than spring 1336. It is perhaps more likely that he started on the project after his second stay in Cyprus. He must have returned to Florence before starting the project: he would have needed its archives, and would hardly have begun without instruction from higher places within the company.

Let us now turn to the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary specifically. There is one strong indication that this is a compact package of information, assembled at a particular date by a particular person and independently of the general compilation of the *Pratica*. The structure and rhythm of Pegolotti's work are as follows. First comes an account of the overland route from Tana, at the northeast corner of the Sea of Azov, to Cathay or China (ed Evans, pp 21–23). This account is unique within the whole work, and was clearly compiled and written by someone other than Pegolotti, who explicitly disavows that he ever travelled this route. Then comes an account of the port of Tana itself: goods to be bought there, prices to be paid, etc. There follow accounts of the routes to Tana from Venice and from Naples (p 26). Then come equivalent descriptions of the Genoese port of Caffa, which lay on the south coast of the Crimean peninsula, southwest

of Tana, and of the routes to it from Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople, and from Venice (pp 25–26, 26). Leaving aside Tabriz and its routes (pp 26–28, 28–31) for a moment, the sections on Trebizond and Constantinople follow the same rhythm: an account of the goods to be bought there, and prices and taxes to be paid (pp 31, 32–47), followed by a section on the routes to the two cities from a variety of ports (pp 31–32, 48–54): in the case of Constantinople these are Genoa, Marseilles, Nîmes, Pera, Bruges, London, Caffa, Lucca and others. Similarly the products and prices to be expected at Altoluogo, the port near the ancient Smyrna, are detailed (pp 55–56), followed by the routes to Altoluogo from Genoa, Pisa, Venice and Constantinople (pp 57–58). Certainly the rhythm is broken by the entry (pp 57–58) on *Setalia* (Antalya), where only goods, prices and taxes are described without any subsequent section on the routes making for that city. However the rhythm resumes with *Ermenia*, which represents in reality Ayas/Laiazzo itself (pp 59–60, 61–63), Acre (pp 63–64, 64–69), Alexandria (69–72, 72–76) and Cyprus (77–79, 89–102). Subsequently the same treatment is extended to a whole variety of cities and regions on the Mediterranean shore (pp 102–276), and this only stops with the book's account of certain goods and their various qualities and prices and of the flow of certain denominations of coin from one region to another (pp 277–383).

One point which distinguishes the case of Tabriz is that after the description of the goods to be bought there and of prices, etc. (pp 26–28), there follow not one but two sections concerning routes to the city. One is our route from Laiazzo (pp 28–29); the second is the register of routes, in the normal style, from Trebizond, Pera, Laiazzo itself, Famagusta, Venice and Genoa (pp 29–31). Tabriz is the only city for which two sections on routes are incorporated. The layout and content of our itinerary are also distinctive: an exhaustive list of customs stations and dues to be paid thereat. Moreover, access from Laiazzo features again in the second and quite standard section on routes by which Tabriz is to be reached. All this suggests that our itinerary, with its customs stations, etc., is something unique to the handbook, exogenous to the latter's general rhythm and procedure and initially compiled elsewhere before incorporation, at some stage, into the text. The exception is not entirely surprising: among all the trading centres described, Tabriz is well inland, while the others are ports. Tabriz and the route to it were controlled by the Il-Khans; the ports described elsewhere are in the Mediterranean or other parts of Europe (Bruges, London, etc.).

Let us now attempt to address the question of the itinerary's initial date of composition. The best guide is still the mention, in the text of the itinerary, of Abu Sa'id as the reigning Il-Khan. This would seem to limit the date of composition of the itinerary to the years of Abu Sa'id's reign, 1316–35. But even with this indication, we cannot be sure that a previous version was not compiled before the reign of Abu Sa'id, subsequently modified and then copied into the text of the *Pratica*. Nor can we be sure, without exhausting the internal evidence of the itinerary itself, that the information on Il-Khanid customs stations in the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary is all attributable to the same date. A merchant might have come back to Ayas or Famagusta with a list of customs stations and their dues at a certain date; another would then come with supplementary information on other customs stations. However, the greatest likelihood is that the itinerary was composed by a single person (probably before inclusion in the *Pratica*) or at least that Pegolotti assembled the itinerary from a single informant.

Within the time interval of Abu Sa'id's reign, however, a series of circumstantial considerations point to a date of composition in the early or mid-1320s and specifically between 1322 and 1327. In the first place, the route's avoidance of the city of Kayseri may be due to political circumstances within Asia Minor at the time. Asia Minor was a province of the Il-Khanid empire: more strictly the province of Rum, as it was known, was that part of Asia Minor controlled (after one fashion or another) by the Seljuks towards the end of their

existence as a dynasty (the end came shortly after AD 1300). In 1322 Timur Tash, then the province's governor, rebelled against the Il-Khan Abu Sa'id. But while western Asia Minor, including Kayseri, was under the control of Timur Tash, the cities of Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum, which feature in the Pegolotti itinerary, remained under central government control. Timur Tash was persuaded by his father to break off the rebellion, and was reinstated. But a standoff developed between his father the *amir* Choban and the Il-Khan, and Choban later found himself in full rebellion. In 1327 the Il-Khan, securing Choban's death, then moved against Timur Tash, who fled to Egypt.⁴⁹

It would be reasonable to suppose that the central authorities, in order to maintain security, would route the travelling merchants along tracks and through settlements which they controlled and Timur Tash did not. Timur Tash's rebellion may explain why the Pegolotti track so narrowly avoids Kayseri, and at the same time provide the time interval during which the itinerary was compiled. In fact the occasion of the itinerary's compilation may precisely to have been the rebellion; among its purposes, whether it was compiled during the rebellion or afterwards, up to Timur Tash's flight in 1327, may have been to warn merchants not to pass through Kayseri. No certainty is possible: the line taken by the Pegolotti track is the shortest way of reaching Sivas in any case and is eminently viable and economical regardless of any danger from Timur Tash.⁵⁰

A second reason for the likelihood of a date in the 1320s is that this decade saw an increase of activity along the route and an increase in interest on the part of the Il-Khanid authorities. In 1320 a new trade treaty with Venice was signed; in 1322 Venice withdrew consular protection from her subjects in Alexandria in response to the tougher interpretation of Papal bans on exports to the Mamluk sultanate. This led to the relocation of many Venetian merchants from Alexandria to Tabriz, meaning in turn that various goods which might have reached the west via Mamluk territory now had to come via Tabriz.⁵¹ Over the late 1310s and early 1320s, new mints were opened along the Ayas–Tabriz track. In some of these mints the first type to be issued was Abu Sa'id's type D (722–23/1321–24), which was confined to the line Sivas–Erzincan–Erzurum. Among this type's purposes may have been that of relieving a potential coin shortage caused by Timur Tash's rebellious minting of coin further west; active encouragement of trade may have been a further motive.⁵² In other mints the first type issued was Abu Sa'id's type F (723–28/1322–29), again issued only in Asia Minor. Here again the motive may have been to ensure an adequate supply of coin in the aftermath of Timur Tash's rebellion, and even, perhaps, to encourage trade by means of an augmentation of the money supply rather than a mere replenishment. It is easy to imagine a merchant assembling the information to go into the itinerary, or being requested to do so, after the commercial decisions discussed here (the treaty of 1320 and the relocation of personnel in 1323) and when the Il-Khanid authorities were evincing such strong interest in facilitating commercial activity along the route by opening new mints. The argument remains circumstantial and a matter of greatest likelihood rather than certainty. No part of Abu Sa'id's reign can be excluded on grounds of lack of interest by European merchants or the authorities of the late Il-Khanid period.

These considerations indicate that the itinerary was most probably composed in the 1320s, specifically during the years 1322–27, and if not during those years then either before them or after them but always during the reign of Abu Sa'id. If the itinerary was indeed composed at some point during the period 1322–27, then it would be natural that it should be acquired by Pegolotti during his first stay in Cyprus (1324–29) and taken back to Florence at the end of that stay. And this is much the most plausible supposition for the dates of compilation, acquisition and carriage back to Florence.

Other possibilities remain. Despite having been composed sometime during the years 1322–27, it might have been handed or dictated to Pegolotti during his second stay in Cyprus. We know this second stay began no earlier than 1332, that it ended no later than 1340 and that spring 1336 fell within the period: a period of three or four years centred on spring 1336 seems most likely. Or, less likely, the itinerary might have been compiled after 1322–27 and acquired by Pegolotti during his second sojourn in Cyprus. We cannot even rule out the possibilities of the itinerary's having been carried to Florence by somebody other than Pegolotti and of having been compiled, perhaps from written material but certainly from memory of increased unreliability, in Florence itself.

In conclusion, the compilation of the *Pratica* as a whole, as opposed to the composition, earlier in time, of individual components such as our itinerary, could have started in the years 1331–35, but is perhaps more likely to have started after Pegolotti's second stay in Cyprus, which ended no earlier than spring 1336. The work had no doubt progressed well by 1340, but may have been finished sometime afterwards. The most likely date at which the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary was first composed is between 1322 and 1327. It could have passed into Pegolotti's hands at some point during the years 1323–29, when Pegolotti first stayed in Cyprus. Or, still on the supposition of having been composed during the years 1322–27, he could have acquired it sometime during his second stay there, which started before and ended after January 1336. The itinerary, with less likelihood, might have been composed between 1316 and 1322 (i.e. in Abu Sa'id's reign but before Timur Tash's rebellion) or between 1327 and 1335 (i.e. after Timur Tash's flight but before the end of Abu Sa'id's reign): in the second case it could still have passed into Pegolotti's hands during his second sojourn in Cyprus. Needless to say, the document could have been taken to Florence by someone other than Pegolotti. However, it seems more likely that Pegolotti himself took it there. Given all the argumentation just considered, the itinerary was most likely written down at some point in the years 1322–27 and most likely incorporated, by copying, in the text of the *Pratica* during the last few years of the 1330s.

In our discussion of the route we shall aim to reconstruct a picture of the route precisely during Abu Sa'id's reign. We shall bear in mind, however, that with the exception of the longer track through Ani between Erzurum and Tabriz, the route itself, as opposed to the cities and other settlements along it, is unlikely to have changed much between the mid-1250s and 1315.

3. Aims of the present book

The principal aims of the book are two: first, to establish the significance, in relation to the history of east–west trade generally, of the Ayas–Tabriz track, and to establish its precise route, the character of the cities and other settlements on the way; and to determine the character of the trade taking place along the length of the route. The two questions are interrelated: the discussion in each of the relevant sections inevitably takes account of the equivalent discussion of the other. Our conclusions, which concern the nature of trade on the Ayas–Tabriz track, its management and its effect on the cities through which the track passed, will depend both on our discussion of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary's commercial significance and on the precise line of the track.

In drawing out the significance of the Ayas–Tabriz track, our aims are both comparative within the period and comparative between periods. In the first place we aim to show how the Ayas–Tabriz road stands in relation to other contemporary routes, in particular the Inner Asian tracks from Caffa and Tana, which began working as an international trade route

from the early 1260s, and the Mediterranean sea lanes to Egypt and those down the Red Sea which led to the Indian Ocean and thus to India. In the second place a comparison is carried out between the web of routes established in the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary and the equivalent web of routes in the preceding and in the following period. The preceding period is defined as starting in 1100; the following period ends in 1500.

In carrying out such comparisons our aim is, nevertheless, to focus on the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary itself. What focusing on the Ayas itinerary means is that questions such as the nature of the goods traded in either direction, the monetary flows along the route, the management of the route by the authorities and the consequent commercial effectiveness of the route will be treated in greater detail, with greater emphasis and with greater definition than in the case of the contemporary tracks north and south of the Ayas route. In respect of monetary flows, we have compiled a catalogue only of coins minted in settlements on or near the Ayas–Tabriz road itself.⁵³ For other mints, we have relied on secondary works and on catalogues of coin collections which are inaccessible to us.

In brief, the comparisons, both diachronic and synchronic, which we shall draw are as follows. In the first period (1100 to mid-1250s) a line of movement developed which was dependent principally on the port of Antalya (southwest Anatolia). It came to the Seljuk capital of Konya, to Sivas and Erzurum and so to Iran and the cities of Central Asia and from there to China. We trace the spread of silver coinage (a sure sign of an influx of western coin or bullion in payment, not so much of eastern goods *per se* as of the trade imbalance between eastern goods and western ones carried to the east) along this route: minting began in earnest in the early thirteenth century. Coin evidence apart, we look at the evidence for the development of cities along the route and for the construction of caravansarays.

The second route to be followed in connection with the period from 1100 to the mid-1250s is that from Aleppo to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf and so to the Indies. The products of the Indies (spices, pearls) were channelled along this route, bought in Aleppo and exported to the west. We discuss building activity and the extensive production of copper coins in the relevant cities. Silver came somewhat later to this route (in the 1210s), and we explore the possible causes.

Finally we discuss activity along the Red Sea, through Cairo and along the Mediterranean sea lanes to Europe. This was a trade heavily imbalanced in favour of the spices coming from India. European merchants were active as far as Alexandria, on the north coast of Egypt, and Cairo.

In the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, technology had changed and Europe's exports were no longer confined to raw materials, such as iron, but included some finished goods, such as cloth. At the same time, banking developed in such a way as to favour trade and allow its expansion.

We follow, first, the track from Caffa and Tana eastwards through the inner Asian steppe – territory respectively of the Golden Horde and the Chaghatay principality – to China. We take note of the vitality of trade along this route, but take careful note, too, that the goods travelling westwards along it were principally (not exclusively) Chinese.

Next we look at the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary itself. The two tracks through Asia Minor, Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia which dominated trade in the previous period could not now be travelled in their entirety. Essentially, Mongol–Mamluk warfare in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria prevented the use of the Upper Mesopotamian routes to Baghdad; when the warfare ceased, Aleppo remained a depopulated shell, ruined by the Mongol attack of 1260. Trade was now channelled from Sivas to Ayas in Cilicia: Antalya remained a port with buoyant trade, but, we suggest, sending local rather than Far Eastern products to the

west. In examining the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary we look in detail at the goods being transported along the track in the one and the other direction. Noting the large disparity between the two, we examine the evidence for the abundant accumulation of western silver in cities along the way, and argue that the weight reduction of Il-Khanid coin issues after the reform currency of Ghazan (697–703/1297–1304) were occasioned by the lessened availability of western silver (owed partly to mine closures in Europe) for the financing of imports from the east. We also examine the measures taken by the authorities to maintain security along the way and thus to facilitate trade.

The working of the Red Sea route in the same period is then examined. This undoubtedly was a competitor to the Ayas route, since some of the goods (mainly spices from India) could have travelled either way. For a time (1323–37) the Ayas route captured the spice trade from the Red Sea route, in addition to the silk trade, principally from Iran, but also from India and China, which it was already carrying.

In the period (c. 1337–1500) following the Ayas route, we note that technology in Europe had now advanced to a position superior to that of the Levant and surrounding regions (Mesopotamia, Egypt), influencing to an extent the patterns of trade. Trade between Europe and the East (China and India), whether in the one direction or the other, seems to have been on a reduced scale. Banking operations were now confined to Europe, Constantinople and the north coast of the Black Sea.

Imports to Europe, principally of Chinese silk, along the steppe road through Inner Asia seem to have continued at least until the 1450s, and may have been deliberately stopped by the Ottomans after their acquisition of Caffa in 1475. Within the period, however, this route's relative importance diminished. Asia Minor and Armenia were the regions through which Chinese and Iranian silk passed; goods still came from India via Hormuz. Within Asia Minor and Armenia, a northern route developed which channelled Chinese and Iranian silk to the Ottoman city of Bursa. Here, despite a heavy trade imbalance in favour of the Iranian silk which was exported to Europe, whether in raw, woven or finished form, lower volumes of coin were minted along the way. However, the revived use of Upper Mesopotamia, this time linking Tabriz to a rebuilt Aleppo, appears to have been the vehicle of a more one-way trade, in which European silver paid for Iranian silk. Finally we describe the Red Sea route, which once more carried the burden of the spice trade; this time the outlets were variously Alexandria on the one hand and Damascus and Beirut on the other.

Coming to the book's second section, which might be considered its kernel, our aim here is to reconstruct the Pegolotti itinerary which played such a central role in the geographical configuring of trade activity in three successive periods. Distinct methods are employed to bring all the various evidence to bear; discussion of these methods is deferred to the final section of the present chapter. We place the route in full topographical context. We reconstruct the principal cities (such as Sivas and Erzincan) as well as the smaller settlements (such as Aqshahr/Akşehir) which lay along the route. Whether placing the line of the track or reconstructing the cities and other settlements, our aim is to present the route, and the cities, as they might have been experienced by an Italian merchant travelling along them: the period in question is that of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary (mid-1250s to 1337). We are forced, naturally, to base our reconstructions on a meticulous interpretation of texts, inscriptions and other evidence such as buildings and topography. Nevertheless we have avoided photographs and plans; the modern reader looks for these, but the medieval merchant's vision was differently formed.

The historical section and that concerned with the reconstruction of the route together lead to a series of conclusions. Certain of these arise out of the one or the other of the preceding

sections, but some are based on a consideration of both subjects. In the first case it is convenient to collect the conclusions in the same place; in the second case they naturally arise in the same place anyway. Although we summarise all material points arising out of the foregoing sections, we aim to concentrate on the Ayas–Tabriz route and questions arising in connection with it. These questions centre on the route’s significance; on the line it followed; on its management by the Il-Khanid administration; and on the nature of the cities and other settlements along the track and their relation to the passage of commercial traffic along the track.

4. Methods of travel, shipment of goods, distances, etc.

Both for the purpose of elucidating its significance and for that of fixing the exact line of the Pegolotti route, it is essential to understand as far as possible the nature of travel along it.

It is a fair presumption that goods were transported by animals travelling in caravans. Genoese documents relating to the year 1292 show that caravans plying between Trebizond and Tabriz were, if not a regular, at least a standard phenomenon.⁵⁴ In general the caravans were probably composed of camels. The agreement between Genoa and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia dated 1288 refers to camel-loads of spices arriving in the kingdom from inland.⁵⁵ Pegolotti himself mentions camels in connection with the Tabriz route. However the text of the treaty between Venice and the Il-Khan drawn up in 1320 mentions the hiring of horses,⁵⁶ so some caravans may have been composed of horses. Donkeys are also mentioned.

From the subsequent period we have two examples of the transport of goods by caravans. In 1406 Clavijo watched the assembly of a caravan consisting of 200 horses which was to take Iranian cloth to Bursa.⁵⁷ In 1478 Barbaro, then the Venetian ambassador to the court of the Ak Koyunlu, fled from Tabriz at the news of the sultan Uzun Hasan’s death. He hurried westwards as far as Erzincan (the next city west after Erzurum on the track towards Bursa). Here, however, he waited a month for a caravan travelling south towards Aleppo.⁵⁸ Clavijo’s observation and Barbaro’s experience strongly suggest that caravans would have plied the Ayas–Tabriz route or sections of it. Here again it is difficult to decide to what extent a given caravan travelled the whole length of the route, or whether caravans worked the distance between two of the cities along the way and then turned back. Again caravans might continue to destinations off the route: for example, a caravan might travel from Ayas to Sivas, but instead of turning east towards Tabriz would continue in a basically northerly direction as far as the Black Sea ports of Samsun or Sinop. It is not clear that every section of the route was always travelled by caravans as opposed to other means of transport. Ibn Sa‘id’s account, referred to later, concerning, admittedly, the mid-thirteenth century, tells us that goods were transported from Erzurum to Konya on carts drawn by a pair of oxen.⁵⁹

Pegolotti himself speaks of despatching goods from Ayas to Tabriz as if it were a question of the one operation.⁶⁰ But despatch would be merely a matter of an agreement between merchant and carrier. There would seem no reason why the carrier, once having contracted the shipment, should be obliged to carry the goods on the one caravan, rather than breaking the journey at a given node city (probably Sivas) and continuing with other caravans. Some contracts may have been only for a certain section of the route: at the destination a merchant might resell some of the goods and buy others. The evidence concerning contracts is not encouraging. Of goods passing (from whatever origin) through Famagusta, the main port of Cyprus, around AD 1300, about 54% were destined for western cities, 24% were headed for Ayas and Tarsus and trivial quantities went to other destinations in the Mediterranean and to Tabriz. In other words, even though some goods would have bypassed Famagusta because they went directly to Ayas, the quantity shipped from Famagusta to Tabriz was

trivial.⁶¹ On the other hand, of contracts for the despatch of merchandise from Ayas (again irrespective of origin) in the year 1277, much the largest proportion, and so probably the proportion accounting for the greatest monetary value, were for transport to Sivas, and no contract was for Tabriz.⁶² Of course contracts agreed at Ayas were independent of those agreed at Famagusta and vice versa; clearly those drawn up in Ayas are not a proportion of those drawn up in Famagusta, except in so far as a shipper might contract to transport an item from Famagusta to Ayas, after which another contract for carriage to another city would be required. The two findings together leave the impression that very few single contracts were agreed on for the transport of goods from one end of the itinerary to the other. Certainly a respectable number of shipments from Ayas to Sivas were contracted for, but they do not help with the further progress of goods along the way. Even worse, the two findings do not help with journeys in the opposite direction (Tabriz–Ayas), in which the flow of goods mostly took place. Nevertheless the two circumstances (despatches from Famagusta around 1300 and despatches from Ayas in 1277) suggest that the journey was often enough broken at intermediate points, particularly Sivas.⁶³

Leaving aside its organisation, the conditions of travel are critical in making judgements concerning the operation of such a route, what it meant to travel along it and what decided the positions of the toll stations. In the first place, western merchants travelled along the ground without maps. Portolan charts which mapped the sea and coasts of the Mediterranean had been made since the late thirteenth century. But these, highly accurate for the coast and providing compass directions and straight-line bearings between points on different coasts, failed to depict any features of the interior. The interiors of the land masses are left more or less blank.⁶⁴ The first map to contain legible information concerning the interior of any land mass rather than the coasts is the Pizigano map, apparently dated 1367.⁶⁵ But when we look on this map at the region of Asia Minor traversed by Pegolotti's itinerary through Asia Minor, we find nothing that could conceivably help in navigation over the ground. In fact, only a few general geographical outlines are shown, and the names are taken straight from Pegolotti's itinerary. The Catalan Atlas of 1375 similarly marks some inland features, but again nothing that would guide the merchant travelling over the relevant ground.⁶⁶ And we are now past the years, up to 1340, when the Pegolotti manual could have been compiled. In the fifteenth century the portolan charts continue essentially with bare land mass interiors.⁶⁷ The atmosphere and preoccupation of the portolan chart genre is with the sea and coasts, and we can remark that it is such a preoccupation that is breathed by the Pegolotti manual itself.

For the purposes of wayfinding over land, there were no relevant maps in the period, and the maps that were made were not used for wayfinding.⁶⁸ A little later than the compilation of Pegolotti's Tabriz itinerary, road itineraries in the sense of documents laying down each night's stop on a particular journey and perhaps each day's distance began to be written.⁶⁹ Nevertheless the Pegolotti itinerary is precisely not a road itinerary in the sense just described: it is merely a record of toll stations and tolls.

It is difficult to imagine what the absence of maps, and presumably of any real sense of orientation or of precise delineation of geographical features, would have meant for travelling merchants or professional carriers. But it does suggest a reliance on local information, not always correct; and a difficulty in planning the journey day after day. It also hints at an irregularity and unpredictability of day stages and of stopping-places. The matter would naturally be affected by the presence of caravansarays and of settlements with adequate lodging for travellers.

Leaving aside maps, let us attempt some kind of conclusion concerning the distances travelled each day and the implications for the stages on the Tabriz itinerary. In the region

itself, the Ottoman army itineraries (principal subject of our Appendix I) furnish information on day stages, but the progress of a large army would naturally be slower than that of a merchant caravan. Pegolotti himself supplies us with certain information, concerning not the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary but the Central Asian route, contemporary with that through Asia Minor, which we describe later. Between the port of Tana at the head of the Sea of Azov and the city of Astrakhan, near the mouth of the Volga, it takes a horseman 10–12 days and a cart drawn by oxen 25 days.⁷⁰ Given that the route went via New Saray, at the bend described by the Volga about 420 kilometres from Astrakhan, the distance in question amounts to around 800 kilometres. This would mean that horsemen could travel at a rate of up to 80 kilometres a day and ox-carts at 32 kilometres a day. Of course horsemen travel faster than oxen, so a higher proportion here is expected. However, the terrain in question is flat and easy, while on the Tabriz route, animals must have progressed at much slower speeds.

The experience in Europe exhibits a wild variety, but for our itinerary again carries clear implications. For parties on horseback a median rate of progress of 30–33 miles, or 48–53 kilometres, a day has been calculated. The faster parties progressed at an average of 45–46 miles (72–74 kilometres) a day; here we may mention the journey of Barthélémy Bonis, a merchant of Montauban in southern France, who made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1350 averaging 54 kilometres a day, but the party is likely to have been small and highly mobile. The speed of the slower parties centred on 20–30 miles/32–48 kilometres a day. A bishop of Rouen in northern France, Rigaud, travelled with an entourage to Rome in 1253 at an average rate of 25–29 kilometres a day; the court of the holy Roman Emperor, Henry VII, came through France to Rome in 1310, travelling at an average of 11 miles or 17 kilometres a day; clearly the party's size dragged on its speed. Horseback parties riding through the Alps similarly recorded low speeds, one of 24 kilometres, another of 32 kilometres a day.⁷¹

Turning to the transport of goods, the rate varied between 30 and 40 kilometres per day. Even on the Simplon pass in the Alps, the stages for pack animals were a little over 30 kilometres apart.⁷² These rates agree well with the average of 32 kilometres per day over the Asian steppe implied by Pegolotti's figures. In Europe time must have been saved by staying at inns rather than camping out at night.

In Asia Minor and Armenia, the goods had to be unloaded and loaded on the animals each night, the drivers had to spread and roll up bedding or robes, the animals and drivers had to be co-ordinated; a lower daily speed than in the Asian steppe, and even lower than in Europe, can be expected. Morier, returning from Tabriz along the Pegolotti itinerary in the early nineteenth century, was told that caravans travelled for only 4 hours a day, and that in 8 days a caravan would cover 100 miles (160 kilometres) or so. This would imply a rate of 20 kilometres per day.⁷³ For our itinerary perhaps 20–25 kilometres a day, with oxen perhaps going at the same speed, would be the most reasonable estimate of the average rate of progress.

After arriving at a reasonable notion of the average distance of the daily stage on the Tabriz route, we are in a position to look at the problems of identification of the toll stations.

5. Problems and methods of identifying the route

Essentially Pegolotti's itinerary provides us with a series of Il-Khanid toll stations. Our object here is simply to identify the toll stations, bringing to bear all possible lines of argument (from toponymy, from topography, from archaeology, and from the history of local settlements as commercial centres, etc.). This allows us to fix the line of the route and to determine its purpose and manner of operation.

One of the worst difficulties is the absence from Pegolotti's account of distances between the toll stations. The latter, moreover, although likely in general to be stopping-places, are not presented as regular day stages. When we finally locate them all, we discover that over the last eight or nine they are in fact at intervals of a day's travel. But this circumstance has to be established by locating the stations rather than being deducible from the text itself. Elsewhere, moreover, the intervals are greater, and not regular or predictable. Their frequency and regularity appear to have to do, in some measure, with the ease of maintaining toll stations, but in larger part with two principal considerations. First of all, toll stations were sited where traffic crossed the track or joined it from other routes. Secondly, they were sited according to the need for supervision by officers of the Il-Khanid administration. We shall work out these points as we identify the toll stations one after the other, and at the end in our conclusions.

The second pre-eminent difficulty in the identification of places is the dreadfully deformed state in which the names appear in the Pegolotti manual. We argue that the itinerary is a document written on the basis of returning merchants' memories, regardless of whether the writing of the document was carried out by one of the returning merchants themselves or by a merchant or official, possibly even Pegolotti himself, in Ayas or Famagusta.⁷⁴ It might appear that we have to do with a received pronunciation on Italian lips. If that were so a number of processes (the initial hearing, transmission by word of mouth, initial transcription, with, perhaps, effects on the aural perception) would have to be gone through before the received pronunciation could be crystallised. Memory could distort the sounds that the informant had originally perceived (accurately or not), but the original perception of the various sounds composing a name was probably inaccurate too. The likely existence of local dialects further increases the difficulty of identifying Pegolotti's toponyms with already known place-names. But it is not clear that we have to do, in each case, with the received pronunciation or received spelling of the place-names. We shall assemble the evidence that the distortion of names in Pegolotti's text goes several degrees further than that embodied in the received pronunciation.

One of our sources of information will be the two ancient itineraries, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Peutinger Table) and the *Itinerarium Antoninum* (Antonine Itinerary). Despite the long distance in time from Pegolotti, these itineraries are the only systematic tracing of a road network embracing the whole of the region traversed by the *Pratica's* route. In general we shall use the two itineraries' routes to help with the identification of places and precise lines of movement along the route of the Pegolotti manual. This is particularly helpful when the ancient itineraries' routes were Roman roads with a built component – central spines and kerbs either side – which may have been in place, whether in part or in whole, in Pegolotti's time.

The relevance of the ancient itineraries is not confined to a mere consultation of their place-names, distances and roads or tracks in order to fix certain names in Pegolotti's itinerary. Sometimes the place-names and routes in the ancient itineraries themselves have not been identified. In these cases Pegolotti's itinerary stimulates us to solve certain conundrums in the ancient itineraries; from the fixing of elements in the ancient itineraries we can then work forward to problems in Pegolotti's route. Sometimes, however, the roles are completely reversed. Fixing Pegolotti's route lays the foundation for placing certain stations in the two itineraries and fixing certain sections of their routes. Sometimes it is even the case that unsolved problems in Pegolotti on the one hand, and in the ancient itineraries on the other, coincide geographically. This means that one cannot argue from the first to a solution in the second unless one also argues from the second (where initially the problem is unsolved) to a

solution in the first. The resulting double solution is somewhat analogous to a simultaneous equation, in which the one solution cannot proceed without the other, and vice versa.

Of the two ancient itineraries, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*TabPeut*, TP) is, in appearance at least, a map of the road network within and beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. According to one estimate, it was perhaps first compiled in the early third century AD and revised at the end of the fourth or in the early years of the fifth century.⁷⁵ Another estimate would put the date of first compilation at the end of the third century AD.⁷⁶ Between its first compilation and the unique copy that we now possess, the map was evidently copied a number of times; the present copy has been dated to around AD 1200 on the basis of a detailed palaeographic analysis of its names.⁷⁷ The first known mention of the map is dated to the early sixteenth century.⁷⁸

Each route connecting one node with another is divided into stages, with distances marked; the settlements which divide one stage from another appear genuinely to be stopping-places for travellers.⁷⁹ But apart from the few places with special symbols marked, the map itself does not inform us about their size or function (village, fort, town, city, etc.). The relation to Ptolemy's list of "cities" (*poleis*) in his *Geography*, compiled about half a century earlier, is clear,⁸⁰ but this merely tells us that Ptolemy's "cities" are in reality settlements of all types. The distances in the *Tabula* would appear to have been measured on the ground in the first place.⁸¹

The whole map is heavily compressed in a vertical direction. It has been collapsed, somewhat in the manner of an ironing board. North–south distances are drastically reduced in relation to east–west distances, and the orientations of the roads are correspondingly distorted.⁸² This is probably in the interest of reducing it to a single parchment sheet which could be unrolled on one side while it was rolled up on the other, thus allowing the user to examine given regions of the empire and elsewhere.⁸³

The *Itinerarium Antoninum* (IA, *ItAnt*) is not a map but a whole series of itineraries, equally with stations and distances marked. The itineraries are arranged according to province; within each province they intersect, and over given stretches sometimes coincide. The object of the *Itinerarium* is clearly to aid travellers, particularly in the army and administration. It is very probably based on a map or at least a series of maps, otherwise the selection of individual itineraries and the enumeration of stations along them would scarcely be possible. The map in question is unlikely to be the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, since various of the *Tabula*'s roads are missing from the *Itinerarium*, but at some remove there must be some relation between the two.⁸⁴ The *Itinerarium*'s routes seem to be confined to those areas where paved roads had been built, whereas the *Tabula* extends beyond them (and, even further, beyond the empire's boundaries). This is of relevance to our study, since the IA has nothing to say about roads east of Satala (which is on the line Erzincan–Trebizond). The first complete compilation of the IA appears to have taken place towards the end of the third century AD, but the document contains itineraries valid no later than the first years of the second century.⁸⁵ In any case the manuscripts are much earlier than the single surviving copy of the *Tabula*: the best manuscripts date from the seventh to the twelfth centuries AD.⁸⁶

The principles of scholarly argument applied in matching the two ancient itineraries with observed road traces on the ground, or otherwise fixing the alignment of the itineraries' roads, seem to amount to the following. In the first place it is accepted that the *Itinerarium* is generally less corrupt than the *Tabula*, since the manuscripts are much older (seventh to twelfth centuries as opposed to late twelfth or early thirteenth century). It is accepted on the one hand that the TP's stations are closely related to Ptolemy's πόλεις (cities) but, on the other hand, that this does not mean it is more authoritative than the IA; the IA seems

generally more trustworthy.⁸⁷ What it does mean is that Ptolemy's πόλεις are often settlements of small or medium size represented in the itineraries as stations. The reasons for the choice of a given settlement as a station on the TP would include proximity to a military post of some sort or being of a size adequate for the provision of facilities for travellers. The TP itself occasionally indicates size or some particular facility by means of symbols: a double tower, for example, seems to mean a walled settlement of some importance, normally at a junction of roads.⁸⁸

The problems in identifying places in the ancient itineraries are analogous to those in Pegolotti's. The transition from a name in a local language, possibly in dialect form, to a Latin name in one of the documents clearly gives wide scope for error.⁸⁹ Corruption occurs partly by spelling and other optical errors, partly because the Latin dialect, or at least pronunciation, of the medieval scribes is at several removes from that of the original compilers.⁹⁰ The mileages in both documents are notoriously unreliable.⁹¹

In ideal circumstances, when road traces on the ground have been followed and it is known which road section on the IA or TP, or both, represents that road, the identification of the stations is relatively easy. The observed sites along the road, including bridges, causeways and paved fords, are collected and written down in sequence, displaying also the distance along the ground between each pair of sites. The stations on the relevant itineraries in the TP and IA are then written down in parallel, again with the distances. In these ideal circumstances, it is not normally difficult then to match sites on the ground with names on the itinerary, using the distances as guide. Clearly the nature of the site on the ground (fort, town site, village site) plays a role, as do correspondences of place-names and information about given settlements, forts, bridges, etc. known from other texts.⁹² If the distances do not correspond, experiments can be made with substitutions, provided that a recognised category of corruption is appealed to: for example, XII might have been put for VII.⁹³ The distance on the itinerary can be changed, and if a convincing match of site with place-name results, the corruption of the distance can be accepted.

The ideal circumstances, however, practically never obtain. Given a stretch of road on one of the itineraries, it may be easy to establish the stations along it (leaving aside any problems of corruption) if the given stretch of road is represented only once in only one of the ancient itineraries. But if on the one section of road there is overlap between the two documents or between different parts of the IA (this will be explained later), then the names themselves have to be collated, and any differences and the possible crowding of names on one stretch, or paucity of names on another, explained. Even more severe is the case where traces of a Roman road on the ground exist, but we do not know which section of the TP or IA denotes it. Finally, place-names may move on the ground, generally in connection with fragmenting or migrating settlements, and we are often faced with the ferocious difficulties of phonetic change of place-names over time. These acute difficulties can never be divorced from that of the corruption of place-names.

A point which perhaps is not always explicitly acknowledged as a factor, limiting or helpful, in the identification of the itineraries' roads is the following. It is easy to accept that on a given road there may be less than complete correspondence between the IA's stations and the TP's. This would mean simply that, even if the two are based ultimately on the same map, they make, to some extent, a different selection of stations. In practice, the number of stations not corresponding to equivalents on the other itinerary would tend to be small. Moreover it is natural, when the distances between a pair of stations on the IA is short, that the TP should overleap the second and choose either the following on the IA or else another, not on the IA, which lies at a more practical distance. In fact this appears to solve the problems presented by

the short distances on either map: each selects from a pool of possible stations, and if the IA chooses two which are separated by only 5 Roman miles, this would not mean that travellers actually contented themselves with a stage of only 5 miles.⁹⁴

But a second point is somewhat more difficult to accept. This is, that the IA, in detailing apparently different routes between two points, may on occasion actually be detailing the same route but with different stations. Conversely there will be occasions when we note two routes in the IA with the same beginning and end points,⁹⁵ and suppose that because some of the intermediate stations are different on the two routes, the two routes themselves are different in the sense that they represent different roads along the ground (these might, however, coincide over short stretches at the beginning and end). In reality the two routes are the same, but with different stations detailed. A further difficulty recognised by researchers is that the IA may present as a single stretch what is in fact presented elsewhere on the document as two different stretches: this would often mean that two sides of a triangle are presented as one route. Similarly one of the IA's routes may cross another without any acknowledgement from within the document.

The most acute difficulty of all occurs when a Roman road is known from traces on the ground but we are unable, at first sight, to find the relevant sections of the IA or TP. The correct method here is to rely on the principles already outlined, though in the form of a hypothesis. We can start with a single correspondence, or even possible correspondence, between a name and a site, and then look for others: if valid matches result between names and sites and between distances, then the hypothesis can be accepted. If not, a different hypothesis has to be set up and articulated. The mistake to avoid is that of insisting on a hypothesis which finds no support in place-names, settlements and distances.⁹⁶

Historians have accepted the principle that, failing inscriptional evidence, the identification of one of the stations with a given geographical location is validated ultimately only by finding an ancient site which answers to all the geographical clues available in the itineraries and possibly other sources. The discovery by Goodchild referred to here (p 21, n 81) that distances on the TP correspond to those on milestones means that in order to investigate the distances on the two documents (whether to validate them or prove them corrupt), one must be dealing with genuine archaeological sites. This in turn means that one should never be content with the identification of a mere geographical locality. Conversely if one is being guided by the distances on the TP or IA in the search for a given station, one should look for a specific archaeological site. Clearly there will be times when we cannot go back to a region and check our identifications, looking for an ancient site in the location we propose, but if we are unable to investigate on the ground then we should at least point to a location specified not only in terms of the requirements of the IA and TP – distances, junctions, etc. – but also in terms of common-sense topographical considerations – the junction of two valleys, the confluence of two rivers, the border of a plain (on grounds of better drainage), etc. This is far preferable to a general indication (“in the region of A”, where A is a modern settlement, or “in the upper valley of the B”, where B is a river).

The issue of the correspondence of names in the itineraries with those on the ground is highly problematic. It is recognised that the names of settlements on the ground can move, generally with the whole or with part of the original settlement, but no general principles have been laid down for the circumstances under which names have moved, how far they go, to what type of settlements they are attached (villages, towns, etc.) and other issues.

Corruption, sometimes severe, in successive copyings of the documents has been recognised as an issue bearing on identification. Scholars in this field have evolved a series of strategies, often without any formal description of the strategy itself or of its rationale,

to deal with names on the documents which fail to fit other evidence. The textual evidence which might point to corruption on one of the documents would include a different form of the same name in a source outside the itineraries (for example, Ptolemy or Pliny or one of the chronicles) or a conflict between the two itineraries as regards a particular name. Corruption, in the sense of a miscopying or series of miscopyings leading to a progressive deformation of the original name, is in need of a typology. A limited set of common miscopyings has been worked out in the works by Rivet and Smith and by Chevallier.⁹⁷ For the rest, we are again left to put forward our own *ad hoc* hypotheses as to the route that a particular name took, via a series of miscopyings, to its present form on the document; and on the other hand, scholars have often posited corruption of a particular name without any proposal as to specific copying mistakes. Besides the mistakes in visual perception involved in scribal miscopying, it is surely right to take account of phonetic change, specifically of the pronunciation of colloquial Latin or Italian reigning at the time and place when a given copy was made, in the sense relevant to the palaeographic issues. Apart from miscopying of a given name on either document, the phenomenon has been recognised of intrusion within one of the TP's routes of names from another, whether by mistaken replacement or by insertion into the sequence.

But the problem of onomastic change is not confined to the field of palaeography; it arises just as acutely in that of phonetics. It is an issue not just in the written transmission of manuscript names, by reference to established criteria for the judgement of a given mistake's probability or improbability, but also in the oral transmission of spoken names, where acknowledged linguistic principles are applied to the evaluation of those phonetic changes proposed to explain given differences between the form attested in the manuscript of the TP or IA and the modern form of the name.

Often scholars have been content to take the form attested on the TP or IA and look for a name on the ground or on the map which might in some sense match it. (If the same station appears on both the TP and IA, we have two forms with which to match the modern name; this gives us a wider range of putative phonetic changes to be invoked in the given identification. It also gives us further clues for the hypothesising of stages in the progressive corruption of names in the two documents.) Scholars have sometimes argued from an intuitively observed similarity. Not merely is the rigorous application of phonetic principles required: the forms of a given name at different points in history, and the problems of following the changes between these forms, have to be separated from one another.

The form which is generally left out of account is the name current on the ground at the time of assembly of the material from which the two documents were eventually compiled. In reality there was no one form current on the ground in this period, but more a spectrum of forms valid in different dialects and different pronunciations within those dialects. If the TP was first compiled in the early third century AD, the period of assembly could be argued to be the late second and early third century, but in fact it could extend well back in time, particularly given the correspondence with Ptolemy and the circumstance that some of the material in the IA is valid no later than the first years of the second century. For the IA, the relevant period evidently starts in the early second century and even earlier, but could extend up to the mid- and late third century. Further material for the TP would have been collected for the late fourth- or early fifth-century revision.

The second form to be examined is that which appears in one or other of the documents. Again the phonetic question is not confined to the actual form attested, but extends to the form which might hypothetically have been written when the documents were first drawn up. The phonetic issue is then the possible pronunciation of the place-name as spoken to the

relevant official of the Roman administration, its perception and possible oral transmission to other officials, and the manner in which the Greek or Roman alphabet was deployed to capture the perceived sounds.

The third relevant form is that found on the ground today, or at least within the last two centuries. The ideal way of learning this is to have been to the relevant locality and heard the name pronounced there. Even so, the name itself is again a spectrum of different pronunciations, products of different dialects, etc.; the issue then arises of the perception, correct or otherwise, of the researcher, who may not know the relevant modern languages. This apart, we are often reliant on modern maps, compiled mostly from the 1880s to the 1950s. Leaving aside the problems raised by the dependence of one map on another, the precise spelling to be found on different modern maps is itself the result of attempts to represent local pronunciation in a given alphabet – English, German or, especially, Turkish. We are lucky enough to have names from the late medieval period, and especially the Ottoman period, which help in the phonetic interpretation of the names on modern maps and in the speculative reconstruction of the process of change from the name's early form (first to fifth centuries AD) on the ground to its present form as pronounced on the ground.

The phonetic issue to be addressed in connection with the modern form of the name is how the name current on the ground at the relevant point of time during the process of gathering material for the maps (anywhere from the first century to the early fifth century AD) was metamorphosed into the modern name as apprehended from local pronunciation and from maps. And it is this metamorphosis which has received the least attention in the attempts of historians and archaeologists to recruit onomastic resemblance to the cause of onomastic identification. However, without an account of the metamorphosis of a settlement name over the many centuries from the Roman and Late Roman period to the nineteenth or twentieth century, no onomastic argument as to the identification of a given name in one of the itineraries with a modern name is complete. Over such a long period, it seems reasonable to examine consonants only; over two millennia, vowels are distinctly vulnerable.

This leaves the question of the mileages marked in both the TP and the IA. These are notoriously unreliable, as remarked here, and are the last criterion to be resorted to. Nevertheless a more developed typology of miscopying would help in their study; in other words, the frequency with which given miscopyings take place deserves greater attention. On the other hand the distances given in both documents (as we have them) are at least some indication of the distances as marked on the original documents; those distances are some help in the identification of given places.

Finally, leaving aside the ancient itineraries, our knowledge of the routes followed in the region of Sivas, Erzincan and further east during the first three centuries (broadly the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth) of Ottoman rule in that region helps to underpin the identification of certain stations in Pegolotti's route. Even here, however, the routes of the Ottoman period known from literary sources have not all been located on the map. We shall work out these routes in Appendix I and refer to them in the main text as occasion requires.

Notes

- 1 On the building of the chapel and its date, Goffen 1988: 51–57. On the date of Giotto's work, and the possibility that that it may have been done during the years 1320–26, *ibid*: 57–59; on the character of Giotto's paintings, *ibid*: 59–77 and figs 48–54, 59–61.
- 2 On the city's institutions, pp 7–9; on the Bardi bank, pp 57–58.
- 3 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xxii, 59–60; cf Hellenkemper 1976: 158; Mutaftian 1988: 447. Pp 8, 9.
- 4 See the discussion on pp 72–73.

- 5 Aleppo remained quiet and inactive, an underinhabited and partly ruined shell, until the late fourteenth century. The citadel was repaired only in 1292, the city walls in 1390. See Sauvaget 1941: 159–61, 166, 167–68; pp 118–19, 125. Baghdad, by contrast, revived under Il-Khanid administration: see pp 99–100.
- 6 Mutaftian 1988: 446–47, stating as cause the capture of Antioch by the Mamluks in 1267; but Ayas had already started its activity as a port by this stage, and Antioch's capture by the Mamluks was in commercial terms merely an afterthought to the devastation of Aleppo. Mutaftian also attributes the lack of popularity with Frankish merchants of Levantine ports such as Acre and Tripoli to Ayas's success, but their lack of popularity was in fact caused by the destruction of Aleppo as a trading centre.
- 7 On 1255 and 1259, pp 71, 92–94. Otherwise Alishan 1893: 7–10; Alichan 1899: 429–30; cf Hellenkemper 1976: 155.
- 8 The track past Geben, which formed part of Pegolotti's route, was already in commercial use by 1201 (pp 172, 175–76). Marco Polo's description suggests that he kept west of the Anti-Taurus – staying in the territory of the [Seljuk] sultan of Rum – before turning east through the cities of Erzincan and Erzurum in Greater Armenia. See Mutaftian 1988: 1.446.
- 9 Pp 69, 80.
- 10 On these roads, pp 53–54, 216, 222–23.
- 11 P 171.
- 12 Ashtor 1983: 57; p 184.
- 13 Ashtor 1983: 57–60; pp 276–77.
- 14 Ashtor 1983: 17–44. Ayas did benefit, along with Cyprus, as a guiltless intermediary in commercial dealings with Syria (Ashtor 43–44).
- 15 Ashtor 1983: 59, 60–62.
- 16 Ashtor 1983: 66–68.
- 17 Colophons, fourteenth century, no 363, pp 295–96, and for other sources, Mutaftian 1988: 1.471. See also Alichan 1899: 469; Hellenkemper 1976: 159. Note the temporary capture by the Armenian kingdom in 1347 (Mutaftian 1988: 1.471; Hellenkemper 1976: 159) and another in 1367 (Hellenkemper: 159–60).
- 18 Ashtor 1983: 66–68.
- 19 Pp 108–9, 114, 130.
- 20 Pegolotti, ed Evans: ix–xi.
- 21 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xlix–l. Note that the text of the *Pratica* was first published in a compilation by Pagnini (1765–66) (ibid: ix) and that it was originally not even called *La pratica della mercatura*, the name by which it is conventionally known in modern scholarly literature.
- 22 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xvii. Evans presents it as certain that Pegolotti was at work in the Bardi house before 1310.
- 23 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xvii–xx.
- 24 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xx, 84. In 1329, in Cyprus, Pegolotti and another credited to the account of the Papal Curia in the Bardi company the sum of 4,000 gold florins, which subsequently was paid into the Curia's account in Avignon.
- 25 Becker 1967: 74–80. On the Priorate and the requirements for membership therein, including membership of a guild (among them the banking guild), ibid: 17–18; Dameron 2005: 16.
- 26 Becker 1967: 80, 84, 85–86.
- 27 Becker 1967: 89, 92–125. On the Bardi, 96–97. On the Council of the Commune, 112, 119–20, and on the council's function, 115. See also Najemy 1982: 102–20.
- 28 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xxi–xxii.
- 29 Langlois 1863: no XLI, p 195: January 1335. But Pegolotti, ed Evans: xxii, 60, suggests January 1336.
- 30 Saporì 1926: 52–62, 65, 67.
- 31 Saporì 1926: 107–15; Becker 1967: 125–27; Brucker 1962: 4, 16–17.
- 32 Saporì 1926: 117, 128–29; Becker 1967: 96, 97. The motive proposed is that the Bardi aimed at extricating the state from expensive wars with other Tuscan cities by overturning the Guelf alliance.
- 33 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xxii–iii.
- 34 Becker 1967: 129–30; 145–47. On the creditors' claims, Saporì 1926: 141–42.
- 35 Saporì 1926: 140–46, 151, 154; Becker 1967: 147–64. On the coup, Saporì 1926: 151; Becker 1967: 157, 171–72.

- 36 Becker 1967: 154–57.
- 37 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xxxiii–iv. He was also involved in the bankruptcy proceedings when the Bardi house crashed in 1347.
- 38 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 325, cf xiv.
- 39 P 7.
- 40 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 287–92; Grierson 1957. Grierson seems to base the date of c. 1290 on the circumstance that the picture of the French royal coinage is valid precisely at that date (ibid: 488). Other issues in the list continued until after 1290, for example the *petits gros d'ange* of John I of Brabant. Others were discontinued before 1290, for example the pennies of Henry III of England (till 1279) (ibid: 487–88). On the failure to update after 1300 and up to the inclusion of the Cypriot material, ibid: 490–92.
- 41 Pegolotti, ed Evans: xxxii–iv, 191–93.
- 42 Ibid: xxvii–viii; 251, esp n 2.
- 43 Ibid: xxvi–vii. Evans suggests that 1340 would be the *terminus ante quem*.
- 44 Ibid: xii–xiv, 327.
- 45 Ibid: xiv, 142, esp. n 1.
- 46 Ibid: xiv, 217 and nn 1, 2.
- 47 Ibid: xx, 84.
- 48 Ibid: xx–xxi, 77–89, also 317, 363.
- 49 See pp 84–85.
- 50 See further pp 178–80.
- 51 P 72.
- 52 Pp 84–85.
- 53 Essentially our Appendix II. For the criteria of inclusion, p 330.
- 54 Bratianu 1929: Appendices 17, 19; Paviot 1997: 73–74, 80–81. On the regulation of caravans by the authorities in Genoa, Paviot 1997: 74.
- 55 Jacoby 2014: 267.
- 56 Paviot 1997: 75.
- 57 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 239.
- 58 Barbaro: 84.
- 59 Cahen 1968: 47; p 49.
- 60 Ed Evans: 29.
- 61 Balard 1985: 257–58.
- 62 Otten-Froux 1988: 163, 164–65.
- 63 For further evidence and discussion: pp 73, 82, 93–95.
- 64 Harley, Woodford (eds) 1987: 371–463. See also the examples in Gatani (ed) 2015: 64–67, 71, 75–79.
- 65 Ibid: 416–17, 429, 454; Gatani (ed) 2015: 82–83.
- 66 Gatani (ed) 2015: 84–88.
- 67 Ibid: 90–91, 96–97.
- 68 The conclusion of Delano-Smith (2006: 16).
- 69 Spufford 2002: 55–56. The Gough Map, c. 1360, and the slightly earlier Italian one are in effect itineraries. See also Delano-Smith 2006: 34–51, 46–49.
- 70 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 21; discussed by Bautier (1970: 287).
- 71 Mazzi 2016: 104, 105; *New Cambridge Medieval History*: V.55–56.
- 72 Spufford 2002: 200.
- 73 Morier 1812: 305.
- 74 Pp 12, 13.
- 75 For a reproduction, Levi 1978. For the date, Chevallier 1989: 32–34; Rivet, Smith 1979: 149.
- 76 Talbert 2010: 134–36, 144–46, 149–50, 152–53. Talbert argues that the elongated map, with Rome at its centre, was created for the apse behind the throne in an imperial palace; this would fit with the ceremonial style of the Tetrarchy, when the empire was first divided into two, but with two emperors ruling each of the two halves. Talbert agrees with the fourth- or early fifth-century revision (pp 124–25).
- 77 Talbert 2010: 76–84, esp 83–84.
- 78 It was bequeathed to Konrad Peutinger, the municipal secretary of Augsburg in southern Germany, in January 1508: see Talbert 2010: 10–12 and *passim* for many references.

- 79 On the character of the *Tabula*'s itineraries, Levi 1967: 25–28; Chevallier 1989: 29.
- 80 Ramsay 1890: 63, 64–66, but emphasising that despite the general correspondence one cannot rely on it in individual cases. Ibid: 68–72 on Ptolemy's sources.
- 81 Goodchild (1949) showed that the distances on the TP's coast road in Phoenicia correspond to those on milestones, which is an improvement on a correspondence merely between distances along the road or track and those in the TP.
- 82 On this distortion, Levi 1967: 213–25; Talbert 2010: 86–95.
- 83 But for the opinion that the map was designed first and foremost for purposes of display and for a show of imperial power, Talbert in n 76.
- 84 The document's purpose, content and sources are discussed by Rivet, Smith 1979: 151–53; Chevallier 1989: 34–37; see also Levi 1967: 29–30. Van Berchem's theory that the IA displays the *mansiones* at which the *annona* or tithe would be collected seems to make a needless assumption of specialised use.
- 85 Rivet, Smith 1979: 151–53 (esp on dates of information); Chevallier 1989: 34.
- 86 Rivet, Smith 1979: 154.
- 87 Ramsay 1890: 62–63, 67.
- 88 Chevallier 1989: 32–33; Talbert 2010: 118–22; see pp 213, 258–59. Talbert (2010: 109–10, 112–14, cf 139–40) suggests a more lax set of criteria for the choice of stations to be included on the TP. He accepts that some roads are based on lists of stations and mileages such as those contained in the IA, but argues that in other cases the compiler had to research the names and distances. But Talbert then states that the stations included between the more important settlements chosen as map anchors were just “filler” (pp 110, 112–14). Where we have other itineraries, those in the IA, the early fourth-century *Itinerarium Burdugaleisium* and the seventh-century *Ravenna Anonymous*, there is a reasonable correspondence. The sequences from the TP, IA and the *Burdugaleisium* printed side by side in Talbert 2010: 158–61 show exactly that; for the *Ravenna Anonymous*, Schnetz 1990. The type of identifications which we carry out would be impossible if the TP's names and distances were not based on other lists or maps, themselves ultimately derived from observation on the ground.
- 89 As well as raising the question by what criteria one would decide which form is correct in any case. Rivet, Smith 1979: 32–34 discuss the problems involved in trying to decide the correct form of a place-name in the local language; in the context of their subject, Roman Britain, these problems centre on the assimilation of Celtic place-names to the local dialect of Latin.
- 90 Discussed Rivet, Smith 1979: 30–31; Talbert 2010: 125–29.
- 91 See esp Chevallier 1989: 29.
- 92 For all these matters, French 1981: 23–32, 36–41, 101–23.
- 93 Such a case is postulated by French (1981: 29).
- 94 For further difficulties in this connection, Talbert 2010: 129–31.
- 95 One of these points may be an intermediate station on a sequence presented by the IA as a route, but this does not affect the principle for which we are arguing here.
- 96 For an example, pp 219–20.
- 97 Rivet, Smith 1979: 30–34; Chevallier 1989: 29.

2 The commercial background

This chapter takes the form of an essay on the web of routes between Europe, the Middle East (defined in a broad sense) and the Far East, and on the economic factors which shaped these routes, not only during the period of the Pegolotti route (1250s–1337) but also in the period before (1100–1250s) and in that to the end of the Middle Ages (1337–1500). Our purpose in examining the period preceding and the period following that of the Pegolotti route is to show the significance of the Pegolotti route in relation to the other periods. The arbitrariness of both the beginning date (1100) and the end date (1500) is beyond dispute, but this choice of periods produces conclusions which match our purpose: the figuring of the Pegolotti route within the scheme of its contemporaries and within the frame of changes in economic relationships over time. For purposes of analysis of the European economy the date of 1500 is taken as the end of the Middle Ages by many historians. 1100 would not be taken as the beginning of a broad phase of economic history in Europe, but is chosen here as a date of some significance for the Middle East, including Asia Minor. It is roughly from that date that we can speak of a series of Turkish states which together account for most of Asia Minor, Upper Mesopotamia and Syria.

A. Before the Ayas-Tabriz route

1. *The European economy*

Trade and cities. In 1100 an upswing in the European economy has been in progress for perhaps a century, which is to lead to the High Middle Ages (end of the twelfth to early fourteenth century) and which has therefore another two centuries and more to run. Over the period a general increase in production and population took place; such increase seems to have been somewhat slow up to about 1180, but to have proceeded faster thereafter.¹ Within this general increase, however, many relative changes took place. Population growth in the countryside was spurred especially by an agricultural surplus, itself facilitated by changes in technology such as ironworking and the consequent use of metal ploughs and the employment of water and windmills.² Cities and towns grew, and industrial crafts expanded. Goods were more and more traded between cities and regions. Fairs were developed which permitted exchange at intermediate points; among these were the Champagne fairs (at four different towns in the Champagne region southeast of Paris). The European fairs reached their maximum of effectiveness and activity precisely in the mid-1260s.³ Transport was improved: in the period a good road system was developed, including the St. Gothard pass through the Alps.⁴ Thus trade could take place over longer distances and with greater frequency.⁵

It was the upswing in the volume of trade which provided the stimulus for the growth of the cities and the foundation of new towns.⁶ The principal source for the additional population of the cities and towns was the rising rural population, particularly in densely-settled rural areas.⁷ Cities, in the process of enlargement, provided the conditions for the emergence of given trades and the relative guilds.⁸ The period sees, too, the beginnings of the institutions of urban self-government.⁹

Above all, the cities, with their internal institutions and their mechanisms for interregional trade, gave rise to an increase in the number of merchants. Within the cities a demand for luxuries emerged, not only on the part of newly created classes such as the merchants but also on the part of a newly-enriched aristocracy; it is this demand, of course, which principally concerns us in the examination of trade between Europe and the Middle East. In Europe north of the Alps cities grew, by and large, in the context of larger states (for example Paris and London); but in Italy the trading cities which emerged truly defined the states. There came into being the industrial and merchant city-states of Italy, the carriers and financiers of east-west trade.¹⁰

Mining and currency. Around 1160 new silver mines began production. The first to open were in western Germany, in the vicinity of Goslar. In a given region, mines would open one after another. Then a mine would open in a nearby region, thus giving rise to a spread of mining activity in that second region, and so on. Mines closed, of course, but it generally took a century for a given mine to be worked to the point of abandonment.

The spread of silver mining gathered momentum after 1200. The most prolific mines were two in Bohemia (particularly that of Kutná Hora); mines opened in Italy itself.¹¹ Within Europe these new mines led to a change in trade flows: goods were carried to the mining regions, silver to regions in need of coinage or bullion, for whatever reason. These reasons would include transactions within a given region (meaning an increase in the degree of monetisation), financing what was in effect a trade deficit between regions and, a special case, paying for goods being imported from the Middle East by the Italian cities.¹² The new mines did not provoke the general upswing, which had already been under way for a century and a half. But they certainly accommodated it and must have increased its pace. And it would appear fair to argue that the opening of new mines was a response to the general economic upswing. In the end these are intertwined phenomena; it is difficult to insist that one is exclusively a cause and another exclusively an effect.

Silver, in the form both of coin and of bullion, was exported to the Aegean and Middle East essentially to pay for an imbalance of trade between those regions and western Europe. The Italian cities, particularly Venice and Genoa, were middlemen in several senses. It was to their ports that luxury goods from the Aegean and Middle East were brought, and then re-exported to the remainder of urban Europe. But silver crossing the Alps, particularly from the eastern Alps and England, accumulated in the Italian cities and was then re-exported to the Eastern Mediterranean. There was, however, a special reason for the volume of silver carried eastwards in the ships of the Italian republics. This was the absence of silver in Muslim Asia Minor and the Muslim Middle East from the early eleventh century to the second third of the twelfth century. Silver, introduced from Europe, formed the raw material of new silver currencies in those regions from the late twelfth century, although, as we shall see, the initial creation of the silver currency seems eventually to have provoked the mining of local silver deposits.¹³

The effect of trade on three of the principal cities. It is highly instructive to watch the physical expansion and other changes to the built form of European cities under the influence of

an increased volume of trade, particularly with the East. We shall look at the three Italian cities most concerned.

In the year 1100, at the beginning of our period, Venice consisted of the Rialto, now in the centre of the lagoon-surrounded city, townships on the islands of Torcello and Murano to the northeast and some occupation on the Giudecca, as it is now called, a long reef to the south.¹⁴ After 1100 the city received a powerful impact from its success in trading with the east and with Europe beyond the Alps.

Present-day Venice, now much more extensive than in 1100, can be considered as a conglomeration of building masses, separated by canals, on land which has gradually been reclaimed from marshy islands; the whole continuum of housing, churches, canals, etc. is bisected by the Grand Canal, which describes a back-to-front S-shape starting at the city's northwest boundary, continuing in an eastwards direction, turning south and then bending round to the east again and ending in the grand basin overlooked from the north by the Ducal Palace: behind the latter stood the cathedral of San Marco behind and in front of the palace extended the quayside. The Rialto occupies what is now the inner side of the first bend (east to south).

The Rialto, with the quickening of trade, gradually filled up with shops, a process which was greatly facilitated by the donation to the Republic of certain land by two citizens in 1097.¹⁵ At the edge of the market area were churches and government offices concerned with trade.¹⁶ On the far bank of the canal, and connected to the Rialto by the canal's only bridge, was founded the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (the "Caravansaray of the Germans"), a building where German merchants were obliged to do business and to store goods. It was constructed, probably on five storeys, round a courtyard, and contained shops, storerooms, lodging for merchants in transit and meeting rooms.¹⁷

To support her commercial and military effort, the Republic of Venice established in 1104 the 'Arsenale', in reality a dockyard for the construction and repair of ships. This initially was built on two islets well to the east of the central area, in other words east of the area around the Rialto and the church of San Marco on the lower reach of the Grand Canal. The Arsenale thus lay on the city's boundary facing northeast into the lagoon. It naturally attracted to its vicinity a crowd of private workshops providing a whole series of subsidiary services and products.¹⁸ The Arsenale was increasingly active in the early thirteenth century.¹⁹ Elsewhere, private shipbuilding yards and warehouses were constructed, scattered among other buildings.²⁰

Constitutional changes which brought into being a large council, the *Maggior Consiglio*, as the Republic's executive and legislative body, made the construction of a new Ducal Palace essential. This was carried out under Sebastiano Ziani (*doge* – president – from 1172 to 1178). The previous palace here, overlooking the Grand Canal from the north, seems to have been more in the nature of a fortress. Now it became a courtyard palace with a southerly wing, looking out over the water, containing the chambers for the *Consiglio's* debates, a westerly wing accommodating a Palace of Justice and an easterly wing for the *doge's* apartments and other offices. Against the palace's west wing stretched the so-called *Piazzetta*, a square whose underlying soil had to be reclaimed from marshland. The Cathedral of San Marco, finished around 1060, stood immediately behind (north) of the new palace. Under Ziani, the square, the *Piazza*, which stretched from the cathedral's west face was extended; it communicated with the *Piazzetta* in such a way as to form an L-shape.²¹

In Genoa, the city's general expansion in the twelfth century is marked especially by the construction of a new city wall on a much wider perimeter. The twelfth century opens with a small walled area adjoining the quays on a stretch of coast which here progresses northwards

but then curves round towards the west. To the south is a hill on which stands the town's small citadel, the 'Castello'. Outside the walls, to north and northeast, lie small communities, each dependent on a church or churches. Following the coast as it slowly curves towards the west, a small settlement, the Burgus (lit. 'town', but in reality a compact exurb) lies outside the walls; in this direction, too, stand several isolated churches.²²

The new wall's construction took place over the years 1155–60. It is well known that the immediate motive was the threat from the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa; nevertheless, it is no coincidence that in 1155 the city's trade was finally directed towards the Byzantine empire, with a treaty negotiated, though not formally granted, in that year. With the new wall the defended area expanded to the north and northeast. The Burgus now lay within the wall. To the northeast the wall climbed over a spur of the mountains, and on this spur was built a new citadel, the 'casteletum'. By virtue of its position, commanding but less accessible, and of its greater size, the new citadel was more convincing and powerful as an anchor and as a guarantee of the city's security.²³ From the mid-twelfth century, population drifted into the city from the region's smaller settlements.²⁴ Along the harbour front was built the portico, a continuous shelter in front of a line of shops looking out over the quay platform and the sea. Two markets were founded behind the portico, among the narrow streets of the original walled city, and a further one on the low promontory which limited the line of quays to the southeast.

During the twelfth century generally and in the first half of the thirteenth, new monasteries and churches were put up. In the foundation of monasteries, the hand of the mendicant orders (Franciscan, Dominican, etc.) is evident, and the foundations begin in the 1220s. The monastery of San Francesco di Castelletto was constructed between 1226 and 1250; it was situated just beneath the new citadel. The Franciscan convent of Santa Maria del Guastata, just outside and to the north of the walls of 1155–60, was founded in 1228. Santa Caterina was founded in 1228 just inside the new walls, to the east. San Germano dei Umiliati (of the order of the Humiliati) was built in 1234 just outside a gate in the city wall on the east side. It can be seen that the monasteries were built in positions which were peripheral in relation to the walled area, either just inside the wall or just outside it. Besides monasteries, hospitals were founded, and here we can see the influence of the Crusades. One, founded in 1180, was that of San Giovanni di Pré, or Santo Sepolcro (the Holy Sepulchre). It was built some way outside the city walls to the north, near the coast. The hospital of Santa Croce (the Holy Cross) stood next to the church on the old citadel mound, the Castello: it is first referred to in 1192.

The cathedral church of San Lorenzo in the heart of the old walled city underwent a rebuilding from the early twelfth century onwards. The city's grand, powerful families built their own houses and private chapels in their urban bases, the small pockets of the thickly populated walled area which the respective families controlled. From the start these pockets of housing, squares etc. congregated immediately behind the portico servicing the quays. The example of the church of San Matteo (1125) near the cathedral of San Lorenzo is perhaps well-known; the square was the centre of the Doria family's power base. Equally, the church of San Luca was founded by the Spinola family in 1188. Only one church foundation outside the walled area seems to be known: San Giacomo in the village of Carignano, 600 metres southeast of the city walls. The focus of the city as a whole remained the line of quays in front of the city.²⁵

The city of Florence in the year 1100 was confined to the rectangle left by the settlement of the Roman period. This walled rectangle lay east–west on the north side of the river Arno; the original line of the city's walls never touched the riverbank, in part because the river, flowing from the east, veers somewhat to the north, at odds with the city's orientation. Of

the city's churches, those among the densely built streets of the rectangular settlement were small and served parishes. But in 1100 there were also two churches which stood just outside the line of the north city wall. One was the city's baptistery, whose construction was already in progress by 1100 and whose basic structure was to be completed in 1128. The other was a small Early Christian church, Santa Reparata, later to be replaced by the Duomo or cathedral. A short way outside the wall, near its northwest corner, stood a church, that of Santa Maria Novella.²⁶

In the second half of the twelfth century, Florence's cloth industry developed; cloth was imported from Flanders and northern France and was dyed, cut and sewn here, again being sold in distant destinations as well as to local customers. Activity in the field of banking also started.²⁷ The city's expansion now began. Villages sprang up on the roads leading northwards and, south of the river, on those leading to Pisa, Siena and Rome (respectively to the west, southwest and, by one route at least, south of Florence).²⁸ To accommodate the northerly villages, and trade in general, the city wall was extended on that side, but not south of the river, in the years 1173–75.²⁹ New bridges were built over the years 1220–1252: previously there had been only one.³⁰ A new wave of church construction was set in motion, under the influence of the mendicant orders. A small Franciscan church was built at what was later to be Santa Croce, well outside the walls to the east; Santa Maria Novella was adopted by the Dominicans, and a new church was started in 1246.³¹

2. *The Aegean and Asia Minor*

The political situation in the twelfth century. The Byzantine empire controlled the whole Asia Minor shore of the Aegean, present-day Greece including Thrace (the Aegean's north shore) and the south shore of the Black Sea. Despite Byzantium's control over the whole Aegean basin, Asia Minor and the Middle East were essentially under the rule of Turkish dynasties, whose states covered these regions in a changing mosaic. In Asia Minor, only the coastal regions, defined and cut off by parallel mountain ranges, were held by the Byzantines.³² In the interior of Asia Minor, the principal state was that of the Seljuks of Rum, who were initially confined to the southern half of the Anatolian plateau with a capital at Konya.³³ Further east were the Danishmendids, whose control originally extended to Ankara and the north half of the Anatolian plain, but who essentially occupied flat and fertile regions in the plain's northeast corner (cities and dependent districts of Sivas, Tokat and others), parts of the secondary Pontic range further east (centred on the city of Niksar) and, southeast of Sivas, the Malatya plain, part of the Classical Cappadocia, on the river Euphrates.³⁴ Further east were the Mangujakids, essentially on the Upper Euphrates (the plain and city of Erzincan, Kemah further downstream, and Divriği on a tributary).³⁵ Further east, again on the Upper Euphrates, was the small principality of the Saltukids. Its capital was the city of Erzurum, and it occupied a series of plains either traversed by the Upper Euphrates or else connected with the river by tributaries.³⁶ The Seljuks of Rum were to defeat, subordinate and absorb the smaller principalities one by one, the Danishmendids in the 1170s, the Mangujakids progressively from the late twelfth century to 1228 and the Saltukids in a paradoxical process of incorporation, to be mentioned later, which gave the Seljuk state full control in 1230.³⁷ But after this successful expansion the Seljuk army was defeated by a Mongol force, advancing from Mongol-held Iran and Armenia, in 1243, and thereafter the Seljuk sultanate was to be a vassal of the greater Mongol empire.³⁸ In the next period, that of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, it was to be a vassal of the Il-Khanid empire, one of the four empires into which the greater Mongol empire broke up.

South of the Taurus, in Upper Mesopotamia, the land was again parcelled up between small principalities. The most prominent were those of the Artukid family. One branch of the family, at Mardin, controlled at first a sweep of territory extending into the basin of the Euphrates further west. The city in which the other branch resided at first was that of Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf), but in 1183 the Artukids of Hisn Kayfa acquired the important city of Amid (Diyarbakır), always a node of transit routes; essentially this branch of the Artukids controlled the floor of the Upper Tigris basin.³⁹ At Mosul was a different dynasty, that of Zangi, who made efforts to subordinate the Artukids and other Muslim dynasties of Upper Mesopotamia and Syria as well as to evict Crusader forces from certain of the Crusader strongholds.⁴⁰

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Aleppo and northwest Syria were in the hands of the Seljuks of Iran (the latter normally known as the Great Seljuks), but this dynasty was quickly displaced by Zangi (522/1128). Zangi moved against the Artukids of Upper Mesopotamia in efforts to unite the petty political units of the Muslim Middle East against the Crusading kingdom and principalities. But it was essentially Saladin in the 1180s who achieved the task by subordinating the Turkish principalities of Upper Mesopotamia and implanting branches of his own family, the Ayyubids, in certain cities.⁴¹

We shall now attempt to look at the world of the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, a simple picture of whose diverse political entities has just been delineated.

The Aegean and Constantinople. We examine this avenue of trading activity for the sake of completeness and in the cause of understanding an important route, parallel to the Ayas–Tabriz route, in the subsequent period.

Up to the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Aegean Sea and its islands, the territory of present-day Greece (west and north of the Aegean), the shore of Asia Minor opposite (east of the Aegean) and Crete belonged to and were administered by the Byzantine Empire. In this period, the Italian mercantile republics acquired trading rights and maintained commercial compounds in certain cities, particularly Constantinople, but they nowhere acquired sovereign rights over territory, whether by force or by negotiation.

Venice dominated trade in the Aegean and its coasts. In the period, her first treaty with the Byzantine Empire was contracted in 1082. By this time, Venetian merchants were already at work in the region. The charter of 1082, among other things, absolved her merchants from paying the commodity tax (*kommerkion*) and so gave them an immediate advantage over subjects of the empire and over merchants of other Italian cities. The treaty gave Venice a quarter in the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, a city which in a sense anchored the trading relationships which took shape within the whole region. The treaty also gave Venice the right to trade in specified settlements, mostly port cities.⁴² If we look at these settlements, particularly those where a permanent Venetian presence is known, and the sea routes followed by Venetian ships, we can understand why Venice was able to maintain a commercial grip on the whole region which severely limited the penetration by the two other Italian cities in question.

On the east coast of the Peloponnese were two harbours, Corinth and Nauplion, from which the products of the interior, chiefly oil, could be marketed. These ports, particularly Corinth, also functioned as stops on the way from Venice, whether towards Constantinople or towards Crete. Corinth seems to have been a major point of exchange, with a permanent Venetian commercial community.⁴³

Venice became commercially involved with the island of Crete, perhaps in the fourth and fifth decades of the twelfth century. She sought, of course, the island's agricultural produce, but its own produce apart, the island, still under Byzantine administration, became a

crossroads whereby ships carrying imports from Alexandria in Egypt and from the Palestinian ports could stop, or the goods could be transshipped and carried either to Constantinople via ports on the western shore of Asia Minor or else to the Peloponnese and from there to Venice.⁴⁴

Further north from Corinth on the Greek coast, the long island of Euboea (Ital. Negroponte) crawled parallel to the shore, and here, at Chalkis (then 'Euripos'), Venice maintained a post which in the period nevertheless does not seem to have amounted to a community.⁴⁵ Inland from here lay the city of Thebes, an active Byzantine silk manufacturing centre for which Chalkis must have been an important, if not the unique, outlet.⁴⁶ Further up the mainland coast were two towns, Demetrias (near the modern Volos, beneath Mt. Pelion) and Almyros a little to the south. These again were outlets for the grain of the region of Thessaly. But in the period, Almyros played the more important role of transit station and emporium for goods from the Peloponnese and elsewhere, en route variously either to Thessaloniki or directly across the sea to Constantinople. For this reason Almyros seems to have replaced Demetrias during the course of the twelfth century. Almyros was home to a Venetian community with several churches and a monastery.⁴⁷

In the angle of the coast, and sheltered by the three-pronged peninsula of Chalkidiki, lay the city of Thessaloniki, export harbour for so much produce from its flat and extensive hinterland. Thessaloniki also lay on the Via Egnatia, a Roman road which connected the city through the thickness of the Balkan peninsula with the Adriatic coast at Dyrrachion/Durrës. Eastwards the road led near or along the shore through a series of minor cities to the Byzantine capital.⁴⁸

From the Peloponnese to Constantinople, one could travel by sea to Thessaloniki and then, either by land or by sea, to the capital. Yet although journeys to Constantinople via Thessaloniki are known, no Venetian trading community at the latter city is known, and the greater number of merchants probably took a course through the Cyclades, starting from Corinth or Chalkis, across to the Asia Minor coast. Some, as suggested earlier, started eastwards across the Aegean from Almyros. On the coast of Asia Minor, two ports, the substantial city of Smyrna (at the head of a bay) and that of Phokaia (at the tip of a peninsula), received the merchants: the two functioned as alternatives, depending on needs and purposes.⁴⁹ From there towards Constantinople the next stop was Adramyttion/Edremit.⁵⁰

After that, boats entered the Dardanelles. In the city of Abydos, on the south bank of the long strait, lived a Venetian merchant community with its own church.⁵¹ Once in the Sea of Marmara, the most important stop was that of Rhaidestos (Ital. 'Rodosto', now Tekirdağ), which received grain from the interior from as far away as Adrianoupolis/Edirne. In Rhaidestos, Venetian merchants had their own quarter, including a church.⁵² After Rhaidestos, ships reached Constantinople at the mouth of the Bosphorus, where on the south shore of the Golden Horn, Venice was given an *έμβολο* (*embolo*, pron. "emvolo"), a compound with its own churches, other public buildings and *scale* (Ital.)/*σκάλαι*, strips of the shoreline immediately outside the city wall.⁵³

It can be seen that with the privileges granted in 1082 and with investments in buildings at various locations and the establishment and management of various sea routes before and after that date, Venice established a formidable presence in harbours along the two main routes to Constantinople (via Thessaloniki, or from harbours on the Greek coast across the Aegean) and at the same time initiated and increased its trade with Crete as a means of improving commercial links with Alexandria and the Levant coast.⁵⁴

It was this trading environment which the city of Pisa tried to penetrate in the early twelfth century. A treaty was signed with the Byzantine emperor in 1111 which committed Pisan

merchants to paying a 4% commodity tax and gave them trading rights in the Aegean islands and an *embolo* in Constantinople near that of the Venetians.⁵⁵ The Aegean islands were, as it were, a vacuum in Venice's commercial hold over the Aegean. But later, Pisan merchants traded elsewhere, sometimes simply buying property or else forming a viable community, for example in Almyros, where the Pisans, separately from the Venetians, had their own quarter, including churches and a hospital.⁵⁶ Besides Almyros we know of a presence at Thessaloniki and at Adramyttion/Edremit.⁵⁷ But Pisan activity and presence seem highly limited, and the absence of the city's merchants from such centres as Corinth is notable. Pisan efforts at expansion must to an extent have been blocked by the extensive Venetian network and its well-established trading patterns.

In the first half of the twelfth century Genoa had concentrated on its trading activities in the western Mediterranean and the Levant, but in 1154 a conscious change in policy was made and in 1155 an agreement (not a yet a signed treaty) with the Byzantine Empire was concluded. The privileges were the same as those extended to Pisa. The promised commercial compound in Constantinople was handed over only in 1160.⁵⁸ A number of trading establishments are known, similar in number to the Pisans'. Genoese were present in Almyros, and continuous journeys from there to Genoa took place.⁵⁹ Like the Pisans, they had a post in Adramyttion.⁶⁰

Given the Venetian hold on the Aegean and its coasts, it is not surprising to find that Genoese merchants were the only non-Byzantine subjects to trade in the Black Sea during the period. There seems to have been no prohibition on foreigners trading in the Black Sea, much of whose shoreline was still under Byzantine administration.⁶¹ But Venice cannot at this stage have been interested, with such a huge spread of communities and stations already established in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean; if anywhere, its goal was to develop its presence in Crete and so its trade with Egypt and the shore of the Levant.

To understand Genoa's activity in the Black Sea let us look forward in time at the treaty contracted with the Byzantine Emperor in 1169. The treaty explicitly gives Genoese merchants the right to trade anywhere in the empire, with one exception: Genoese ships will not be allowed to trade in the districts of Matracha and Rhosia.⁶² These were both settlements rather than districts. Matracha was then the current name for Tmutorakan', a port on the east side of the strait of Kerch which leads from the north side of the Black Sea into the Sea of Azov. The small Russian principality of Tmutorakan' had been annexed by the empire in the early twelfth century during the reign of Alexios I. Rhosia was a port on the west shore of the Sea of Azov, towards the isthmus of the Crimean peninsula. The prohibition must in practice, therefore, have concerned trade on the east and west shores of the Sea of Azov. The geographical specificity of the prohibition makes it clear that the Genoese had already traded precisely on those shores, starting at some point since 1155.⁶³ The reasons for the prohibition probably stem from Byzantine interests, both commercial and military: the empire wished to control the Sea of Azov, which via the river Don communicated with the Russian principality of Kiev.⁶⁴

To understand those Byzantine interests, we should look at the one text which mentions them explicitly, admittedly a century later than that of the first Genoese activity here and the Byzantine prohibition of 1169. This text is the report by the Franciscan monk William of Rubruck. The background to the whole trading situation is the emergence and subsequent subordination by Byzantium of the small Russian principality of Tmutokoran', whose principal settlement was Matracha. The principality had emerged in the early eleventh century. By this time the mosaic of Russian principalities stretching from the Black Sea up towards the Baltic Sea was controlled from a central principality based at Kiev.⁶⁵ In 1169 Kiev had

been attacked and plundered by the son of the prince of the northerly region of Suzdal, and the power base of the whole coalition of Russian principalities had been moved to Vladimir, capital of Suzdal.⁶⁶ But meanwhile the Byzantine empire had taken control of Tmutokoran' (early twelfth century).⁶⁷

William of Rubruck reports that merchants from Constantinople land at Matracha and send smaller boats as far as Tanais (later Tana: at the head of the Sea of Azov). There they bought dried fish, sturgeon, etc. The reason for the use of small boats may have been that no port at Tana suitable for the larger ships of long-range commerce had yet been developed.⁶⁸ But Byzantine interests extended much further than Tana. Giovanni of Piano Carpini, visiting Kiev in 1246, wrote that Venetian and Genoese merchants came to Kiev and found there opposite numbers from various European countries; and this after the sack of Kiev by Batu (1240), which effectively established Mongol control of the steppe north of the Black Sea.⁶⁹ Byzantine interests therefore were directed in part at keeping the lucrative contact with Kiev.⁷⁰ One may wonder if the mention of Rhosia in the treaty of 1169 was influenced by the Russian character of the city of Kiev. The principal commodity in which the Genoese had been trading and which was at the same time of strategic interest to Byzantium was probably slaves from the steppe, the export of which to the Holy Land for sale to Muslim states is known to have begun somewhat later.⁷¹ After slaves, grain is a highly plausible good of strategic importance to Byzantium.⁷² Naturally Byzantium would have valued the sturgeon (for its roe) and other products mentioned by William of Rubruck.⁷³

The position of the Genoese in Constantinople was precarious from the moment of their installation in the *embolo* almost until the city's capture by the Fourth Crusade, at which point they were unable to trade at all. The Genoese quarter's population was small: 600 in the incident of 1162. That year the Pisans, with Venetian help, attacked the quarter and drove out the Genoese. At the time the Byzantine emperor refused to allow them back.⁷⁴ In the agreement of 1169 already referred to, the quarter was restored to them. But soon (sometime in the six months ending in March 1171) the quarter was sacked by the population of the Venetian quarter. In an atmosphere of general hostility to the Latin presence, this led to furious reprisals by the Byzantine authorities, the withdrawal of the Venetian *embolo* and the revocation of the Venetians' other trading rights. Subsequently the Venetian navy attacked Byzantine installations in the Aegean area.⁷⁵ Another highly destructive attack, this time by the local population and aimed indiscriminately at all the remaining foreign trading communities, took place in 1182. This followed a coup in Constantinople by the ruthless Andronicus in 1180.⁷⁶ A new agreement was reached in 1192, in which an enlargement of the Genoese quarter was granted.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, after the restoration of the Venetian quarter in 1184, new concessions were granted to Venice in 1189 and 1198.⁷⁸ With a change in government which had taken place in 1195, Venice had regained her former prominence in the commercial arena.⁷⁹

After the capture of Constantinople in 1204, a treaty was concluded between the Crusading forces and the city of Venice: Venice had played a critical role in the expedition and in the assault on the city. The territory of the Byzantine Empire was divided between Venice, a new kingdom of Thessalonica and the Latin Empire of Constantinople.⁸⁰ The Byzantine court fled to Nicaea/İznik east of the Sea of Marmara, and a fugitive despotate, later empire, in north-west Asia Minor was constituted.

Apart from the immediate environs of Constantinople, the territory awarded to the Latin Empire consisted of two broad zones: in the first place, all of Asia Minor in so far as it had remained in Byzantine hands and not been taken by Turkish powers, with the offshore islands such as Chios and Lesbos. However, the Latin Empire almost immediately lost the bulk of this territory to the newly constituted despotate of Nicaea. The Bithynian coastal regions

of the south shore of the Sea of Marmara (opposite Constantinople) and the very northwest corner of Asia Minor (the south bank of the Dardanelles, the strait of Gallipoli) were taken by the Latin Empire in 1212, but the Nicaean emperor drove out the Latin Empire's forces in 1224, and a treaty of 1225 gave this territory to Nicaea. The Nicaean empire now administered the whole northwest angle of Asia Minor, descending to Smyrna and the islands of Lesbos and Chios opposite that city; from the west coast of Asia Minor the empire stretched deep inland.⁸¹

In the second place, north of the Aegean Sea and the straits, the Empire's territory stretched up the Black Sea coast as far as the city of Agathoupolis (now Akhtopol), not far short of the Danube's mouth. To the west the territory extended along the shore of the Sea of Marmara as far as a town called Theodosioupolis, just east of Herakleia/Ereğli; beyond, a slice of territory in Thrace was included just east of the river Ebros (pron. "Evros"), the present Greek-Turkish boundary. The two latter districts were separated by a tongue of Venetian territory which started at Herakleia/Ereğli and progressed northwards to Adrianople/Edirne. Venice, however, lost Adrianople to Bulgaria. A strip of the Marmara shore from Herakleia westwards to the inner face of the Gallipoli peninsula, evidently meant to give Venice control of the Dardanelles, was also awarded to that city.

West of the river Ebros, the whole of Thrace, Macedonia with capital at Thessaloniki, and Thessaly, the east side of the main body of present-day Greece, were awarded to the Kingdom of Thessalonica; the island of Crete was initially included in the agreement. A strip of territory on the west side of the Gallipoli peninsula was also included, probably to balance Venetian ambitions.

To Venice fell extensive territories evidently answering to the city's commercial interests. These included, in the first place, the whole west side of the Greek mainland: the stretch of territory started with Albania and came down through Epirus (centred on Ioannina and Arta) to Acarnania further south and finally to Aetolia, the region on the corner of the Adriatic with the Gulf of Corinth. Here, in the outcome, Epirus, with Acarnania and Aetolia, was almost immediately taken by a member of the Byzantine imperial family and converted into a minor principality, a despotate.⁸²

In the Peloponnese, the treaty allocated to Venice the whole of the westerly shore district as far as Methoni on the westerly of the three "fingers", and Lacedaemonia, in practice the east coast, including the easterly "finger", as far north as, but not including, the plain of Argos in the northeast. Also allotted to Venice were the district of Attica, two strategic islands off Attica's south shore and lastly the island of Andros in the Cyclades, in the Aegean Sea proper. Again in the outcome the greater part of the Peloponnese was taken by two Frankish barons, William of Champlitte and William of Villehardouin, and became a principality on Frankish lines.⁸³ Venice took for herself in 1207 Methoni and Koroni, but kept nothing else.⁸⁴

In Constantinople, the Venetian quarter now comprised literally three-eighths of the whole extent of land within the walls. Venetian commerce dominated within the city and again in the Aegean basin. Genoa's position in Constantinople up to 1261 appears to have been tenuous and the presence of its merchants slight. For a good two decades its merchants seem to have been absent from the city altogether. The treaty of 1218 signed with Venice gives to the Genoese rights they had enjoyed before 1204, but there is no sign that Genoese merchants immediately exercised those rights.⁸⁵ A treaty of 1232 with Venice explicitly gives Genoa's merchants rights in Romania (effectively the Aegean basin), and the treaty's text yields evidence that by this time, Genoese officials were stationed in Constantinople, and Genoese traders were at work in the city.⁸⁶ In 1250, in 1251 (when the same treaty was reaffirmed) and in 1256 further, but minimal, evidence emerges of Genoese activity in Constantinople.⁸⁷

In the Aegean Sea, the island of Euboea was captured by Boniface of Montferrat, king of Thessalonica, in early 1205. Boniface gave the island in fief to a French knight, Jacques d'Avesne. On Jacques' death, Boniface divided the island into three: a northwest part centred on Oreoi/Rio, a central part dependent on the town of Mantoudi and a southeast sector with castle and town at Karystos/Caristo/Castel Rosso. Initially the three fiefs' minor lords were to be vassals of the Latin Empire, but in the 1240s their allegiance was transferred to the Villehardouin principality.⁸⁸ The city of Chalkis, on the mainland, was to be the common fief of all three; however Venice from the start kept a quarter in the town; she enlarged and developed the Venetian-inhabited district of the city in the years up to 1256 and played via her *bailli* or vice-consul an arbitrating role.⁸⁹ In line with the treaty of 1232, we find a (presumably small) permanent Genoese community in Chalkis in the year 1236 and, in general, Genoese merchants active in Thebes. The Genoese consul's business in the town must in part have concerned the export of silk woven in Thebes.⁹⁰

The larger islands in the Cyclades group (Naxos, Paros, Andros) and a number of smaller ones were taken by a Venetian nobleman-adventurer, Marco Sanudo, probably in 1213 or 1214. The principality so formed, the "Duchy of Naxos and Andros", was nominally a vassal barony of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, but in practice, recognising too a kind of Venetian suzerainty, it maintained an independence from both powers.⁹¹ The territory of the Duchy's islands was enfeoffed to a series of minor lords, in their turn vassals of Sanudo.⁹²

Crete too had initially been made over to the King of Thessalonica, Boniface of Montferrat, in the treaty of 1204. It was bought in the same year by Venice, partly as a means of denying it to Genoa, which had bid for the island.⁹³ Venice was unable to occupy the island immediately thereafter, but in 1207 secured Irakleion (Ital. 'Candia') and its hinterland, thereafter taking other cities and districts. Venetian rule over the whole island had been established by late 1212 or early 1213.⁹⁴

Venice now proceeded, beginning in 1211, to a colonisation of the whole island. It was set under a central administration housed in Candia, which in turn was directly responsible to the Venetian government. Estates were allotted to settlers, mainly from Venice; the effect was not merely to bring the whole island under control but also to stimulate agriculture and other farming (wine, cheese, etc.) to the point of significant surplus.⁹⁵

It can be seen, again, that in the period from 1204 to the recapture of Constantinople by the exiled Byzantine government in 1261, Venice maintained her hold over commerce in the Aegean. Little is heard of Genoese and Pisans. And it is no coincidence that the one Italian republic whose merchants traded with ports in the Black Sea was now Venice. From the port of Sughdaq (Ital. "Soldaia") on the Crimean coast, Venetians exported furs and slaves (some to be resold in the Levant in the markets of Ayyubid, subsequently Mamluk, rulers).⁹⁶ Thus from a different port they took over the trade in which Genoese entrepreneurs had been engaged in the mid-twelfth century. The establishment of Soldaia as the outlet might have taken place sometime between the prohibition of 1169 and the seizure of Constantinople in 1204, or else immediately after 1204.

Asia Minor. Here we are principally concerned with the line from the port city of Antalya in southwest Asia Minor to Konya, Sivas and Erzurum and then to Tabriz and Central Asia. To an extent we are also concerned with the track from the ports of Sinop and Samsun on the south shore of the Black Sea to the city of Sivas. Antalya was captured by the Seljuk sultanate in 1216, Sinop in 1214.

First let us look at the minting of coins along the principal line. The first substantial issues are in fact those of the Danishmendids. The large copper coins minted in the name of Malik

Ghazi (ruled the whole territory 497–528/1104–34) are struck with a bust of Christ on the reverse and a four-line inscription in Greek giving Ghazi's name and title. Under Malik Muhammad (528–36/1134–42) again only a single copper type was issued, this time with a Greek legend, covering both sides, which claims Muhammad is the king of all Romania (i.e. Byzantine territory) and the East. The coins are clearly meant to be acceptable to the local Greek population. Each king issued only one type; the coins were apparently not struck frequently.⁹⁷ All these circumstances suggest that the coins were minted to satisfy a limited local demand and to complement the Byzantine coinage already in circulation in the same regions.

After Malik Muhammad, the whole kingdom was divided into a western principality, under Dhu'l-Nun, residing at Kayseri; a northern one, centred at Sivas and Niksar, under Yaghi Basan; and a southeastern one at Malatya (we shall not examine the coinage of the latter, as it lies off the route). Under Dhu'l-Nun in Kayseri (539–59/1142–64) two types seem to have been struck. In the first, Dhu'l-Nun's name and patronymic is inscribed in Greek in the circular margin on both sides and, in effect, the same is inscribed in Arabic, again on both sides, in the central circular space. The second, probably issued after Yaghi Basan's death, while the latter's nephew, Isma'il, was on the throne in Sivas (559–67/1164–72), has a warrior mounted on a lion on the obverse, but Dhu'l-Nun's name, etc. in the two margins and in the reverse's circle.⁹⁸ In Sivas, Yaghi Basan (536–59/1142–64) and his nephew Isma'il (559–67/1164–72) each issued only one type: on Yaghi Basan's, the image of a head is possibly modelled on a Classical type or types, while on Isma'il's, the model is a Byzantine type depicting Christ seated on a throne. Both, however, are inscribed in Arabic. Subsequently Dhu'l-Nun, having fled to Syria for protection, was restored to the throne, not of Kayseri but of Sivas, and he seems to have minted a third type here (reigned 567–69/1171–74) until being forced to flee by the Seljuk sultan; in this type the name and epithets, etc., in Arabic are continuous on both sides of the coin.⁹⁹ Again, except in Dhu'l-Nun's last years, Byzantine and to a small extent Classical models are incorporated. This time, in contrast to the early issues of Malik Ghazi and Malik Muhammad, there is a move towards the use of Arabic, which indicates lessened inclination to communicate with the local Christian populations by means of the coins and a tendency to bring the coins in line with Islamic coinage generally. What does not change, however, is the infrequency of the issues and the lack of an attempt at a precise weight standard.

At Erzincan, the Mangujakid Bahramshah issued four types, all copper, in his long reign (c. 550–662/1155–1225), though strictly the coins were struck over the period 563/1167–68 to 616/1219. On his first type, of 563/1167–68, the image of a ruler holding a spear relies on a Byzantine type; in subsequent issues, however, inscriptions cover both sides of the coin apart from a vaguely Classically inspired head in that of 579/1183–84.¹⁰⁰ At Erzurum, Saltuk ibn 'Ali (c. 540–63/1145–67) seems to have issued only one type, again in copper: the obverse is copied from a type of the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos. Under Saltuk's son Muhammad (c. 563–97/1167–1200) the image on the (again) single type is of a horseman shooting an animal.¹⁰¹ Apart from the Byzantine- and Classical-derived images and the infrequency and rarity of the issues, the wide range of weights leaves the impression of slack weight control. This is not surprising if the coinage is meant to be used locally for everyday purposes and to supplement an existing copper coinage.

In general commercial activity, until about 1200, would appear to have been slight. More frequent issues and tighter weight control would otherwise be expected, as would silver currency struck from western coin and bullion. Strictly the lack of silver currency would be consistent with the carriage of silver through the region for minting, or to satisfy superior

demand, in cities further east. But no minting in silver further east was taking place at this stage.¹⁰²

Coinage along the Konya–Sivas–Erzurum line continues with that of the Rum Seljuks. Here we shall work with the catalogue published by Erkiletlioğlu and Güler and will analyse the coins according to the sultans' reigns. We shall supplement Erkiletlioğlu and Güler with our own list. Theirs is compiled from coins in collections to be found within Turkey, whereas our list is based on two large collections outside Turkey and on two published catalogues of coins in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Our own catalogue will allow us to distinguish types within the reigns of certain sultans, but it does not cover mints, such as Konya, which are well off the Ayas–Tabriz track.¹⁰³ Naturally the method is bold, and designed to highlight broad trends. However, it is those broad trends which we are attempting to isolate, and it is doubtful if an enlargement of either catalogue or other coin finds would produce substantially different conclusions.

Apart from a copper type issued under Mas'ud I (510–51/1116–55) – again with the image on one face based on a Byzantine model¹⁰⁴ – the sequence of Seljuk coins begins with the coins, minted between 573/1177–78 and 591/1195, of the first well-known sultan, Kılıç Arslan II. Erkiletlioğlu and Güler's catalogue shows 21 coins. These are minted mostly at Konya, some at Sivas, which the Rum Seljuks had seized from the Danishmendids. Minting at Sivas began perhaps in 581/1185–86.¹⁰⁵ The coins of Kılıç Arslan II are mainly silver dirhams, though some are dinars and there are one or two issues of fals (small copper coins).

The whole territory of the sultanate was divided at Kılıç Arslan's death between his sons. These, as might be expected, minted in their own territories, which temporarily broadens the range of mints: for example, Muhyi al-Din Mas'ud (whose coins are dated 583–87/1186–1200) minted at the cities within his northwesterly realm: Ankara, Çankırı, Eskişehir and Kastamonu. However, when the territory of the sultanate is reunited under 'Izz al-Din Keykavus, the great majority of the coins are minted (in the years 607–16/1211–19), again, at Konya and Sivas. We find one issue at Kayseri and one at Tokat. The silver dirham again dominates, though a few dinars are included. During this sultan's reign, Erzurum, independent under a rogue branch of the dynasty, began to mint the silver dirham in 608/1211–12; the sequence of silver coins here was continued under Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah (622–27/1225–30), son of the previous ruler.¹⁰⁶ So it seems that by now silver had at last penetrated further east than Sivas along the route.

Coming to the reign of the well-known 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad (coins minted in the period 616–34/1220–37), where the sample in Erkiletlioğlu and Güler (91 coins) is bigger, again Sivas and Konya account for the great majority. There are a few from Kayseri, one each from Tokat and Erzurum. A few were minted at Dunaysir (a city only a day's walk from Mardin, on the Mesopotamian plain), one at Mardin and one at Amid/Diyarbakır, but these are minted by the two Artukid dynasties, who temporarily recognised the overlordship of Kaykubad. Again the dirham accounts for the great majority of the coins, but there are ten dinars, a few half-dirhams and 21 fals. But the sample impresses by the sudden quantity of coins, even when allowance is made for the greater length of 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad's reign (18 years as opposed to the 9 of 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus' reign). In our own table the quantity of coins minted at Sivas equally impresses, as does the tiny quantity minted elsewhere. Our examination also reveals two types: the second begins later than the first, perhaps in 625/1228, but the two afterwards overlap. The significance of the second type is unclear: on the one hand the difference would be obvious even to an illiterate trader in the marketplace; on the other hand the difference amounts to a four-line inscription on the reverse, containing a fuller name and epithets, as opposed to a two-line one, and to the replacement of a line of scrolled vegetal

decoration by incidental ornament elsewhere. Possibly the new type was intended merely to reassure the market that the sultan was continuing to produce coin, perhaps at a greater rate than before.¹⁰⁷

The dominance of Konya and Sivas continues in the reign of Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (coins minted in the years 634–43/1237–45); a few are minted at Kayseri. Again the great majority of the 86 coins are dirhams, with ten dinars, 16 half-dirhams and 14 fals.¹⁰⁸ In our own table the quantity of coins minted at Sivas is again impressive, as is the city's pre-eminence over others. The coins fall into three types, which appear to be more or less chronologically distinct. The first belongs to the Seljuk tradition of coins with the name and epithets of the Abbasid caliph on the obverse and those of the Seljuk sultan on the reverse, all inscribed in horizontal lines. The second is that depicting a prancing lion and sun over, which begins in 638/1240–41. The type is said to have been initiated on the marriage of Kaykhusraw to Tamara Khatun. The third type, which begins in 641/1243, represents a return to the traditional Seljuk type, with the addition of the word *bismillah* and the Islamic profession of faith (*kalima*) on the obverse. The change back to the traditional form certainly took place because of the defeat at Köse Dağ in early 641/June 1243. The issue of the third type is very likely connected with the imposition of a heavy tribute by the victors. However, there may again have been another motive for the change: to emphasise to ordinary merchants and traders that the market is continuously being supplied with coins, even if coins are being hoarded or melted down by private users at the same time.¹⁰⁹ Another characteristic of Kaykhusraw II's reign: by the 1240s at least, the source of the silver in question is not merely the trade with western cities. Certainly by 1247, and probably several years before, the mine at Lu'lu'a (in the Taurus mountains, to the east of Laranda or modern Karaman) was being worked intensively, and others are said to have been opened.¹¹⁰

Seljuk dynastic history from the death of Kaykhusraw II (644/1246) to the beginning of the Ayas period (mid-1250s) is complicated, which is not to say the complications cease thereafter. Of the deceased sultan's three sons, the eldest, 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus II, was put on the throne, and for two years (644–45/1248–50) he ruled alone and coins were struck in his name. But in 646/1248, the Mongol khan decided that Rukn al-Din, the middle son, should replace Kaykavus. For a single year (646/1248) Rukn al-Din, as Kılıç Arslan (IV), issued coins in his own name. However, in 647/1249 forces supporting 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus defeated Kılıç Arslan. The resulting dispensation, mediated by representatives of the Mongol khan, was joint rule between all three brothers and a territorial split between them. Of the brothers, 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus II, the eldest, controlled the capital, Konya, and everything further west, including Ankara and the road to the coast at Antalya and Alanya. Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan, the middle brother, was allocated everything to the east of Konya: Sivas, Kayseri and everything up to Erzurum. The youngest brother, 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad (II), was granted minor estates on a scale sufficient for his personal expenses. Coins in the names of all three together were issued for the duration of the joint reign (647–55/1249–57).

The third brother, 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad (II), was then sent, in effect as a hostage, to the Mongol Khan, but was murdered on the road. After a very short joint reign on the part of the remaining two brothers, 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus (II) won out over his brother Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan. But, in a development presaging the future Il-Khanid régime, a Mongol commander, Bayju, attempted to migrate with followers and flocks to Asia Minor; 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus attempted to resist him and was defeated. Rukn al-Din was reinstated in Konya (March 1257), but 'Izz al-Din was able to re-enter Konya in May 1257 because Bayju, who had defeated him, had left for Iran to visit the new leader there, Hulagu, who even now was planning the attack on Baghdad the following year. Eventually a further partition was

arranged by Hulagu (August 1258). 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus was allocated the same territory as in the dispensation of 647/1249: Konya and everything westward, including Ankara and Antalya. But Rukn al-Din received Kayseri, Sivas, Erzincan and northwards from Sivas as far as the Black Sea coast at Samsun. Nevertheless in August 1261 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus fled Asia Minor, again after resisting Il-Khanid demands for tribute, and Rukn al-Din could at last reign without competition. He was strangled in 666/1267, and the very young Kaykhusrav III came to the throne.¹¹¹

For all the chaos and complication of dynastic history, minting policy remained the same until the split of the kingdom in 655/1257 between Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan and 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus. Until that time Konya and Sivas predominate; little is minted elsewhere. One change occurs: in the joint reign of the three brothers (from 647/1249 to 652/1254), coins are struck at a mine, that of Lu'lu'a, for the first time, a clear sign that the mine was still being exploited. Despite the short reigns, the volume is still kept up. From Erkiletlioğlu and Güler's catalogue it emerges that 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus (II) in his joint reign with Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan (IV) (644/1246 to 647/1249) minted separately from his brother and produced more than one type.¹¹² In our own coin survey, the coins of Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan predominate during the period of the second dispensation (655–59/1256–61), in which the sultanate's territory was again split between him and his brother 'Izz al-Din Kaykavus II. Early in this second dispensation the two brothers competed for the throne, the one by turns driving and being driven out by the other. However, a coin of Kaykavus' dated Jumada al-Awwal 656/1257–58 and minted at Sivas falls within this period, illustrating how the coins of each ruler succeed one another at the same mint. In the same period much changes. The number of mints increases, and Sivas and Konya no longer preponderate; another mine mint, Gumush Bazar, opens. But here the Ayas–Tabriz route starts its activity, and we come back to the subject of minting policy under the Seljuks, following it with a discussion of the Il-Khans' coinage, in our account of the management of the Ayas–Tabriz route.¹¹³

We can now review the characteristics of Seljuk minting from the reign of Kılıç Arslan II (571–91/1175–95) to 655/1257. During this period, the west, buying goods of greater value from the east than it sold to the east, sent a flow of silver eastwards. It is noticeable how the striking of silver coins started during the reign of Kılıç Arslan II (1175–95), just when the expansion of the European economy speeded up. It is during the reigns of Kaykubad I (1219–37) and Kaykhusrav II (1237–46) that coins were struck with a much-increased frequency, and it is perhaps in this period that the trade gathered pace. The port of Antalya, through which most goods would at this stage have been exported and imported, did not fall into Seljuk hands finally until 1216, but in the previous century, under Byzantine rule, the port was open to western commercial cities, and a robust trade before 1216 can be assumed; the only question is the extent of the trade with the interior in that period.¹¹⁴ Equally trade was encouraged rather than initiated by the Seljuk concession to Venice granted first in 1216.¹¹⁵

Allowing for the shortness of the respective reigns, minting did not take place with lower frequency in the more chaotic period that followed (1237–57). We noticed that the mint at Lu'lu'a and others opened in the 1240s. The Seljuk monarchs suddenly resorted to finding silver ore on their own territory. They did this, in part no doubt for reasons of paying the Mongol tribute,¹¹⁶ but also, perhaps, of facilitating trade. Above all, from the reign of Kaykhusrav I (1204–10) till the end of the period (1257), the sultans kept the same weight standard, around 2.97 g. This remarkable constancy can only have been achieved with a plentiful supply of silver, to which a widening trade imbalance (we suggest) and, later, the kingdom's silver mines contributed. A weight standard, in contrast to the lax weight control of Danishmendid and other early coinage, is, of course, a sign that the currency is intended

for commercial purposes: the sultans needed to ensure trust in it on the part of merchants and traders.

Next we shall look at the cities along the route. At Antalya, little building seems to have been done before the Seljuk acquisition in January 1216. This is symptomatic of its trading role, which must have included the export of the immediate hinterland's products and the through sea trade, but which can have included little trade with the Seljuk-held interior.¹¹⁷ However, once the city could communicate easily with the interior, the Seljuks invested heavily there, and began, apparently, straight after the acquisition. Three or four months after the Seljuks captured the city, the rebuilding of the city walls and citadel was complete.¹¹⁸ An internal city wall was rebuilt, including a new gate.¹¹⁹ The Atabey Armağan Medresesi was started in 637/1239–40.¹²⁰ The *amir* Karatay, a pillar of the Seljuk state in the mid-thirteenth century AD, commissioned a building which was probably a *zawiya* or building in which dervishes, and sometimes travellers, stayed, probably a few years before 648/1250–51.¹²¹ Other buildings are dated to the thirteenth century AD, some of which must have been put up before 1260.¹²² The Seljuk sultan Kaykavus I (1210–19), therefore, would have ensured a swift rebuilding of the walls, after which private patrons founded their own buildings. The period to 1260 appears to be precisely the most active.¹²³

Antalya was connected to Konya by a road on which eventually caravansarays were to be constructed at frequent intervals. The track left the coast at a point around 50 kilometres east of Antalya and turned inland, rising directly up the face of the Taurus range until it attained the plateau. At the point where the track from Antalya left the coast, another track joined it which came westwards along the coast from the city of Alanya. The latter had been captured by the Seljuk sultanate in 1221.¹²⁴ The greater part of the city lay on the upper surface of a formidable rock peninsula extending southwards into the sea. The west and south sides of the peninsula consisted of tall cliffs, but to the east a gentler slope accommodated housing. The port, with its Seljuk arsenal and nautical dock, lay on this side. The whole of the rock's upper surface was encircled by walls, as was the easterly slope and port. One corner of the upper enceinte was walled off to create an inner walled area.¹²⁵ The inscriptions indicate a complete overhaul of the walls, the construction of the arsenal and dock and that of mosques and other buildings in the inner walled area, during the reign of 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad I (616–34/1219–36) and probably all by 1231.¹²⁶ Alanya was another port through which trade could be done with southern European ports and with Egypt. On the westward track towards the junction with the Antalya road and its northwards turn towards the interior, two caravansarays were built, one under Kaykubad I in 629/1231 and one under Kaykhusrav II (634–44/1236–46).¹²⁷

The combined roads from Antalya and Alanya, climbing the face of the Taurus and reaching the plateau, continued northwards over the plateau, then turned east to the town of Seydişehir, which possessed a castle, and which lay at a distance of only 2 or 3 days' travel from Konya. Only two of the known caravansarays between the junction of tracks on the coast and the city of Konya can be securely dated: one of them was built in 612/1215, in other words just before the Seljuk acquisition of Antalya, and the other in the reign of Kaykhusrav II (1237–45). The two dates suggest a quick start on the securing of the route with caravansarays and steady progress thereafter.¹²⁸

The Seljuk capital of Konya would not appear to require a separate description, but the mere fact of being made a capital city does not guarantee either prosperity or a heavy investment in buildings, and a description of Konya's building history will greatly help in shaping and enriching our picture of the vitality and chronological development of trading activity. In fact, to judge from the surviving buildings, Konya received an inflow of capital which is as remarkable for its steadiness as for its volume.

In the twelfth century, the whole state was in its early years, the economy needed to recover and the city itself may not have prospered until the century's eighth or ninth decade. Thereafter came the years of division (1195–1204). So little building was to be expected before the early thirteenth century. Nevertheless, work was started under the sultan Mas'ud (in the mid-twelfth century) on the Great Mosque on the citadel mound.¹²⁹ A palace was built on the mound, backing on to the defensive walls along the mound's rim, around 1175.¹³⁰

Going forward to the years 1200–20, we find that in those years five small mosques, three of them *masjids* or strictly neighbourhood mosques, were completed.¹³¹ The Great Mosque on the mound was completed in 617/1220.¹³² Of just as much significance for the city was the rebuilding, or possibly building on a new line, of the city walls by 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad in the first two years of his reign (616/1219–20 to 618/1221–22). The walls were constructed on land which was already built up; in other words, the city was expanding, and expanding so fast that on the alignment chosen for the walls those walls could not protect part of the population.¹³³ The city had an active market area, in which were situated several *hans*, or lockable buildings containing shops, for different trades.¹³⁴

In the period from 1220 to the Seljuk defeat and subjection by the Mongol empire in 1243, construction continues with a multiplicity of categories. Work was started on the *tekke* of Jalal al-Din Rumi (inscription of 628/1230–31). Three *madrasas* were built, including the Sırçalı Medrese ("Glazed Madrasa"), egregious and much-described, though limited in size.¹³⁵ At least five *masjids* were founded: of these the Hatuniye Mescidi (627/1229–30), with surviving minaret trunk, appears to have been of some size.¹³⁶ And in the period 1243–60, Konya was graced, first of all, by the *amir* Karatay's foundations, the remarkable Karatay Medresesi (649/1251–52) and the Küçük Karatay Medresesi (646/1248–49), as well as Karatay's *masjid*, the latter presumably constructed at a date similar to the two madrasas.¹³⁷ Later came the start of work on the imposing Sahib Ata complex, commissioned by the vizier Fakhr al-Din 'Ali (inscription on the portal, 656/1258). It consists of a mosque, *hankâh*, or sizeable lodge for dervishes, and a *türbe*.¹³⁸ The whole history of construction, as far as can be judged from the extant buildings, gives the impression of a prosperous and steadily expanding city.

Between Konya and Kayseri the merchant or other traveller passed eastwards over the plateau, via Aksaray, and through the Göreme district. Again the way was protected by caravansarays: the three accurately datable caravansarays are all substantial buildings of the reign of 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad (1219–37).¹³⁹

Kayseri presents the image of an even wealthier city than Konya. The Great Mosque and one of the smaller mosque-and-*madrasa* complexes may have been built during the Danishmendid tenure of the city.¹⁴⁰ Other buildings, still small, belong to the first two decades of Seljuk administration. The construction of one of the small *madrasas* was finished in 589/1193; one of the *masjids* or neighbourhood mosques was probably put up towards the end of the twelfth century. Two of the surviving *kümbets* or mausoleum-towers, and perhaps some others, were put up in the last decade of the century.¹⁴¹

Coming to the period 1200–20, we find a single madrasa, but on a much larger scale than before: the Çifte Medrese ("Double Madrasa") completed in the first decade of the century.¹⁴² Two of the early mosques were repaired.¹⁴³ Work was done on rebuilding the city walls.¹⁴⁴

But it was in the period 1220–43 that the city flowered. An extensive mosque, endowed by a Seljuk princess, was finished in 638/1238; the equally spreading madrasa, the Hunad Medresesi, was attached to it probably a little later.¹⁴⁵ Two other smaller, courtyard madrasas were constructed.¹⁴⁶ The line of the city walls was extended in a salient north of the citadel by Kaykubad I, and repair work was done on the citadel itself.¹⁴⁷ Thereafter, construction work certainly tailed off, perhaps because the priority was given to Konya: nevertheless, the

15 years after 1240 saw the building of a mosque and madrasa complex on a small scale, a mosque, a *zawiya* and the *türbe* or mausoleum financed in 1247 by the daughters of the sultan's murdered wife.¹⁴⁸

The way from Kayseri now led northeast over the plateau, passing a sequence of caravan-sarays said in the mid-thirteenth century to number 24.¹⁴⁹ Of the seeming four which have survived, one is the well-known Sultan Han built over the years 630/1232 and 634/1236.¹⁵⁰ These caravansarays brought the traveller to Sivas.

This city lay at a crossroads, and even in the period up to the 1250s exhibits a vitality which must have been owed to its trading function. To the northwest led the road to Amasya and the ports of Samsun and Sinop; to the southeast stretched an easy road to Malatya and so the cities of Upper Mesopotamia. The many Seljuk caravansarays from Sivas to the port of Sinop on the Black Sea coast indicate a concerted effort to protect the road and the merchandise carried along it. Of these caravansarays one, dated 636/1238–39, certainly, and probably two more, were built by Mahperi Hatun, mother of the Seljuk sultan Kaykhusrav II (634–44/1236–46).¹⁵¹ And it seems likely that of the commercial channels leading from Sivas, that in which the Seljuk government of the period decided to invest was the Sinop road. It seems certain that the road was intended for goods brought from and transported to the north shore of the Black Sea; activity along the Sivas–Sinop–Crimea axis helps to explain the lack of Italian interest in Black Sea trade during the period.

Merchants from Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia came together at Sivas, and here caravans were formed which went to the Black Sea coast. In the first few decades after the Seljuk capture of the city in 1214, Sinop was the relevant port on the north shore of Asia Minor. That on the northern Black Sea shore with which Sinop traded was Sughdaq (Ital. “Soldaia”) in the Crimea.¹⁵² Slaves were certainly imported from the Crimea, among them the future Mamluk sultan Baybars, who was born around 1228 in the steppe north of the Black Sea, was eventually taken prisoner in the Upper Volga region further east, was sold as a slave, was sold again at Sivas and ended up in the slave markets of Aleppo and subsequently Damascus.¹⁵³ The difficult issue is whether the goods imported from the Crimean ports were products only of the plains north of the Black Sea, or whether others came from further east. The mention of spices among the goods imported suggests that some spices did arrive in the Crimean ports from China or India.¹⁵⁴ The tracks taken were a forerunner of the Saray–Almaligh route through the inner Asia of the Il-Khanid period. The existence of the cities of Urgench and Utrar, which in the Il-Khanid period lay on the Saray–Almaligh route, is indicative of the passage of goods from inner and Central Asia, from China and from India towards the Crimea. Utrar held out for a substantial length of time against the Mongol attack of 1219; the latter was precipitated by the massacre in the city of a large caravan originating in Mongol-held territory. The city's size and the passage of the caravan indicate a through trade towards the north Black Sea shore even at this stage.¹⁵⁵

The discussion here argues a high volume of trading activity, and Sivas was the scene of significant activity in the building of Muslim monuments. The present Great Mosque is more than likely to have had a Danishmendid predecessor.¹⁵⁶ From a deed of foundation for another building, we know of the *khanqah* (residence of Sufis) of Yaghi Basan, which suggests that it was founded by the Danishmendid Yaghi Basan/Yağıbasan, prince of Sivas and Niksar in the years 536–559/1142–64. The *khanqah* lay to one side of Kaykavus I's hospital, and on another side stretched a garden. On a third side stood a madrasa, and a palace elsewhere in the city is known. The madrasa's name suggests it was founded by Giyath al-Din Kaykhusrav I, probably in his second reign (601/1204 to 607/1210).¹⁵⁷ The best-known monument from the period, the hospital of the Seljuk sultan ‘Izz al-Din Kaykavus I, was completed

in 614/1217–18: the sultan was himself buried in the mausoleum which interrupts the row of cells on one side of the hospital's courtyard.¹⁵⁸ The *waqfiya* or endowment deed of the hospital is known, and gives some idea of the lavishness (for example a surgeon and eye surgeon) of the investment. Other building of the 1220s indicates an enhanced commercial role and an expanding population. A caravansaray just inside the city's east gate was built in 1229, and another is known toward the southerly sector of the wall.¹⁵⁹ Shortly after the foundation of the hospital, the city's walls were rebuilt, also by Kaykubad.¹⁶⁰ The Muslim buildings perhaps reflect sufficiently the city's commercial importance: it has to be remembered that the population was substantially Christian.

From Sivas eastwards towards Erzincan, it appears that not a single caravansaray was built during the Seljuk period. On the whole, and with the important exception of the pass between the Halys/Kızıl Irmak basin and the plain of Akşehir, the way lies through a series of plains or valleys with easy inclines; nevertheless the explanation for the salient absence of Seljuk caravansarays along the Sivas–Erzincan stretch must have more to do with Seljuk policy or aims in the region. We leave it to our examination of the relevant section of the Tabriz itinerary (Ch. 5, sect. A) and to our conclusions to suggest a reasonable explanation.

In the next city along the way, Erzincan, no great flow of building activity appears to have taken place, whether under Mangujakids or Seljuks; however, the last Mangujakid, Fakhr al-Din Bahram Shah (1168–1225) seems to have founded a *madrassa* here.¹⁶¹ He was also a patron of poets and scholars.¹⁶² But even in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century, Erzincan, too, was a heavily Christian, and specifically Armenian, city. It was a bishop's seat, where the churches in the city and particularly the monasteries on the nearby hill massif called Mount Sepuh were highly active.¹⁶³ In the first few decades of the thirteenth century, Erzincan emerges as a populous and wealthy city, a character owed probably to the commercial activity now gathering pace along the road to Tabriz.¹⁶⁴ But Erzincan's great period of prosperity and development was, so far as can be judged, precisely the period of the Ayas–Tabriz route.

In the next city, Erzurum, a Great Mosque was either founded or added to by the Saltukid Abu'l Fath Muhammad in the late 1170s,¹⁶⁵ and the mosque, not to mention parts of the wall, in the citadel are likely to have been built by the same dynasty.¹⁶⁶ In 1230, after the city had been acquired by the Seljuk sultanate from the breakaway local Seljuk branch, the unusually large Çifte Minare Medresesi (as it is now known) was started by 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad; the building work, evidently costly and difficult, was interrupted by the Mongol capture of Erzurum in 1242. Kaykubad founded the Çifte Minare Medresesi in part as the celebration of a victory over Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah, the local Seljuk, also over the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din Mangubirti, at Yassı Çimen.¹⁶⁷ At the Mongol capture in 1242, Erzurum was pillaged, and a massacre carried out.¹⁶⁸ However, in 1244, the Mongol commander Bayju gave the order for the city to be reconstructed.¹⁶⁹

From Erzurum the track ran eastwards through the Pasin plain and then over passes to the plain of Kars, where the traveller stopped at Ani. Despite the city's general reputation of having been prosperous under the Bagratid kings (ninth to eleventh century) but having been neglected thereafter, it in fact shows every sign of prosperity during this period. In the twelfth century, admittedly, it was much fought over by Georgian troops on the one hand and the Shaddadids, the local Kurdish dynasty, and their Turkish allies from the south (particularly the Shah-i Arman of Ahlat) on the other.¹⁷⁰ But as soon as the city came firmly under Georgian control (end of twelfth century) much new construction and renovation of existing buildings, mainly churches, took place. These occurred particularly in the years up to 1215, date of completion of the well-known church of Tigran Honenc ' (pron. "Honents"), and this

sudden spate of building work may indicate that certain projects would have been carried out earlier, but were delayed by the back-and-forth fighting of the twelfth century.¹⁷¹ Churches apart, the Zak'arean, princes of an extensive apanage on the Georgian kingdom's southwest border, carried out a long series of repairs to the city's walls over the years 1208–31.¹⁷² There is no indication, during the period to the 1250s, that the main avenue taken by commercial traffic moved south to the Maku line, or even further south to what would become the line of the Pegolotti itinerary. From Ani, the track descended on to the Erevan plain and crossed it in a southeasterly direction, passing two caravansarays, apparently built in the period. Reaching a point a little west of the then small city of Erevan, it then travelled south through the plain and down that of the Aras past Nakhchevan and Dvin to Tabriz.¹⁷³

Much traffic came from Tiflis, the magnet which exerted a continuous northwards pull on the main east–west route and prevented it from settling further south. Traffic coming from Tiflis could come southwestwards directly to Ani and so to Erzurum and further west, or it could come south down the east fringe of the Erevan plain and so join the tracks from Ani to Nakhchevan and Tabriz. Nakhchevan was therefore not exactly the point of junction between the direct track from Ani and the direct track from Tiflis: this point lay in the Erevan plain not far west of Erevan. Nakhchevan was, instead, the market city where commercial exchange took place between merchants coming from the cities in question, variously from Tabriz, Tiflis and Ani. Nakhchevan, before its pillage by the Mongols, was a prosperous city, with a large number of churches, ruled by a local dynasty, the Ildegizids.¹⁷⁴

At any rate, silver reached the cities of Nakhchevan and Tiflis in the early 1240s. Before 638/1240–41 Tiflis had struck only copper coins, but now, under Mongol domination, it struck silver: the Georgian king was allowed to mint his own coinage in 642/1244–45.¹⁷⁵ At Nakhchevan, coins of a type dictated by the Mongols were minted in the same year, 642/1244–45, and the local dynasty, the Ildegizid, once resettled there, minted in its own style from 644/1246–47 onwards.¹⁷⁶ Silver coinage, as at Tiflis, started at Tabriz in 638/1240–41.¹⁷⁷ Further afield in cities such as Bardha'a and Ganja, which connected Tiflis with Karabagh, the minting of silver began only a little later.¹⁷⁸

A brief glance at the course of the continuation of the road in Iran and Central Asia is justified. From Tabriz it travelled east over the northern Iranian plain to the administrative and pottery centre of Rayy, then northeast into Khurasan. Here it passed the city of Nishapur, and proceeded to that of Marv. Both of these cities show signs of great vitality before their sack by the Mongols in 618/1220. Marv was commercially very active and well-known for its learning and libraries. It was a large city within whose defensive wall the quarters were divided from one another by internal walls. But whereas Nishapur was to recover from the Mongol attack, Marv was devastated and failed to recover for two centuries.¹⁷⁹ From here one passed to Bukhara, again a populous city and a seat of learning, and to Samarkand, a flourishing commercial centre until the Mongol sack of 1220. Each city possessed a fortified suburb as well as a walled area with citadel; the extent of the slaughter after the Mongol capture of each betokens the huge size of the cities' populations. Again Bukhara recovered quickly, but Samarkand was left with a fraction of its former population.¹⁸⁰ At Samarkand the route joined known Central Asian trails, the most important of which lay due east over mountain ranges into the Taklimakan desert and from there to China.

After the Mongol capture, however, these Transoxanian cities (Marv, Samarkand, etc.), however, were not left to disintegrate further. A local administration was formed and the region began to recover. Coins were minted at Marv, Bukhara and Samarkand and other nearby cities from 618/1221 to Chingiz Khan's death in 624/1227. Apart from certain gold coins, which perhaps were minted for purposes of paying the tribute to the Mongol khan, the

coins are practically all struck from billon, an alloy mainly composed of copper but with a small proportion of silver. This illustrates the shortage of silver, and at this stage the silver may have come from local sources rather than in the form of coin travelling eastwards, but trade nevertheless continued. A wide-flan issue of 622/1225 and 624/1227, an adaptation of Chinese types, was evidently meant to be acceptable to merchants coming from further east.¹⁸¹ Other coins were struck in 630–31/1232–34, 636–37/1238–40 and 651/1253.¹⁸²

Having reviewed the indirect evidence, which takes the form of building activity and the minting of silver coins, for the conduct of trade along the Sivas–Erzurum corridor, let us take a brief look at some of the direct evidence for the passage of goods. Earlier, in the context of the city Antalya, we discussed a treaty of 1216 between Venice and Seljuk sultanate. The treaty was renewed in 1220. It exempts Venetian merchants from customs dues on corn, pearls, precious stones and both worked and unworked gold and silver;¹⁸³ one use of the gold and silver was to be melted down for coin. Despite possible appearances, all these goods must have come from the west. But we are uninformed as to the goods which were sent from Antalya towards European ports.

Ibn Sa‘id, a geographer of the mid-thirteenth century AD, talks of the track from Erzurum to Erzincan and then onwards to Konya. Merchandise is carried from Erzurum to Erzincan on carts pulled by oxen, he reports. The journey from Erzurum to Konya takes about 40 days.¹⁸⁴ A merchant from Tabriz, Hajji Bakhtiyar, had settled in Konya.¹⁸⁵ Normally a merchant would settle in another city for purposes of providing a stable network of agents, or possibly a single agent only, for a merchandising operation. But at any rate the fact of his settling down in Konya is a decent indication of trade relations along the line between Tabriz and Konya.

Attempting to sum up the diverse evidence, we are left with an impression of movement of goods along the Antalya–Konya–Sivas–Erzurum route, and that to Sinop, which started perhaps in the 70s of the twelfth century, remained sluggish until the reunification of the Seljuk state under Kaykhusrav I (1204–10) and the final successor Kaykavus I’s final capture of Antalya by his successor Kaykubad I in 1216, and thereafter progressively increased during the period under discussion, which extends until the mid-1250s.

North Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. The capture of Antioch and Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1098 and 1099 was followed immediately by concessions to the trading cities of Italy, southern France and Spain. In Antioch, which lay on the track to Aleppo (never captured by the Crusaders), Venetians and Genoese were each given a church and a *fondaco* or lockable building containing merchants’ shops and warehouses.¹⁸⁶ The port of St. Siméon (present Samandağ), where goods brought by sea were unloaded, was managed by the Genoese.¹⁸⁷ The port of Ladhikiya (Gr. Laodikaia), too, was connected, via the coastal mountains, to Aleppo, and here too Italian merchants were installed. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and Saladin’s subsequent rapid tour through northwest Syria, in which many castles were captured, the western merchants at first lost privileges and prosperity (for example the Genoese at Antioch).¹⁸⁸ However, more privileges were granted: in Aleppo itself, now an Ayyubid principality with a good measure of independence from the main Ayyubid dynasty in Cairo, the Venetian merchants were allowed to have a church and *fondaco*, and similar privileges were given them in the port city of Ladhikiya in 1225. These concessions were accompanied by a lowering of customs taxes, in 1225 and then in 1229, on goods arriving from a distance, such as spices.¹⁸⁹ The goods imported from the west by the merchants included pearls, precious stones, silver, copper and cloth.¹⁹⁰ Those they exported from the Syrian harbours included spices coming from the Indies by the Persian Gulf, silk and locally grown cotton.¹⁹¹

The immediate provenance of the eastern goods was Baghdad: to Baghdad they came via the Persian Gulf, where the main trading station was the island of Kish or Qays.¹⁹² In the first three decades, at least, of the twelfth century, these goods were brought from Baghdad to Aleppo along the Euphrates past Raqqa, now active as a pottery-manufacturing centre. The routes eastwards from Aleppo through the Euphrates (Harran-Ra's al-'Ayn-Mardin and Ruha/Edessa-Amid) were for the time being impracticable owing to the desultory warfare carried on there while the Seljuk dynasty held Aleppo.¹⁹³ However, with the capture of Aleppo and the unification of the Diyar Mudar (Harran, Ruha, etc.) between 1128 and 1146 by Zangi, it was possible for the cities in this region to develop and for goods to travel along its roads.¹⁹⁴ The Harran-Mardin track led to Mosul and then down the Tigris to Baghdad. The track through Ruha and Amid, if continued, led eventually to the L. Van basin and from there to Khoy and Tabriz. We shall argue later that this route gives no sign of being followed beyond Amid and its companion city of Mayyafariqin before the very end of the twelfth century. Amid, however, had a special importance as the node where a fan of "cross-roads" emanating from west, northwest and north came together and cut the Aleppo-Ruha-Mosul-Baghdad axis. The road from Mosul, crossing the Tigris at Jazirat ibn 'Umar (or simply Jazira, now Cizre), wound through hills to find the Tigris again at the partly cliff-top city of Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf), capital of the second Artukid dynasty.

Besides the trade flows from St. Siméon and Ladhikiya and those from Baghdad, whether up the Euphrates or through the Upper Mesopotamian cities, Aleppo was also the start or finish of another avenue of movement, which can be thought of as a cross-route between the two main axes (Antalya-Konya, etc. and Aleppo-Upper Mesopotamia-Baghdad) for which we argue. This line of movement went by land into Cilicia, where it passed the cities of Mamistra/Misis, Adana and Tarsus. It then led up through the Cilician Gates to Konya and eventually on to Constantinople.¹⁹⁵ The Genoese were given privileges by the Armenian king in Mamistra and Tarsus, the Venetians in Mamistra only.¹⁹⁶ Catholic bishops are known in Mamistra and Tarsus from 1099 onwards.¹⁹⁷ All the southerly Cilician cities (Mamistra, Adana, Tarsus) were at this stage open to boats coming directly from the west, since they lay on rivers whose respective courses were navigable from the coast at least as far as the cities in question.¹⁹⁸

But another "cross-route" existed, which was later to turn into part of Pegolotti's Ayas-Tabriz itinerary. This left the northeast corner of the Cilician plain and rose up through various valleys on the west side of the Amanus mountains. It crossed the watershed of the Taurus mountains by the wide, flat-floored vale of Geben and arrived in the mountain-locked plain of Göksün (Gr. "Koukousos"). From the town of Göksün, the traveller had access to a track connecting Malatya with Kayseri, mainly through a succession of flat districts separated by minor hill ridges. By going northwest from Göksün, Sivas could be reached, as in the period of the Tabriz itinerary, and Sivas was probably the main source or destination of traffic. Kayseri would have been a rare destination, since from the Cilician plain it was more accessible via the Gülek pass overlooking the plain from the northwest. At any rate the use of the Geben pass is known as early as 1201. In that year the Cilician kingdom and the Republic of Genoa made an agreement whereby Genoese merchants had to pay a special toll in order to pass through the territory of the lord of Geben.¹⁹⁹ This suggests that Genoese merchants went as far as Sivas by the Geben route, and that they came south from Sivas along the same route.

Again let us look at the coins struck in the cities lying along the tracks from the Syrian ports to Baghdad and other places. Brief consideration can be given to the coinage of the County of Edessa, finally taken by Zangi in 1146 after an initial capture in 1144. Although it was technically possible to bypass Edessa by going through Harran, on the way to Mardin,

Amid, Mosul, etc., in practice, Edessa was an essential stage on the route for such traffic as there was. At Edessa we find mainly copper coinage, though in the second and third last reigns of the County's history (1119–26 and 1126–31) the coins were composed of billon. The first two rulers (Baldwin I and Baldwin II, 1098–1100 and 1100–04) struck what appear to be imitations of Byzantine coppers; this suggests that the issues were increments to an existing stock of Byzantine coins. During the next two reigns (the regency of Richard of Salerno, 1104–08, and the second reign of Baldwin II, 1108–18) no new coins were minted; the only issues were overstrikes. During the regency of Baldwin II (1119–26) and the reign of Joscelin I (1119–31, but in his own right from 1126), overstriking continued, but this time on Muslim billon coins; it was only in the reign of Joscelin II (1131–44) that new coins were consistently issued. The whole impression which results is that the monetary stock is more or less static: coins are overstruck in order to validate them in a given denomination; some imitations of Byzantine coins are struck, perhaps to augment the existing supply of coin, but partly to maintain the supply by replacing worn or hoarded coins. The new coins of Joscelin II are the exception.²⁰⁰

Further east we can look at the coinage struck in the cities of Mardin, Hisn Kayfa, Amid and Harput. An indication of the stock of money circulating in these cities in the first four decades of the twelfth century is given by a hoard of copper coins found near Mardin and buried or otherwise secreted perhaps in the 1230s or 1240s.²⁰¹ The hoard contains a few copper coins of certain emperors of the East Roman Empire and of certain Byzantine emperors up to Nikephoros II (963–69). The number of coins struck by each of the last four emperors (in the years 886–969) is substantially higher than those of the earlier emperors (between 35 and 40 as opposed to between 4 and 6). Of all these coins, only a low proportion are countermarked.²⁰² The copper coins minted by subsequent Byzantine emperors (from 969 to 1118), by contrast, are 10–20 times greater in number, depending on length of reign and other factors. For example, the Anonymous type C of Michael IV (1034–41) is represented by 1,586 coins.²⁰³ Again a low proportion, 10%–20%, is countermarked (for example, 247 of the 1,586 of Michael IV). Except one, the coins of the later Byzantine emperors do not in fact go beyond the year 1092. The few Islamic coins in the hoard were struck from 543/1148–49 to 625/1227–28.²⁰⁴

Given that the known Islamic mints of the twelfth century AD begin striking coins only around 540/1145–46 we can draw some tentative conclusions. Up to that year (540/1145–46) Byzantine copper coinage was the region's monetary stock. *Ex hypothesi* no new coins were minted. Only a fraction were countermarked, and the countermarking was done partly in the period when copper coin was being minted.²⁰⁵ Recent Byzantine coins (minted in the last 120 years or so before 1100), with a sprinkling of earlier emperors' coins, were the region's monetary stock. This was so presumably because there was no demand for more money.

Later on, the coinage of the same cities took a much more interesting turn. This is the start of the figured copper coins struck by the Artukids in Mardin, Hisn Kayfa, Amid (after being acquired by Hisn Kayfa in 1183) and at Harput by a minor branch of the Artukids. The coins struck at Mosul and nearby Mesopotamian cities by Zangi (1127–46) and his successors form part of the group.

The so-called Turcoman copper coins of the Artukids in Mardin, Hisn Kayfa and elsewhere begin with those of Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan of Hisn Kayfa (539–70/1144–74), whose coins are dateless apart from the ruler's name, and those of Husam al-Din Timurtash of Mardin dated 542/1147–48.²⁰⁶ They stretch up to 655/1257.²⁰⁷ Silver coins were first issued at Aleppo in 579/1183–84; the Artukids of Mardin began striking silver, apart from an early isolated type struck more for political purposes, in 615/1218.²⁰⁸ At Hisn Kayfa, a silver

coinage begins only with the eviction of the Artukids and installation of a minor branch of the Ayyubids (629/1232).²⁰⁹

The copper issues of the Artukids are large dirhams with the Arabic inscriptions on the obverse and a figure (human head or full body, or animal) on the reverse. It seems fair to describe their chronology as follows. They start with a few types, issued over some 15 years, which incorporate figures with specifically Christian reference such as the Virgin Mary. These are followed by a substantial number of types copied quite closely from those of certain Roman and late Roman emperors. Minting then progresses (but not in an even, regular or exclusive fashion) towards animals such as eagles and lions and human figures which represent planets (Mars, Gemini, Helios, etc.).²¹⁰

It may be surmised that the designers, mostly Christians engaged in other crafts, started with dies including figures of explicit Christian significance, partly because such reference was acceptable to the local Christian populations and partly because the coins offered an easy, marginal complement to the region's existing stock of Byzantine coppers. The issues incorporating Christian figures were abandoned in favour of those depicting Roman and Late Roman emperors because of a change, documented in this region, in stance towards their Christian subjects on the part of the local rulers. On the other hand, the coins' subjects are still related to those of the Byzantine coins: among these were Roman and East Roman emperors. The choice of Roman and Late Roman emperors is perhaps explained by the Turkish rulers' desire to establish an image for themselves which would have meaning for the local populations but which would not associate the Turkish rulers with the Byzantine empire, whose forces had recently been driven out of the region. In the third phase, that of planetary symbolism, the designers moved towards figures which can be found on other forms of art in the same period and region: probably enough of the old Byzantine (as opposed to the recently minted Roman and Late Roman-style) types had been worn out, broken and otherwise withdrawn from circulation to make it unnecessary for the rulers to distance themselves from those coins.

In general the "Turcoman" coppers are distinguished by the impressive number of different issues minted by each ruler, the diversity of types and their weight and quality of design. We should conclude that in the relevant cities, there was now a demand for coinage which, owing to the scale of transactions, well exceeded the Byzantine coppers in circulation. This demand, in the absence of silver, expressed itself in heavy copper coins of excellent, interesting design. A hoard of the late twelfth century roughly indicates the transformation in the stock of currency available. Only about a tenth of the hoard were Byzantine issues, and these only of the tenth to early twelfth century. Around nine-tenths were Muslim issues, and mainly figured coins. The latter now supplied the bulk of the coin in circulation.²¹¹ Later trade flows brought silver to the region and, beginning in 615/1218, silver issues began to supplant the copper.

The cities display signs of great vitality in the period. In Aleppo, the Ayyubid prince al-Zahir Ghazi (1186–1216) rebuilt sections of the city wall and extended its line to the east. Caravansarays, beside the Venetians' *fondaco*, and markets are known. Ghazi, his officers and other patrons endowed the city with a large number of religious foundations, principally *madrasas* and *khanqahs*.²¹² At Mardin, a sizeable Great Mosque was built,²¹³ along with other smaller *madrasas* and other monuments.²¹⁴ At Amid, a Great Mosque which certainly existed before the Turkish conquests was progressively rebuilt in a style incorporating and imitating elements of Late Classical architecture. To the north of this mosque's courtyard, the Artukids constructed two *madrasas* over the years 589/1193 to 620/1223.²¹⁵ A *firdaws* or private retreat for the Artukid sultan was built on a mound which formed part of the citadel's

defences.²¹⁶ A palace may have been constructed within the citadel area.²¹⁷ Artukid sultans reconstructed the citadel and certain towers on the walls.²¹⁸ Dunaysir (Kızıltepe) grew from a village to a city in a matter of decades. In 1204 an ambitious, ornate Great Mosque was completed in the city.²¹⁹ At Hisn Kayfa, only a palace and a mausoleum survive above ground.²²⁰

Baghdad was easily the largest of the relevant cities. The Abbasid caliphs, in an administrative sense, now controlled no more than Iraq. It was natural that the city of Baghdad should have contracted since the great days of the Abbasid caliphate. But the city still sustained a large population (the number massacred by the Mongols in 1258 is estimated to have been at least 100,000) and a large built area. In west Baghdad (west of the Tigris), much of the former built area was deserted and covered with ruined buildings. Ten isolated quarters were left, some walled. But east Baghdad flourished, and here were the markets. Besides Baghdad's trading function, some manufacturing activity took place in the city. This included silk weaving, some of the fabrics being exported to the west via Damascus and Acre.²²¹ In all there were still 30 or more *madrasas*: two large ones (the Mustansariyya and the Bashiriyya) were built towards the end of the period. Several new Great Mosques were built.²²²

It can be concluded that these cities were enlivened by trade, mainly from the mid-twelfth century onwards. The primary commercial axis was that between Aleppo, Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. It was not, as in later periods, between Baghdad and Tabriz or between Aleppo and Tabriz. Towards the L.Van region and Tabriz, there is little evidence for any movement until the late twelfth century. Ahlat does not mint before the short reign of the *mamluk* Begtimur (1183–93), and then only in copper.²²³ The first silver coins are those issued by the Ayyubid family which was installed at Ahlat in 604/1207–08. But the earliest datable coin was struck in 617/1220–21.²²⁴

It remains to look at the series of cross-routes, as they might be called, which centred fan-like on Amid and Khartpert/Harput. Each crossed between the Aleppo–Baghdad axis and the Konya–Sivas–Erzurum line.

- (1) From Amid, a track crossed the Taurus in a northwesterly direction and came to the city of Khartpert/Harput, the latter, too, the scene of building in the period.²²⁵ From Khartpert a track came through a belt of hills and descended westwards into the Euphrates valley; the broad river was forded beneath the fortress of Tomarza. Two caravansarays of the period are known on the stretch between the Euphrates crossing and the city of Malatya.²²⁶ From Malatya the grand Roman road led westwards to Elbistan and ultimately to Kayseri, joining the Pegolotti route at Koukousos/Göksün. Again caravansarays are known on and near this road, particularly that in the early thirteenth-century Eshab-ı Kehf complex near Elbistan.²²⁷
- (2) From Malatya, Sivas could be reached along another Roman road, easy of gradient despite the bareness of the country traversed. The early thirteenth-century caravansaray of Hekimhan was passed at two days' journey from the road fork in the Euphrates valley. This was the road by which slaves landed at Sinop reached the Ayyubid states in Syria and Egypt; from Malatya they were taken through the Taurus to Kahta and from there to Samsat and eventually Aleppo.²²⁸
- (3) Kemah in the Anti-Taurus, Erzincan and ultimately Trebizond could be reached from Harput by taking other Roman roads near the valley of the Upper Euphrates. From Harput one would cross the Euphrates plain in a northeasterly direction to a caravansaray traditionally called Han İbrahim Şah. Another day's travel brought one to the ford at Aşvan, where pottery, a sure sign of through traffic, was produced in the period in kilns on the mound's top surface.²²⁹ Continuing northwest, the travellers would ford

the Upper Euphrates and find the Roman road. The latter followed the Upper Euphrates valley at a distance to the west, because in many sectors the valley, or gorge, is too steep and tall to allow a road. Various items of Roman and Ottoman infrastructure – a fort, a caravansaray, etc. – still lie at points along the road's course. The road joined the Upper Euphrates valley only at Burmahan near the valley's sharp bend from southwest to southeast.²³⁰ At Burmahan the fragments of a Roman bridge and a medium-sized caravansaray with courtyard still stand. The caravansaray is probably an Ottoman construction, but there may have been a predecessor in the Turkish Middle Ages.²³¹ Thereafter the road followed the Upper Euphrates' north bank past Kemah to Erzincan.²³²

- (4) From the Roman road in the Anti-Taurus, west of the Upper Euphrates gorge, a track branched west. Eventually it crossed a bridge at Handere, where a small caravansaray also stood.²³³ The track now descended to Divrik/Divriği, a town overlooked by a citadel on a broad, strong site and well-known for its Great Mosque and hospital and for these buildings' wealth of ornament; above the town, the extensive citadel, evidently inhabited by civilians as well as soldiers, was rebuilt in the same period.²³⁴ From Divriği, a way led over heights northwestwards and eventually down into the basin of the Kızıl Irmak. An Ottoman han northwest of Divriği is known.²³⁵ The point of junction with the Pegolotti track as it progressed eastwards through the Kızıl Irmak basin must have been what later became the Il-Khanid tax station of "Dudriaga"/Tödürge.²³⁶ Sivas could now be reached, along easy ground, in two days. The existence and use of the track connecting Harput with Sivas through the Anti-Taurus range helps to explain the prosperity of the little town at Divriği, with its ornate Great Mosque and hospital, in the period.²³⁷

3. *Egypt, south Syria and the Red Sea*

Egypt and its two principal markets, Cairo and Alexandria, were a node from which eastern products and those of Africa's east shore reached Europe. Whatever the origin of the goods traded in Egypt, the immediate approach to that country was effected via the Red Sea. Further afield, the goods originated in China, India, the east African coast and even Iran. Among the whole array of products, the central one was the spices coming from India; however, the goods included porcelain from China, ivory and slaves (in so far as the latter can be counted as goods) from Ethiopia and cloth from Iran.²³⁸ Aden, at the entrance to the Red Sea, was an active port containing all the necessary commercial facilities.²³⁹ After that the principal port in the Red Sea was Jidda, which was similarly equipped with *funduqs* (lockable buildings containing shops, storerooms and sometimes accommodation) and other installations.²⁴⁰

From the markets in Cairo, goods were taken to the Mediterranean ports on the Egyptian coast; of these ports' shares of the trade, the largest was handled by Alexandria. Here European merchants, excluded from the Red Sea, were given privileges: for example, Venice was allowed to maintain a *funduq*, bathhouse and church. Besides Venice and Genoa, Pisa enjoyed equivalent privileges, and several other Italian cities and others on the Mediterranean shore of France were involved in the trade.²⁴¹ From Cairo, goods could also be taken to Damascus, from where they would be marketed in the ports of the southern Levant (Acre, Beirut, etc.). In Damascus also arrived products made in Baghdad, although it is not clear over which roads they travelled. From these Levantine ports, again, it was European merchants who exported the goods; the Europeans could also travel inland as far as Damascus, which was continuously in Muslim hands. Acre, where there were permanent Italian trading communities, functioned not merely as the harbour from which goods from the interior were exported westwards across the sea, but also as the principal stopping-place for coastal trade

between northern Syria and Egypt. Damascus was a manufacturer of cloth and other goods in its own right, and such manufactures could also be exported.²⁴² In return the European merchants brought mostly simple materials such as oil, soap, wool, honey, iron and wood.²⁴³ Gold and silver, however, were also imported to Egypt: the treaty of 1173 between Pisa and the Ayyubid régime in Egypt exempted Pisan merchants from customs duty on imports of gold and silver.²⁴⁴

Hostilities took place between the Ayyubid rulers of Egypt and Crusader forces, as, for example, during the occupations of Damietta in 1218–20 and 1249, both of which were carried out with intent to seize the whole of Egypt. Nevertheless, trade continued.²⁴⁵ To European merchants the profit lay in sales of spices and other precious goods within Europe, while Egypt and southern Syria gained from the import from Europe of mostly simple products (oil, iron, wood, etc.) and from satisfying the local shortage of gold and silver.

Alexandria was not the scene of much building in the period, but Cairo and Fustat (the latter being the original city foundation on the Nile's flat north bank) expanded fast, both under the Shi'ite Fatimid dynasty in the years 49–555/1101–60 and under Saladin (567–89/1171–93) and those members of his dynasty, the Ayyubids, who followed him (589–647/1193–1249). The Ayyubid rulers constructed or restored a remarkable number of buildings, virtually of all known sorts, including city walls, fortresses, mosques, *madrasas* (at least 24 in number), *khanqahs*, *suqs* (specialised markets) and *khans* and *funduqs* (urban caravansarays).²⁴⁶ The city of Damascus, too, expanded dramatically during the period: new suburbs outside the walls sprang up and continued to grow. Nur al-Din (1154–74), a ruler who strove to unite the Muslim princes of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, was responsible for refortification work, a hospital and many *madrasas*, *khanqahs* and *hamams*. New *suqs* and caravansarays were built. This work continued at an equal pace under Saladin and the subsequent Ayyubid princes of Damascus (1174–1250), including substantial buildings in the new suburbs.²⁴⁷

B. The period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary

1. The European economy

Trade and the economy. During the 'long thirteenth century' from around 1180 to the third decade of the fourteenth century, it may fairly be said that the European economy grew steadily and considerably faster than before, reaching a peak in the early fourteenth century, slowing thereafter and then sliding into a rapid recession which started in the 1330s. The second half of the thirteenth century and very first decade of the fourteenth may be regarded as the apogee of the whole period.²⁴⁸

In the countryside, the population continued to grow rapidly until the end of the thirteenth century, when its rate of growth began to level off. This fall in its rate of growth turned into an outright demographic decline in the first half of the fourteenth century. The initial check to population growth had perhaps come about because the countryside's agricultural capacity had simply been exceeded. The subsequent continuous decline is harder to explain, but it was certainly pushed along by a series of radical harvest failures in the years 1315–17 and a number of plague epidemics which preceded the Black Death of 1348.²⁴⁹

The general growth in the economy took the form of specialisation: certain cities excelled in the one craft, others in another. Here, paradoxically, the first four decades of the fourteenth century are the most productive and inventive; thereafter Europe was subject to a general crash, both in finance and in the real economy. In the century's first two decades, the region of Brabant (Brussels, Louvain, etc.) was the leader in the production of high-quality wool

cloth and clothing, while that of Flanders (especially Ghent and Ypres) specialised in the production of cheaper woollen cloth. Early in the century, Florence, too, was engaged in the production of the cheaper woollen cloths. But in the 1320s, Florence commenced the production of luxury woollen cloth and by the late 1330s it was the dominant producer; its firms imported English wool, while some of the luxury clothes made in Florence were exported to the eastern Mediterranean. Meanwhile the manufacture of cheaper woollens had spread to Lombardy, southern France and Catalonia; Lombardy made also cotton clothes, importing the raw cotton principally from Asia Minor and Syria.²⁵⁰ Silk weaving industries flourished in Lucca (near Pisa), Venice and Genoa, which is not to say that these industries were capable to more than a small extent of satisfying European demand for their product.²⁵¹ The Italian cities were not just intermediaries, in the sense of being stations on the export road towards the East. They were also the origin of some of the goods exported; in this capacity they were intermediaries only in the sense that they imported a raw or semi-finished material and exported a finished product.

Nevertheless, by the mid-thirteenth century, western Europe was exporting to the East considerably less than it was importing from the East. To all appearances this had nothing to do with inferior production techniques or inferior products. More the other way round: Europe's advanced technology was able to buy increasing quantities of eastern products, silks and spices, etc. from India and China; pearls from the Persian Gulf; and furs, hides, etc. from the Crimea.²⁵² But the general expansion of the European economy meant a total demand, part of which could not be paid for by corresponding exports of European goods.

Money and banking. This balance had to be paid for in precious metal, whether coin or bullion, which was exported along the various lines of movement to the Aegean, the eastern Mediterranean and beyond.²⁵³ It might be expected that such a deficit would be self-closing: it would lead to economic consequences in east and west which would alter the demand relativities and so close or narrow the deficit. In the east, at some remove, precious metal would accumulate to a point where demand for western goods would rise. In a more indirect effect, the accumulation of metal would eventually cause an economic expansion which would tend to pull in western products. In the west, the outflow of metal would cause a decrease in the quantity of coin in circulation, which in itself would lessen demand for eastern goods; it would also tend to contract the whole European economy, again eating at demand for imports from the east. But the outcome, in the period, was not this. European technology kept advancing, production expanded, demand for eastern goods increased and, just so long as enough precious metal was at Europe's disposal, the deficit, and the accompanying outflow of precious metal, could continue.

The precious metal available to Europe, however, changed. In the thirteenth century, a whole series of silver mines was opened, each one yielding the metal over a certain period, after which production would drop off. However, the last of these mines, Kutná Hora in Bohemia, was opened in 1298. Certainly it produced voluminously until the late 1330s, but meanwhile production at the other mines had either stopped or else was tailing off.²⁵⁴ Meanwhile, from the mid-thirteenth century there took place a general exchange of gold and silver between North Africa and western Europe. Value ratios had reached such a point that north Africa demanded European silver, and then minted in that metal, while Europe imported north African gold, gradually swapping the one metal for the other in the minting of its currencies. The mining and minting of gold in Europe started in the 1320s. These developments meant that the metal exported to the East became increasingly gold and less and less silver.²⁵⁵

The thirteenth century is also the century of credit and banking. For purposes of the study of international trade, the significance of credit and banking is that in effect they allow or constitute an extension of the money supply. Their expansion seems also to have helped in bringing down the general level of interest rates.²⁵⁶ Of the different types of loan available, the *commenda*, or loan for shipping purposes, is known from the twelfth century. It was a simple contract whereby a merchant lent money for the shipping of an item, generally imported. In exchange for the loan, the lender was to take a percentage, generally amounting to 75%, of the profit.²⁵⁷ In a different type of loan, arrangements could be made for payment at a distance. The payer would request, for example, that such-and-such a sum be paid by such-and-such a firm to his supplier. Such a system worked well within cities, particularly the Italian ones, where the banking firms could settle between themselves any imbalances that might accrue.²⁵⁸ It also worked well in western Europe as a whole. The Champagne fairs were the medium: again they lent themselves to the cancelling out of mutual debt and the settling up of any accruing imbalances.²⁵⁹ For the purposes of studying the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, this species of credit has a special importance. It is precisely this sort of credit arrangement which Italian merchants were able to arrive at in Cyprus and Ayas and along the road to Tabriz.²⁶⁰

A third type of credit is the bill of exchange, which attained its final form at the end of the thirteenth century. This is a note which guarantees payment to the bearer by a given individual. It functioned like coin, or like modern debt issues (whether by governments or by private firms), in the sense that it could pass from hand to hand. It, too, was a natural medium of transactions in the Champagne fairs. But it was little used in east–west trade, simply because there tended always to be an imbalance between exports to and imports from the east.²⁶¹

But, functioning like coin, it was not independent of coin, nor were the other forms of debt. In the end the debt, if called in, had to be paid in coin. If the quantity of available coins contracted, so necessarily did the circle of possible bills of exchange of which the supply of coins was an extension.²⁶² Bills of exchange are not directly relevant to the study of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, since they do not seem to have been in use in the cities along the road. But they help to explain the expansion of the European economy, and its ultimate contraction.

Banks, in the sense of fully formed institutions which take deposits and make loans, began to operate in the mid-thirteenth century. But it was not long before the banking firms, as corporate organisms, themselves underwent a change. Again from the mid-thirteenth century begins the development of the big holding banks based in Florence. The bank owned by the Peruzzi family is the pre-eminent example, but the operations of the Bardi bank, Pegolotti's, were 50% larger in monetary value.²⁶³ A holding bank had various branches in European manufacturing centres and in certain Mediterranean cities. The branches were individual firms, often run by members of the family, but they were part-owned by the parent company and were accountable to it. The holding companies had the advantage of being able to handle credit operations with greater speed and assurance. An instruction to extend credit to a customer in London could be carried out by simply sending a messenger to that branch. It would be balanced by credits and loan repayments, always within the grander firm, at other branches.²⁶⁴ The biggest firms were not just banks: they relied on other operations, such as the import of English wool or of grain from Sicily and other parts of Italy, to generate the cash which formed the capital for the banking operation. They also imported cotton and grain from Cyprus and Cilicia.²⁶⁵ For the European economy, their advantage was the provision of credit on a large scale, and cheaply; their drawback was that they replaced the Champagne fairs, which began to wither in the first two decades of the fourteenth century.²⁶⁶ The fate of

these big banks in the 1340s is well-known and has been mentioned here. Overlending to the English king, they found themselves unable to meet their own debts; they went bankrupt, and had afterwards to be reconstructed, though on a smaller scale and as organisations of a different nature.²⁶⁷

Their fate is clear, but the causes of their bankruptcy are apparently less well understood. The Florentine bank failures are sometimes put down to their overlending to the English king *tout court*. But overlending, in the sense of a dangerous extension of credit beyond a safe ratio with assets, is not a sufficient condition. In the recent credit crisis (from late 2006 onwards), banks in America and elsewhere had undoubtedly overextended credit, but it was not this by itself which caused the bank crashes and credit shortages. It was the erosion of assets, in the first place because a certain category of the banks' assets evaporated, i.e., loans backed by mortgages which housebuyers had taken out and were subsequently unable to service. And the inability of housebuyers to pay mortgage instalments was in turn brought about by an incipient recession, which is not to say that the banking crashes which then developed did not push the world economy downhill even faster.

This circumstance – that the erosion of assets cannot be due to overextension of credit, and that the latter will not by itself cause a banking failure – has perhaps gone largely unnoticed in respect of the recent world crisis, and seems not to have been taken into account in the explanation of the Italian banking crisis of the 1340s. Taking account particularly of the chronologies of the recession and the banking crisis, it is difficult to believe that the bankruptcies of the big Florentine banks took place independently of the European recession. The crashes took place over a period of just a few years, well after the recession had started, and were caused in part, but not wholly, by the expectation that the English king would default on his debts, an expectation with which the volume of his debts is certainly connected. However, this is a different line of causation from that which starts at a default by the English king and then leads to a perception that the Florentine banks' assets are insufficient, which in turn leads to a panic run on deposits in those banks.

The runs on the banks were caused in part by the alarming fall in the city of Florence's tax income, which in turn stemmed from the general recession. Banks also failed in Venice in 1340–42, which appears to have been brought about partly by lending in Florence, but can hardly fail to have been occasioned by the general European recession.²⁶⁸ As it was, Edward III of England did not default, in 1339, on his debts to the Florentine banks. The banks continued making loans to him up to 1341. All the same, his incurring of extra debts worried investors. In late 1340, the Pope dismissed the Bardi and Peruzzi as his bankers; some smaller banks defaulted. In June 1342, one of the more substantial firms, the Buonaccorsi, shut down its operations in Naples and Avignon. It seems to have been this which precipitated the general rush to withdraw deposits.²⁶⁹

The contraction which took place in the European economy in the 1330s to 1350s was a recession in the normal definition of the term. The expansion of the tenth to thirteenth centuries was, equally, a simple example of economic growth, but extended over a period that was long even for the Middle Ages. In an expansion, different factors pull one another up; for example, production is led by demand, and demand by monetary expansion, growth in incomes or population growth. The turning-point is reached when one factor after another comes up against barriers which are themselves brought into being by growth: demand is choked off by rising prices, for example. In a recession, different factors push one another down instead of up. The European economy was not behaving differently from any other in this respect; it merely grew in a medieval rhythm and contracted at a much faster pace, one abnormal for the Middle Ages.

But monetary factors surely contributed to the relatively swift decline, just as they had contributed to the steady expansion. No big silver mines were opened after 1298 for another 100 years. All forms of banking depended on the quantity of coin in circulation. Despite the compensating coinage in gold, the diminishing circulation of silver cannot have failed to have an effect on the availability of credit. A credit crunch, caused by a banking crash, cannot fail to lead to a contraction in demand, admittedly in the luxury sectors of the economy. The monetary contraction and banking crashes may have intensified the recession; there was no fall-back position, because the holding banks themselves had replaced the humbler forms of exchange in the Champagne fairs and elsewhere.

For the study of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary it is presumably relevant to note that its infrastructure, fiduciary as well as physical, depended on large-scale banking operations. When these operations no longer took place, the infrastructure of notaries, consuls, *fondacchi* and so on could not be replaced. The end of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary did not come about merely through the ill-treatment of Italian merchants in the late Il-Khanid empire and the capture of Ayas by the Mamluks in 1337. The credit operations which allowed merchants to go up and down the track would probably not have been possible a few years after the closure of the route. Once the route was closed, it was impossible to restore the infrastructure.²⁷⁰

Venice, Genoa and Florence. The effects on these three cities of the European expansion and of the trade between Europe and the east were particularly impressive. In Venice the rapid expansion of trading volume, both with that part of Europe north of the Alps and with the east, provoked a hectic pace of construction and an intensive improvement of infrastructure. The authorities were obliged to accommodate demand for new building; they paid for new infrastructure, sometimes directly involving themselves, for example in reclamation projects. They also regulated demand by means of the grant of building permissions and by applying policies for the rationalisation of space.²⁷¹

The Rialto, where the products both of Europe and of the East were marketed, was expanded. In 1288 it was split into two markets, one a new square where major transactions were bargained on and agreed, and the other for smaller transactions. To one side, in front of the Rialto's offices, was a space for the tables of the money changers and bankers.²⁷²

In the first three decades of the fourteenth century, the city's principal port facilities, instead of being scattered among the houses along a variety of canals, were brought together in one harbour. Here quays were reconstructed and new ones built, the harbour was enlarged by the drainage of new areas, the whole level expanse stretching back from the quays' frontage was paved and bridges were built or rebuilt.²⁷³ In 1340 the decision was taken to build a new assembly chamber in the Ducal Palace for the Maggior Consiglio, the city's now enlarged executive and legislative body. The palace's whole canal-side front was magnificently rebuilt.²⁷⁴ At the Arsenale, an extension was built which quadrupled the size of the whole precinct.²⁷⁵ But this furious building activity, the authorities' regulatory activity and their investment initiatives suddenly stalled at the end of the 1340s.²⁷⁶

Church construction took an active new turn. Two of the city's prominent churches were built in the mid-thirteenth century, but work on their reconstruction, to much grander specifications, started later in the period, in the 1330s. The Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was started in 1246, and by 1258 its construction had progressed nearly to the point of completion. The building of the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Freri was begun in 1250.²⁷⁷ At the very end of the period's hump of prosperity, a reconstruction on a more ambitious scale was begun, to be completed in the following period. Construction at

SS. Giovanni e Paolo seems to have begun in 1333. At S. Maria Gloriosa dei Freri, the new church was begun in 1330.²⁷⁸

In Genoa, with the increase in commercial activity, more building took place on the docks and population continued to crowd into the city. Over the years 1320–46 a new wall was constructed which greatly extended the protected area. In fact the new wall's construction took the form of the enclosure of two new expanses: first, in 1320–27, a whole area complementing the city along its southeast side, but rising up over the inland heights to the northeast; and second, in 1347–50, a band of territory continuing the former walled area towards the northwest, taking in the curve of the shoreline, which had already been built up by the time of its enclosure by the new wall. Further inland the land, sparsely inhabited, rose up to the heights along which the new wall was built. In either case, former suburbs, in effect clusters of residential housing grouped around certain churches, were now brought within the wall; however, the land within the new southeasterly wall remained for the most part unbuilt.²⁷⁹

The period begins with several new monastic foundations. The monastery of Sant'Agostino, within the old city near its southern boundary, on a height shortly to the east of the former citadel on its mound (the 'Castello'), possesses an extensive cloister and was founded in 1257. The Dominican monastery of San Pellegrino (or SS. Giacomo e Filippo: 1264) was built adjacent to a hospital already erected in the previous period. The two buildings lay some way outside the city walls to the east, in a sector not covered by either of the two new walled enclosures. The Carmelite monastery of Santa Maria del Monte Carmelo (1262) was built some way north of the strip of buildings along the shore to the northwest of the former wall; it was brought only just within the new wall of 1347–50. The monastery of San Colombano was founded in 1283 hard against the city wall, on high ground to the northeast.²⁸⁰ The first three decades of the fourteenth century bring more monastic foundations, for example San Leonardo (1317), outside the old walls and later enclosed in the new south-eastern wall; and San Silvestro (1323) on the old citadel mound. Three more are known; after the third decade of the century the new foundations stop, essentially for 70 years.²⁸¹

Despite the huge momentum of monastic foundations at the edges of the city, mostly enclosed within the new walls when they were built, the city's spiritual and governmental centre remained within the old city. It was a cluster of three buildings: the cathedral of San Lorenzo, where building work continued for the greater part of the thirteenth century; the bishop's palace; and the Palazzo Comunale, begun in 1291, at one side of the square behind the cathedral.²⁸² Economically the implicit focus remained the quayside.

Institutions of urban government had now been developed, and for the first time public buildings were founded. The Palazzo Comunale (just mentioned), later called the Palazzo Ducale, was the commune's first palace, formed by building out from a private palace; the Palazzo dei Capitanei housed the "captains", one of the commune and one of the *popolo*; the Palatium Maris stood on the harbour quay ("Palace of the Sea", in reality a customs house).²⁸³ Principally in the late thirteenth century, the city's leading families founded *alberghi*, in effect grand family residences, for example the Spinola-Grimaldi house built late in the period; and this tendency broadened in the following period.²⁸⁴ A four-storey shopping centre, the Macello Nuovo, was built over the years 1291–1311.²⁸⁵

It was in this period that Florence's wealth expanded the quickest. The leading firms extended their banking operations Europe-wide, and their wool-importing activity, closely connected to the profits from banking, greatly increased, especially from the first decade of the fourteenth century. The woollens industry itself brought in substantial revenue and by the end of the period employed a quarter of the city's population. Whatever its funding problems, the city's government was directly responsible for the public buildings needed

in order to accommodate the city's enlarged administration; in the second half of the thirteenth century, the government also paid subsidies to the mendicant orders which were the immediate financiers of many of the new churches and of additions to existing churches and monasteries.²⁸⁶

Population continued to flood into the city. In 1285, the decision was taken to build yet another wall, which enclosed an area literally five times greater than the immediately previous one (that of 1173–75). The wall principally encompassed land which lay north of the river, but for the first time enclosed a sector of land immediately to the river's south. It encircled all the suburbs which, as before, had developed in front of the existing city gates, as well as the monasteries lying outside the walls.²⁸⁷ In the countryside, as it extended in different directions from the city, were built eight new towns, each planned round a central square and with a grid pattern laid out to receive new housing.²⁸⁸ The new towns were built partly to guard the main roads and to control and administer districts already conquered by the city; however, they should also be seen as measures to limit the influx of population into the city proper.²⁸⁹ To expedite the trade in goods, the city introduced regulations to ensure the maintenance and widening of roads and the provision of inns.²⁹⁰ The roads included the direct westward link to Pisa, with its port, and the so-called Via Francigena, carrier of pilgrim traffic, which led southwards to Siena and eventually to Rome; however, an alternative route to Rome existed, which initially progressed south to Arezzo and then came in a more southerly direction to Orvieto. A further, northeasterly, road linked Florence to Bologna.²⁹¹

Among civic buildings, an office later called the Bargello was built, starting in 1255, against the line of the first (Roman city) walls on the east side; the building's original purpose was to house police and judiciary. Against the line of the original south wall, towards its east end, a square was cleared, and on the south edge of this square was erected the imposing, fortress-like administrative building later known as the Palazzo Vecchio (Old Palace). Its foundation stone was laid in 1299; the building served the needs of the new constitution, arrived at in 1293; in 1314 it became the seat of the Priors, the representatives elected to the city's top legislative and executive council, and of the Gonfaloniere della Giustizia, or highest judicial official.²⁹² Government buildings apart, the period saw the beginnings of a tendency for the richer families to build within the city their own large, imposing private residences. These, plain but very solid, generally agreed in dimensions with the terraces of which they were part.²⁹³

The period saw also the execution of several monumental and ambitious ecclesiastical building projects. Work began in 1296 on the Duomo, on the site of Santa Reparata, against the line of the original wall's north side.²⁹⁴ By 1348 the walls, west façade and walls of the triconch around the east end seem to have been finished.²⁹⁵ The cathedral's *campanile* or monumental bell-tower was started in or just after 1334.²⁹⁶ At Santa Croce, to the east of the former Roman city, the new church's foundation stone was put in place in 1294. The complex included a frescoed refectory for the Franciscan monks, cloisters and a chapter house (assembly chamber). Against another side of the principal church were built the family chapels of the two largest banking houses, the Bardi and Peruzzi. A new church of Santa Maria Novella (northwest side of the city) was started in 1279; eventually a *campanile* was erected (c. 1330), as was a library (1338–40) and a cloister (1332–57).²⁹⁷

Several other churches were built, repaired or enlarged. Churches were founded on waste land, apparently with the aim of encouraging development and settlement (for example the Ognissanti or All Saints to the west). Two churches were founded south of the river before the enlargement of the walled area which started in 1285, and so, at this stage, stood outside the walls: Santa Maria del Carmine (1268) and Santo Spirito.²⁹⁸

2. The Inner Asian routes

The changing conditions in Europe gave rise to equally radical changes in the avenues of international trade. These we will now examine.

A few months before the reconquest of its own capital by the Byzantine empire in 1261, a treaty between the Nicaean empire and Genoa had been signed – the treaty of Nymphaion. In the Aegean theatre, in Constantinople and elsewhere, the treaty gave to Genoa almost exactly what Venice, at the moment of signing, possessed. The treaty explicitly promised access to the Black Sea. The Nicaean empire made such and so many concessions in order to secure Genoese help in the final assault on Constantinople. In 1235 Nicaea had recovered virtually all the Latin Empire's territory in Europe, as well as adjacent tracts of Venetian and Thessalonican territory (eastern Thrace, the Gallipoli peninsula, the Marmara shore). In the event, Nicaea succeeded in recapturing Constantinople without Genoese help.²⁹⁹ Despite the advantage which the treaty of Nymphaion handed to Genoa and the apparent turn of fate against Venetian interests, treaties were eventually signed with Venice and Pisa too.³⁰⁰ Italian interest and activity in the Black Sea greatly increased.

A political situation on the north shore of the Black Sea more favourable to the Italian republics had arisen. The region was now controlled by the Golden Horde. The latter was one of the four sizeable empires into which Chinghis Khan's huge empire had been divided. The Golden Horde's territory stretched eastwards over steppeland as far as the Volga steppe north of the Caspian Sea and a northerly part of Central Asia, including the cities of Urgench (south of the Aral Sea) and Utrar.³⁰¹ Further east, the plains of Central Asia were occupied by another of the breakaway Mongol empires, the so-called Chaghatay khanate.³⁰² Iran, Iraq, Armenia and Anatolia were from the winter of 660/1261–62 ruled by the Il-Khans, the third breakaway empire.³⁰³ The fourth empire, the Yuan empire of China, was the one portion of the old unified empire which remained to those khans who were nominally entitled to the inheritance of Chinghiz Khan's role.³⁰⁴

In the years immediately after 1261, Sughdaq/Soldaia (Gr.), at the mouth of the strait connecting the Sea of Azov to the Black Sea, remained the chief trading settlement in the Crimea.³⁰⁵ Genoese were working here in 1274,³⁰⁶ Pisans are signalled too. A Venetian presence is first known in 1278, and Venice had a consul here in 1287:³⁰⁷ a treaty with the Byzantine empire had explicitly permitted Venetians to trade in the Black Sea.³⁰⁸ In a carefully phrased clause of the Byzantine–Mamluk treaty of 1281, the shipping of slaves is explicitly allowed. The text of the treaty glaringly avoids references to or comparisons between Venetians, Genoese, Greeks and genuine natives.³⁰⁹

Genoese merchants were already doing business at Caffa, on the outer shore of the Crimean peninsula, before 1266.³¹⁰ But in that year, permission was given by the khan of the Golden Horde for a Genoese merchant community, with recognised privileges, to be established in the city. The intention of the Genoese was to develop in the Crimea a specifically Genoese commercial base rather than one shared with other Italian cities. Moreover, the Genoese seem to have realised from the start that for this purpose they needed a substantial and defensible settlement. In the early and mid-1280s the community was doing business with Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople, on the one hand and on the other hand with the cities, to be mentioned later, on a line stretching eastwards across the steppe to Khwarazm, a part of Central Asia east of the Caspian Sea and south of the Aral Sea. The community had a consul and a council by 1290.³¹¹ The volume of exports from the port to Constantinople and beyond, and of imports from the same direction, was so great that the city rapidly attracted other populations. Beside a Catholic bishopric (established in 1311),³¹² Caffa was also the seat of

an Armenian and a Greek Orthodox bishop.³¹³ Beside the Catholic cathedral there were 12 churches;³¹⁴ both Dominican and Franciscan monasteries were founded here.³¹⁵

Caffa was subjected to an 8-month siege by Golden Horde troops in autumn 1307, and the Genoese abandoned the city finally in May 1308. The purpose of the attack was to stop the supply of slaves to Mamluk Egypt; in turn this was meant to pressure the Mamluk sultan into aiding the Golden Horde in its attempts to regain from the Il-Khanid state territory in Azerbaijan (Tabriz and other cities) and Arran (valley of the river Kur), which the Golden Horde khan considered to have been wrongfully seized. The city of Caffa was left empty for 5 years.

But in January 1313, a new khan, Uzbek, came to the throne and the city seems almost immediately to have been allowed to fill up. An *Officium Gazarie*, an authority covering Genoese communities on the whole north Black Sea coast, was instituted in November of the same year.³¹⁶ As before, the Golden Horde state extracted customs taxes at Caffa, alongside the Genoese' own taxes. But the Genoese consul was the real political authority in Caffa; *de facto* at least, the Golden Horde khan had no jurisdiction here.³¹⁷ Before the siege of 707/1307–08 Caffa was a town surrounded merely by a ditch. But after its resettlement in 1313, all the churches were rebuilt (only one had survived the Tatar attack) and a citadel was constructed, as was a palace for the Genoese consul. Work on a wall to surround the city was started in 1342.³¹⁸

Genoese activity at Tana, at the northeastern angle of the Sea of Azov, is signalled as early as 1269. In a treaty brokered by the Pope and signed with Venice in that year, Venice, at Genoese insistence, undertook to refrain from trading there.³¹⁹ A Genoese consul and *curia* (court) are attested in 1304. The Venetians did finally come here, and Tana was the nearest to a permanent base they possessed. Their presence here seems first to be known in 1313. Tana was not exactly the Venetian counterpart to Caffa. For one thing Venice never enjoyed sovereign rights here, and the Venetian mercantile community worked alongside an equivalent Genoese community; each had a constitution drawn up by its mother city and negotiated with the Golden Horde. Severe conflicts sometimes arose between Venetians and Genoese.³²⁰ From 1320 to 1335 at least (despite the strange absence from the Venetian records of any mention of the state-commissioned commercial convoys between 1323 and 1331), the mother city continued to direct and change the legal framework within which local Venetian businessmen operated; for example, sometime between 1317 and 1325, a consulate was established, while in 1335 the Commune of Venice decided to appoint the consul at Tana itself rather than leaving the Venetians at Tana to elect him.³²¹ From 1333 onwards Tana was visited yearly by the Venetian state convoys.³²² By the early 1340s there were Venetian banks in Tana besides the three in Constantinople, which of course lay on the route.³²³ Among the several churches were those of the Venetians (St. Mark) and of the Franciscans.³²⁴

To these ports the Italian merchants brought French and Italian wool cloths, arms, wine, etc.; goods came directly from Asia Minor, too.³²⁵ They exported to the west, in part, goods, including slaves, which originated in the Crimea itself, from the Black Sea coast and from the steppes further north. Among these goods were animal skins, cereals and salt; some of the slaves were taken to Egypt to be incorporated into the Mamluk army.³²⁶ More precious goods, principally silk and spices, came over the Inner Asian and Central Asian steppes further east, by tracks whose course we shall shortly be detailing. It seems very likely, however, that this trade remained subdued until around 1315 or 1320, expanding thereafter to enjoy a three-decade period of volume and vitality.³²⁷ With this expansion, the reconstruction of Caffa after 1313 and the Venetian settlement of Tana after 1313 (*sic*) are perhaps connected.³²⁸

The eastern goods came to Tana and Caffa essentially along two different tracks: a southerly one through Central Asia (Bukhara, etc.) and an easterly one through the Inner Asian steppe from China. Along the southerly track, the goods came from India (spices, pearls and corals), silk (from Marv), Bukhara (carpets) and Khwarazm (south of the Aral Sea: textiles). The route therefore went via the city of Saray, to be described shortly, and to Astrakhan (in this period a small settlement at first, then expanding) near the northwest corner of the Caspian Sea, but then cut southeast beneath the Aral Sea to Urgench. Merchants would then travel to Bukhara and Kabul and from there to India.³²⁹

The other track, along which came Chinese silk, left the first near the north coast of the Caspian Sea and came around the north rather than the south side of the Aral Sea. It came south-eastwards to Utrar, a kind of junction city from which the cities of Central Asia (to the south) could be reached. As far as Utrar, the road followed the Syr Darya, a river parallel to the Amu Darya or Oxus. The track then travelled eastwards to Almaligh, an important Chaghatay city; to Khanbalik (Beijing), capital of the Mongol empire of China, the Yuan; and to the huge port of Tsiuan-Cheou (Zeitun to the Italians). Chinese silk coming along this route, despite constituting the bulk of the raw silk supplied to Italy, and despite the profit made on it, was considered of worse quality, and was sold for less, than the Persian silk reaching Europe along the Trebizond and Ayas–Tabriz routes. The reason was simply the longer journey and the greater wear and tear.³³⁰

The first cities on either route were those of Saray (old Saray) and Sarayjik (or New Saray). The first lay on the Volga about half-way between Astrakhan and the great bend made by the Volga from southwest to southeast. It is known from the mid-thirteenth century AD.³³¹ The second, New Saray, lay near the bend of the river itself. It is known from around 710/1310–11, but was made into a capital only in the early 1320s.³³² But it did not replace Old Saray; the two cities existed side by side.

In Pegolotti's time the merchants would therefore come first to New Saray/Sarayjik (Pegolotti's 'Saracanco'). It was oval in shape, surrounded by a ditch, and around 1½ kilometres long.³³³ The city had wide streets, many mosques and other public buildings; there were different quarters for different types of artisans.³³⁴ Old Saray, the next city, around 125 kilometres away, was, by contrast, about 4 kilometres in length. Again it had different artisans' quarters,³³⁵ many markets and a varied population, including Greeks and Armenians.³³⁶ Foreign merchants resided in a special walled section.³³⁷ And indeed when Genoa sent an embassy to Saray in 1320, the ambassador found four Genoese merchants and a notary there.³³⁸ Saray was the seat of a Greek Orthodox bishop in 1261,³³⁹ though it is not clear for how long it remained so afterwards. It was also an Armenian bishopric,³⁴⁰ but was not made the seat of a Roman Catholic bishop until 1362.³⁴¹ There was a Catholic monastery here by 1286, and later two Franciscan churches and a nunnery are known.³⁴² Astrakhan does not at first seem to have had an important trading role, but with the quickening of trade in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century, it evidently did function as an active and sizeable emporium.³⁴³

On the southerly of the two tracks mentioned earlier lay a city which emerged in this period as an important trading centre. Urgench, to the southwest of the Aral Sea, lay at the western end of the Chaghatay khanate, which by now stretched all the way to the region of L. Balkash (in the southeast corner of the present Republic of Kazakhstan, and just north of the mountainous republic of Kirghizstan) and to the city of Almaligh in a valley to the south of that region. Urgench was the biggest of the khanate's cities, and possessed fine public buildings, some of which were put up in the period.³⁴⁴ It was known to Italian traders as a commercial centre with a good variety of merchandise.³⁴⁵ A Catholic bishop is known here in 1340.³⁴⁶

The southerly track continued up the Oxus to Bukhara. Despite the general vicissitudes of the region, the city remained active; after being ravaged (again) in 671/1273 by the Il-Khan and the Chaghatay khan, it was rebuilt. It participated also in the general economic revival of the 1270s and 1280s.³⁴⁷ The route continued up the Oxus, then struck southwards into the mountains of Afghanistan and so to Kabul. It left Samarkand well to the northeast.³⁴⁸

The text of Pegolotti himself, however, presents us with a puzzle which suggests some crossover between the two routes. Pegolotti mentions Urgench and Utrar (“Organci” and “Ioltrarre” or “Oltrarre”) as lying one after the other on the same route.³⁴⁹ To cross from Urgench to the northerly track, merchants must have passed immediately to the south of the Aral Sea and then turned northeast, keeping close to the Aral Sea, to avoid the Kyzyl Kum (“Red Sand”) desert. At a certain point this track met the northerly track mentioned earlier which rounded the north coast of the Aral Sea and headed for Utrar.

The latter city lay on the Syr Darya about 150 kilometres northwest of modern Tashkent, and as mentioned earlier formed the point of junction between tracks coming northwards from Central Asia and the northerly of the tracks connecting Tana and Saray with China. Lying as it did on the line from Urgench to China as well as on the more direct line between Tana and Saray on the one hand and China on the other, it was one of the cities where the late thirteenth-century commercial revival in the Chaghatay-controlled regions began.³⁵⁰ The track towards China then rounded the mountains of Kirghizstan and in 45 days or so came to the fertile and well-watered Ili valley, where stood the city of Almaligh. Here, too, there was a Catholic presence: a bishopric is known before 1328. The city was probably the seat of a Nestorian metropolitan bishopric too.³⁵¹

From Almaligh the city of Kan-Chou, Pegolotti’s “Camesu”, point of junction with the Central Asia–Kashgar–Tarim basin route, was reached across the steppe in a stage of possibly two months’ duration, then in a month the capital of Mongol China itself, Khanbalik.³⁵² Between Almaligh and Khanbalik, no cities with a Catholic mission or other Italian presence are known. But at Khanbalik in 1293 the Pope established an archbishopric which oversaw all the bishops on the track from Caffa and Tana. At this point churches were built in Khanbalik, one opposite the palace of the Mongol khan. Italians, including Genoese and Piacenzans, were active, and some probably resident, here. There was also a Nestorian community in the city.³⁵³ The track ended on the coast at the city of Tsiuan-Cheou (Ital. ‘Zayton’, ‘Zeitun’). Here there were a Catholic bishop, a permanent Genoese community with its own *fondaco*, three Latin churches and apparently an Armenian community, at least part of which was Catholic.³⁵⁴

The silk route to Tana and Caffa and the cities along the way leave an impression of large, thriving cities which must have been sustained in part by commercial activity and in particular by the passage of merchants. Impressive too are the Catholic missions (bishoprics and monasteries) in nearly every city. The missions served the trade: they are themselves evidence of its vitality. So are the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities in Saray and Tsiuan-Cheou. Permanent Italian commercial communities east of Tana seem to have been few in relation to the long distances and the number of cities passed.

3. Trebizond, the Black Sea and the Aegean ports

In this section we describe the intercontinental commerce taking place through Trebizond and more local issues of trade in the Black Sea and Aegean.

Trebizond, now capital of a tiny Greek empire formed from a breakaway portion of the wider Byzantine empire, lay towards the east end of the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor. The

empire of Trebizond occupied, speaking very generally, the east half of that coast, the north face of the great Pontic range rising just to the south of the coast and certain districts just south of the Pontic range. The city itself consisted of a limited walled area on a great spine between two ravines, a lower walled area running down to the coast and a suburb spreading along the coast to the east.³⁵⁵ Goods reached Trebizond from Tabriz via Erzurum, after which they took the tracks coming over the passes in the intervening mountains. From Trebizond they were taken by ship to Constantinople and so through the Aegean. A secondary destination within the Black Sea was Caffa; the connection with Caffa is briefly discussed later.

Western merchants, in this case ones from southern France, appeared in Trebizond in 1266 and 1267, soon after the restored Byzantine empire signed treaties granting Italian cities trading privileges in the Black Sea.³⁵⁶ There was already a Genoese merchant community by 1290,³⁵⁷ by 1292, as we have noted, the movement of caravans carrying merchandise between Tabriz and Trebizond on behalf of Genoese merchants had become a standard occurrence.³⁵⁸ At the end of the thirteenth century, the emperor of Trebizond gave the Genoese permission to build a castle on the sea-front in which all of the buildings needed by the merchants (houses, warehouses, etc.) could be constructed. There was also a *loggia* for the consul.³⁵⁹ Further treaties between Trebizond and Genoa followed in 1314 and 1316 (as a result of which the merchants were obliged to move further from the centre along the coast).³⁶⁰ Traffic over the passes to Erzurum grew further with the treaty between the emperor Alexios II and Venice in 1319. Venice was given a certain area by the coast, the right to a *loggia* or community office, a *fondaco* and a *bailli* or sub-consul.³⁶¹ But afterwards Venetian merchants suffered such losses on the passes between Trebizond and Erzurum, as well as on the sea voyage to Trebizond, that the Venetian Senate on several occasions decided to limit, or forbid completely, travel by Venetians for commercial purposes on that road.³⁶²

Almost any item of merchandise bought in Tabriz and exported by way of Ayas could also be exported by way of Trebizond.³⁶³ However, most noticeable among the goods exported via Trebizond were spices and drugs and cloths from China, the cloth being silk for the most part.³⁶⁴ Besides goods originating from Tabriz and further east, some came from the south. The evidence of Bessarion is very clear: from Egypt and Syria came yarn (presumably cotton, unwoven but spun) and from Cilicia, cloth.³⁶⁵ This appears to imply that the cloth in question was woven in Cilicia itself, which is not impossible, but it may also hint at the European woollen cloths unloaded at Ayas: some of them could have found their way here, partly for re-export to the Crimea.³⁶⁶ It would be most logical to suppose that the traffic from Cilicia, some of it ultimately from Egypt and Syria, came up via Erzincan and Bayburt.³⁶⁷

In the opposite direction, Europe seems principally to have exported silver. The emperors of Trebizond encouraged the import of gold and silver by lifting the tax on the two metals. Contracts for the export of silver and gold bullion to Tabriz are known, but much European coin must have travelled to Trebizond with Italian merchants; the coin would have been melted down and reminted in Trebizond and subsequent mints along the way to Tabriz. Besides coin and bullion some goods, too, such as cloth, were exported to Tabriz.³⁶⁸

Between Trebizond and Constantinople, ships had to stop at four or five ports at least. Of these ports the two principal were Samsun and the nearby Sinop. In Samsun, the most active of the two, the Genoese merchant community was established by 1285. There were a Genoese consul and notary by 1302, and in 1314 the Genoese in this port had a church and hospice, and their consul a *loggia*. A Franciscan monastery was founded; it is known in 1320 and 1334.³⁶⁹ The first Italian merchants to have established a community in Sinop seem to have been a group of Pisans in 1277. Thereafter the trading role seems to have been played by the Genoese, often under adverse circumstances brought about by the local

Turkish powers which either controlled or were based at Sinop; these powers were, at first, landholding governors within the Seljuk sultanate, then the successors of the same even after the Seljuk sultanate's demise and then, from 722/1322, a genuine *beylik*, the Candaroğulları.³⁷⁰ The Genoese are first known at Sinop in 1280. In 1308 they possessed a 'civitas' ('city'), probably a walled enclave at or near one of the harbours. They seem to have been temporarily expelled in 1313. A Franciscan monastery is known in 1314.³⁷¹ By 1350 the Genoese had a consul in the city.³⁷² The reason for this strong Genoese presence was not just the coastal shipping carrying goods from Trebizond to Constantinople, but also a line of movement from Caffa which can be considered broadly north–south; this gave to Samsun and Sinop something of a crossroads function and, to an extent, a role as point of exchange.

Beside the Trebizond–Constantinople connection there were three sea routes over the Black Sea which in a rough sense carried northwards and southwards traffic. The first was the line of movement between Caffa and Trebizond; sometimes the same ships would continue from Trebizond to Caffa as had come from Constantinople, thus describing a giant loop within the basin of the Black Sea. The clockwise loop was also possible.³⁷³ From Trebizond itself or the neighbouring port of Giresun only a few products travelled towards Caffa: wine, and alum from Koloneia/Şebinkarahisar.³⁷⁴ Between Trebizond and Caffa, ships called at a variety of ports: Batumi, outlet primarily for the products of the Rhion basin; Sevastopolis, from which mainly wine and slaves were exported; and, nearer to Caffa, Matracha ('Matrega') and others. From Caffa came slaves, a variety of foodstuffs and leather.³⁷⁵ In brief, the Trebizond–Caffa trade consisted mainly of the transport of slaves from ports on the east coast of the Black Sea, all of which were shipped on to Constantinople and then to the west or to Mamluk Egypt; and of the carriage of foodstuffs and leather to Trebizond and nearby ports, where they were bought locally.

From Caffa, ships also crossed the Black Sea directly to Samsun and Sinop; sometimes the crossing was begun from a nearby port. To Simisso/Samsun were exported fish, skins and grain.³⁷⁶ To Sinop were brought salt and alum.³⁷⁷ The alum here was probably in transit to Italy, whereas the foodstuffs must have been sold on in the interior of Asia Minor as well as on the coast. Samsun, with an easier passage to the interior and more direct access to Sivas, was the natural port for their debarkation.³⁷⁸ In general the volume and value of contracts for shipment by Genoese carriers from Caffa to Samsun and Sinop is remarkable: in 1290 they were worth more than those for shipment by Genoese to Genoa itself.³⁷⁹

It is notable that no slaves were carried to Samsun or Sinop; this confirms that in the period the Sivas–Malatya track did not carry slaves to Mamluk territory. In the previous period they had arrived in Upper Mesopotamia by this route, and in the subsequent period Malatya was continuously in Mamluk hands and the route via Sivas and Malatya supplied slaves, future recruits for the Mamluk army, to the sultanate. This in turn argues that Sivas in the Ayas period (1250s–1340s) did not function as an international slave market as it had done in the previous period and was to do in the subsequent one. With the sea routes from Caffa and into the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, a steady supply of slaves to Egypt was assured. As regards other goods, the southwards continuation of their journey from Sivas is discussed on p 97.

The third north–south route over the Black Sea, admittedly more in a southwesterly direction, was the direct crossing between Caffa and Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople.³⁸⁰ At Pera such traffic joined the through traffic from Tabriz and Trebizond, and the combined traffic then travelled south through the Aegean. The principal ultimate destinations were the Italian ports and Mamluk Egypt.

Clearly the new through trade destined for and originating from cities on the Black Sea shore brought about changes in the Aegean too. In general, movement north–south past the much-indented west coast of Asia Minor to Crete, and so Egypt and the Levant, was increased.³⁸¹ Advantage in the Aegean now lay with Genoa, partly by virtue of the rights granted to the city in the Treaty of Nymphaion. These rights included the maintenance of merchant communities in certain cities on the Asia Minor coast and in the islands (for example Smyrna, Chios and cities in Crete). Genoa was helped also by the trade in slaves, which Genoese ships brought from the north shore of the Black Sea through the Aegean and so to Mamluk Egypt. Genoese merchants were to be found in many settlements and harbours of the Aegean basin, including some from which they had been conspicuously absent in the preceding period.³⁸² However, Venice subsequently negotiated with Byzantium commercial privileges which broadly restored the pre-1204 legal position.³⁸³ The second corridor of trade ran from the Peloponnese ports, ultimately from the city of Venice itself, past the Greek coast to Thessaloniki, from which Venice imported grain, and across the Aegean to Constantinople.³⁸⁴

Venice reacted to Genoese pre-eminence, first of all, by massively strengthening the fortifications of Chalkis in Euboea: the work started in 1273 and continued until the 1310s.³⁸⁵ The aim seems to have been to protect for its own ships the route to Constantinople and so to the cities of the Black Sea's north shore. Later, in a war with the Byzantine empire during the years 1296–1302, Venice captured four small islands, including Kea/Tzia and Santorini, and a treaty of 1302 set the seal on this acquisition.³⁸⁶ Again the effect was to strengthen control over the western sea routes leading to Constantinople. Despite the permanent Venetian community and official presence in Euboea, the Sanudo principality in Naxos, Andros and other islands nevertheless retained its independence.³⁸⁷

On and near the coast of Asia Minor, the Byzantine emperor gave Genoa control of Phokaia (on the Asia Minor coast opposite Lesbos), where the Genoese worked the alum mines, as well as of Lesbos itself and Chios. In all cases a Genoese lord was recognised as a Byzantine vassal who undertook the government of his estate on behalf of the Byzantine emperor. Genoese control over these places in the period lasted only decades (Phokaia from c. 1267 to c. 1329; Chios from 1305 to 1329; Lesbos from 1304 to the winter of 1335–36): in various ways the Byzantine empire soon reclaimed them.³⁸⁸ It was only in the subsequent period that the Genoese set up permanent installations and large-scale trading networks in the Aegean. But the period under consideration does see a genuine new development: the beginning of trade between Genoa and the Asia Minor ports. And this in part seems to be due to the Byzantine concessions, however short-lived.

The transit trade from the Black Sea (silk and slaves from Caffa and the east shore of the Black Sea, silk and spices from Trebizond) itself seems to have benefited from the initial Byzantine concessions of 1261, if not from the subsequent ones. Chios became an entrepôt for all Black Sea goods, after which some went to Italian ports and some to Egypt.³⁸⁹ But Chios and Mytilene also became ports of convenience (exchange and reshipment) for those of the Asia Minor shore such as Smyrna and Altoluogo just north of Smyrna, and from the latter were exported the products of the hinterland.³⁹⁰

Crete, still a Venetian colony in the full sense, continued to function as an entrepôt for trade between Constantinople on the one hand and Egypt and the Levant on the other.³⁹¹ Venice continued to value Crete for the island's own products, such as wine and salt, and these were exported to Peloponnesian harbours, especially Monemvasia and Koroni/Coron (respectively on the east and south coasts of the Peloponnese), before finally reaching Venice. Exports of Venetian cloth to Crete are known.³⁹²

4. Asia Minor and Upper Mesopotamia

The political situation. Here we must take account first of the Mamluk-controlled enclave in Upper Mesopotamia, then turn our attention to those areas of Asia Minor and Armenia controlled, to a greater or lesser extent, by the Il-Khans.

At first, Mamluk control extended in effect to the river Euphrates, where the sultanate held the fortress of Bir/Birecik and, in the foothills of the Taurus, those of Behesni and Kahta. The border, however, was the constant scene of large-scale offensives by Il-Khanid forces which were either repulsed at Bir or resulted in a Mongol advance deep into Mamluk Syria.³⁹³ From their positions behind the Euphrates, however, the Mamluks themselves launched attacks into territory under Il-Khanid dominion. For example, the cities of Mardin and Dunaysir, belonging to the Artukids of Mardin (survivors of the early Middle Ages and now loyal Il-Khanid vassals) were entered and plundered in 1299.³⁹⁴

Mamluk forces pushed forward in 1315 to capture Malatya. Although they retreated from the city soon after, they left behind a local bey as vassal, and in time regular Mamluk administration was extended both to Malatya itself and to the towns either side of the Euphrates further upstream.³⁹⁵ The Mamluk enclave in Upper Mesopotamia meant that the territory under Il-Khanid control in Asia Minor described a ring of administrative entities around Mamluk-controlled territory and the next state to the west, the Il-Khanid vassal state of Armenian Cilicia.

To begin with Rum, the territory of the Seljuk sultanate. Here the declining power of the sultans in the late thirteenth century seems to have produced a situation where parts of the former sultanate were directly controlled by Il-Khan-appointed governors (nominally overseers) of Rum while parts were still administered by the Seljuk sultans. Before the disappearance of the Seljuk sultanate, the Il-Khan-appointed governors of Rum controlled the cities and regions of Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum. After the disappearance of the Seljuk sultanate (shortly after 1300), most of the remainder of that sultanate's territory fell into the hands of the governors. This meant, essentially, that they assumed control of the Anatolian plain in addition to the easterly territories they already administered. Amasya and Tokat to the north, Ankara to the northwest, and Konya and Kayseri to the southwest were added to their dominions. To the west and south, the Anatolian plain was circumscribed by a line of Turcoman principalities which at times acknowledged the suzerainty of the Il-Khan. These principalities occupied, essentially, the coast and coastal mountains to north, west and south. Konya itself fell from the grasp of the governors of Rum. It was captured by the large Turcoman principality of Karaman, and although two expeditions were launched to recapture it, in fact it had permanently escaped the control of the governors of Rum.³⁹⁶

These governors, however, taking advantage of distance and political circumstance, adopted a stance increasingly independent of the Il-Khans and their administration in Tabriz. Even in 1298, before the final disappearance of the Seljuk sultans, the governor of Rum, Sulamish, attempted to break away, and an army had to be sent against him.³⁹⁷ Later, in 717/1317–18, Timur Tash ("Iron Stone"), son of Choban, a power behind the throne in Tabriz, was appointed governor.³⁹⁸ But in 1322 Timur Tash explicitly severed his links with the régime of the Il-Khan. Although Timur Tash's father, Choban, rescued him and had him reinstated, he eventually fled to Egypt in 1327. In Rum, Timur Tash left behind him an officer of the Il-Khan's entourage, Eretna. Others were appointed governor of Rum, but after a stay in Iran, Eretna eventually came back to the province in 1333.³⁹⁹ Eretna's fortunes, while the Il-Khanid empire remained united, lay with one of the great amirs of the Il-Khanid state, a Mongol of the Jalayir tribe, Shaykh Hasan. Hasan in theory had been given authority

over Rum; in practice, the region was administered by Eretna.⁴⁰⁰ When Shaykh Hasan broke away from the main body of the Il-Khanid empire and formed the Jalayrid state in Iraq with Baghdad as capital (1338), Eretna leaned on the Mamluk sultanate. Partly by this means, he eventually broke free of the Il-Khanid empire in 1343. By now the Il-Khanid empire was effectively controlled by another Hasan, this time a grandson of Choban and son of Timur Tash.⁴⁰¹

To the east of Mamluk-controlled territory in Upper Mesopotamia was the Il-Khanid province of the Diyar Bakr. The province's name was quite incorrect. Essentially it was composed of the Diyar Bakr, in the latter's proper significance, and the Diyar Rabi'a. The Diyar Bakr (properly) meant the basin of the upper Tigris, stretching from Amid in the west to such cities as Mayyafariqin/Silvan and Hisn Kayfa and ending to the east in the Taurus mountains curving to the south of L. Van. The Diyar Rabi'a meant the Mesopotamian plain stretching below the Taurus and further west (Mardin, Nasibin/Nusaybin and as far as Jazirat ibn 'Umar/Cizre and Erbil). The Diyar Rabi'a's chief city was Mosul, and Mosul was the seat of the Mongol governor. Within this province lay the Artukid principality of Mardin, a vassal state, which occupied the western part of the Diyar Rabi'a.

The governors seem in general to have been leading members of certain big tribal groupings. The Sutay were one such, whose pastures lay in the L. Van region to the northeast of the Diyar Bakr, partly in the region of Mush and partly in the Ala Dagh, a mountain massif to the northeast of the lake.⁴⁰² In 1329, when Sutay, chief of the *ulus*, died, he was replaced with 'Ali Padishah, a leading member of the Uyrat *ulus*, but also the Il-Khan's uncle.⁴⁰³ But the next governor was Ibrahim Shah, a member this time of the leading Sutay family.⁴⁰⁴

The geographical region of Arminiyya, as normally defined by the medieval Arab geographers, lay in the L. Van region and the Erzurum district. This at first was the physical extent of the Il-Khanid province of Arminiyya. The province's chief city, and residence of the governor, was Akhlat on the northwest shore. But in the period of the Ayas-Tabriz itinerary at least, the province seems to have been extended eastwards into the plain of the Aras. The mountains south of L. Van, and the plains and hills west and east, were the residence of Kurdish tribes, now coagulating into principalities subject to the Il-Khans. Northeast of the lake, in the Ala Dagh, and west of the lake where they overlapped with one of the Kurdish principalities in the Mush district, were, as we have said, the summer grazing-grounds of the Sutay *ulus*.

The Upper Mesopotamian tracks. These, which had carried such active traffic in the early Turkish Middle Ages, were now cut by the war zone between Mongols and Mamluks until the peace of 1323. Moreover, Aleppo, itself lying in the shadow of Mongol invasions, could not function as the busy emporium which it had been in the early Turkish period. The city remained quiet and inactive, an underinhabited shell, underdefended too, until the late fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁵

On the Euphrates, the great fortress of Bir/Birecik, on a long rock rising above the river's east bank and controlling the river crossing, was the Mamluks' chief defence in the region. It was attacked several times in Mongol winter offensives.⁴⁰⁶ Refortification work was done here in a campaign ending in 676/1277–78, and parts of the fortress were again rebuilt in 700/1300–01.⁴⁰⁷ Other Mongol attacks took a line further to the east, in, therefore, a more southerly direction, and crossed at Raqqa or al-Rahba, sometimes progressing south-west towards Damascus. Settlements such as Raqqa and Qarqisiya were devastated, and the attacks also had the effect of cutting the Euphrates tracks from Baghdad.⁴⁰⁸

In the vicinity of Bir itself, on both banks of the Euphrates, settled population abandoned its villages.⁴⁰⁹ Harran, seized only in 1259, had been evacuated by the Il-Khan's men in

1261,⁴¹⁰ which meant that there was no city of any size on the road towards Mardin and Nasibin. Urfa had been devastated in two Mongol attacks of 658/1259–60 and 659/1260–61; its citadel had also been slighted. Later its population, too, was evacuated.⁴¹¹ In its immediate vicinity, monasteries and villages were abandoned.

Amid, which was now an Artukid possession, was economically a ghost of its former self. It had been attacked by a Mamluk army in 1315 and pillaged in a second Mamluk attack, following a local uprising, in 1317. The greater part of its population had been taken away to slavery.⁴¹²

For certain, minor shipments of merchandise did cross the wasted zone in the period up to the peace of 1323, but essentially all routes were blocked.⁴¹³ This was one of the main reasons for the creation of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary.

The Ayas–Tabriz itinerary: History. The discussion here makes it quite clear that it was now impossible, at least until 1323, to transport goods from India (principally spices) via Baghdad and the Euphrates. These goods, if they were to come through Il-Khanid territory at all, now had to come through Tabriz, which required a long northerly detour from the Baghdad route. Tabriz, however, was now a hub where goods from several directions converged and were put on sale in the markets.⁴¹⁴ Among the spices, the lighter in weight, such as cloves and nutmeg, were easily attracted by the route through Tabriz, whose initial outlet was Ayas, later to be complemented by Trebizond. Heavier spices such as ginger and pepper travelled, ultimately to Italian ports, either via Il-Khanid territory, taking the Iranian route (Persian Gulf and Tabriz, finding the sea at Ayas or Trebizond), or via Mamluk territory, taking the Red Sea route and eventually being exported from the Egyptian port of Alexandria. Although the latter route carried greater quantities, the spices exported from Ayas tended to be of better quality.⁴¹⁵ Il-Khanid governments attracted trade away from the Red Sea–Cairo–Alexandria line by taxing merchandise at much lower rates: the general scale of taxation was 4%–5% as against 10%–20% in the Mamluk sultanate.⁴¹⁶

Ayas is first known as a port in 1255. In that year, William of Rubruck, the monk who travelled outward through Central Asia and back through the Mongol empire, came to the Seljuk capital of Konya, then finally took a ship from Ayas.⁴¹⁷ Warfare between Mamluks and Mongols in Upper Mesopotamia had started at least by 1252.⁴¹⁸ This meant that the ways east from Aleppo through Upper Mesopotamia were becoming dangerous for regular traffic, and must have resulted in a gradual transfer of trade to the Tabriz route and the eventual foundation of the port at Ayas. Even before the appearance of Mongol troops in Upper Mesopotamia, Mongol invasions in Iran and Armenia during the 1230s and 1240s had propelled Turcomans, Turks from Central Asia and Kurds into north Syria, thus threatening the safety of the tracks from the Syrian ports to Aleppo and eastwards into Upper Mesopotamia.⁴¹⁹ The Mongol sack of Baghdad and Aleppo (respectively 1258 and 1260) put a seal on the viability and importance of the Ayas–Tabriz route as a commercial artery. By 1259 the route was already in use for the carriage of Chinese silk.⁴²⁰

Trading activity along the route was in full motion by the 1270s. By this time the principal Italian cities had been given trading concessions at Ayas.⁴²¹ Marco Polo's journey, in connection with which he mentions Ayas' size, the intensity of its commercial transactions and the spices and pearls available there, took place in 1281.⁴²² At the same time a proportion of the commercial traffic which had formerly gone through Aleppo and Antioch now came via Ayas. For example, Ayas was the outlet for cotton from the region of Aleppo, now, of course, under Mamluk administration. The Tabriz road and the rerouting of goods from Syria not only caused the development of trade through Ayas, but also gave an uplift

to commercial activity in Cyprus. Much of the traffic coming from the west to Ayas called first at ports in Cyprus, and there was a corresponding flow of goods from Ayas to Cyprus. At this stage the port which benefited most from the increase in activity was Limassol.⁴²³ Some trade between Ayas and Egypt, normally via Acre, took place; some of this consisted of the rerouting of goods originally sent to Ayas from the west in order to avoid Papal bans on exports to Mamluk territory, which now included most of the Syrian ports.⁴²⁴ Acre's role as an outlet for the export of goods directly from Damascus to the west continued.⁴²⁵ Direct communication took place not only with Acre but also with Beirut, which, again, in its turn, traded with Egypt.⁴²⁶

The loss of the city of Acre, last stronghold of the Crusader dominions in Syria and Palestine, in 1291 gave a new impetus to trade. On the one hand, an outlet for spices coming from Egypt up through Syria had been lost; Ayas and Cyprus were able to take over Acre's role to some extent. And on the other hand, the Pope immediately declared a ban on exports to Mamluk territory, particularly of war materials. The ban did not at first greatly affect the rate at which goods were exported, but it affected to some extent the route. Ayas acted as a fake destination to which goods could legally be exported and from which they could then be re-exported to Mamluk Syria and Egypt. Cyprus failed to implement the ban in any case.⁴²⁷ It is in 1294 that the first evidence appears of the extension to Ayas of the Venetian state-organised galley sailings: previously they had come to Cyprus only. The sailings to Ayas took place every year from 1305 to 1329, Cyprus being bypassed in 1326–28.⁴²⁸

In Cyprus it was Famagusta, not Limassol, which received the impetus from all these developments. Trading privileges in Famagusta were granted to the cities of Pisa, Genoa and Venice; to the Catalans; and to others over the years 1291–1302.⁴²⁹ Various of the leading Florentine banking companies had representatives here by the year 1300.⁴³⁰ The city of Famagusta expanded rapidly in the last few years of the thirteenth century, and a new wall had to be built. Soon yet another wall was built; with other work, it was finished in 1310.⁴³¹ By 1300 the city had overtaken Limassol in size and commercial gravity.⁴³² Boats sailed between Famagusta and Ayas, Acre and, directly, Alexandria; Venetian boats coming from the west sometimes bypassed Cyprus on their journeys to Acre and Alexandria, however.⁴³³ A treaty between Venice and the Mamluk sultanate in 1302 helped to intensify the journeys to Syrian ports and to Alexandria.⁴³⁴ The latter development perhaps had no effect on the Tabriz traffic.

Matters changed with treaties between Venice and the Il-Khanid empire in 1306 and 1320 and, more significantly, with a stricter policy, starting in 1322, on the part, not only of the Papacy but also of Venice herself. In 1322, several Venetian merchants who had defied the Papal ban were excommunicated, which forced Italian merchants always to go through Famagusta and Ayas.⁴³⁵ The following year Venice stopped its galley service and cancelled its protection for Venetian subjects in Alexandria, and many Venetian merchants in Alexandria moved to Tabriz.⁴³⁶ Other prohibitions were enacted by other trading republics.⁴³⁷ Although trade with Egypt did not stop,⁴³⁸ the trading bans signalled a heightened period of activity, lasting perhaps 15 years, on the Tabriz route. Ayas gained, and Cyprus did not lose, particularly because Cyprus continued to trade directly with Egypt, and the circuit between Ayas, Famagusta and the cotton-producing regions around Aleppo had not been broken.⁴³⁹

With the fast contraction of the European economy in the 1330s and 1340s, trade with the Il-Khanid empire must have been diminishing too. Within the empire, general political conditions and in particular the harassment of Italian merchants in Tabriz further restricted the trade. For reasons of security, both Venice and Genoa, in 1338 and 1340 respectively, issued bans forbidding their own merchants from trading in the Il-Khanid empire.⁴⁴⁰ In the

case of Genoa, the ban surely did not take complete effect: the authorities were still regulating such trade in 1341.⁴⁴¹ Nevertheless the last Genoese contract known to have been drawn up in Tabriz is dated 1344:⁴⁴² after that the Italian presence in Tabriz seems to come to an end. Venetian merchants kept up the trade with Tabriz, though on a reduced scale and without a core of Venetian businessmen in Tabriz itself.⁴⁴³

Ayas seems to have been already losing popularity with the western mercantile cities when it was ceded to the Mamluk sultanate in 1337. Famagusta's commerce was unaffected for a decade. Venice continued sending fleets there, which sometimes continued to Beirut and to other ports further south.⁴⁴⁴ Famagusta remained a commercial hub in the eastern Mediterranean for another two decades⁴⁴⁵ but was eventually affected, among other factors, by a softening of the Papal stance on commerce with the Mamluk sultanate, which made it possible for western ships to sail directly to ports in Syria without resorting to the evasive manoeuvre of calling at Famagusta.⁴⁴⁶

The Ayas–Tabriz itinerary: Geography. Let us now look at the Ayas–Tabriz track itself. From Ayas it crossed the Cilician plain, rose up through the Amanus range and negotiated the first slopes of the Taurus.⁴⁴⁷ It then turned northwest and found itself on the plains some way short of Kayseri, taking a yet more northerly course at the Karatay Han.⁴⁴⁸ That it does not enter Kayseri is paradoxical. But Kayseri represented a deviation. Even the Karatay Han lay to the west of the line along the ground suggested by the subsequent toll post (“Casena”/Ekrek), and we argue later that the Karatay Han is included in Pegolotti's itinerary as a post where only merchants who had elected to trade at Kayseri would pay a toll.⁴⁴⁹ The principal route, that which advanced on a line aimed at Sivas, may have been attracted eastwards by the fairs at Yabanlu Pazar, on the site of the present Pazarören (“Market Ruin”), in the lee of the Anti-Taurus.⁴⁵⁰ It should also be remembered that at a later stage, by staying east of Kayseri, the route stayed within the territory administered directly by the governors of Rum. Kayseri, on the other hand, was the Seljuk sultans' second capital.⁴⁵¹

The route now progresses along the line of Seljuk caravansarays to the exceptionally busy and active city of Sivas, which handled trade not only on the Antalya–Konya–Erzurum–Tabriz line, but also with the Black Sea ports of Sinop and Samsun. We have already pointed out that contracts could be entered into for the transport of goods from Ayas or Famagusta as far as Sivas, and similar movements starting at Tabriz and ending at Sivas must have taken place.⁴⁵² In some cases the object was to simplify the arrangements for the transport of goods as far as Tabriz or as far as Ayas: a single caravan for the whole journey would often have been impractical. In other cases the object was to sell at Sivas some of the goods transported there, and often to acquire other goods. Here the city functioned as a market rather than as a staging-post. Sivas was also the point of dispatch for goods of local origin. Later we remark on a crimson silk woven, or perhaps only dyed, in the city of Sivas or in the surrounding villages and sent to Ayas for export.⁴⁵³ A variety of silk known as sendal was despatched from Sivas to Ayas late in the period.⁴⁵⁴ It is not surprising that dirhams of Sivas, known to Italian merchants as aspers of Sivas, were accepted in Cilicia.⁴⁵⁵ Nor is it surprising that it was to Sivas that European bullion was sent, no doubt for conversion into coin at the city's mint, in payment, implicit or explicit, for eastern goods.⁴⁵⁶

In the centre of the city extended a commercial district, in which stood a number of *funduqs* (lockable buildings which generally enclosed both shops and warehouses). A permanent Genoese business community was established here, to which, early in the period, a consul was appointed. Besides retailing and exchange, the commercial district's activities included manufacturing; the district's development was speeded and stiffened by the foundation of a

number of *masjids* (neighbourhood mosques). Besides the three large well-known *madrasas* which, under varying patronage, were all completed in 1271, eight more, which do not survive, were founded by 1300, probably over the whole period from the 1250s until that date. In the whole Mongol period, other buildings – whose function, wholly or in part, was the accommodation of travellers – were put up, either in the centre, just inside one of the gates or not far outside one of them.

From Sivas the route turned east and came over plains and passes to Erzincan, now a large Armenian city, dependent on commerce but with few or no Italian merchants permanently resident, even if a Latin church and a Franciscan monastery were maintained there after the Venetian–Il-Khanid treaty of 1320.⁴⁵⁷ The next big settlement, Erzurum, was also a large, essentially Armenian city in the late thirteenth century, but by the 1310s its decay was beginning, a decay which seems not to have stopped until the Ottoman period. This is all the more strange because by this time, the tracks to Trebizond were open, and these tracks diverged from the Ayas road in the plain west of Erzurum. Trebizond was not merely a port by which goods from Tabriz reached Constantinople and Caffa, and conversely imports from those cities reached Tabriz and the interior generally; it was also a market where exchange took place with Georgia. This should have meant that the road between Tabriz and Erzurum carried a greater volume of traffic than that continuing westwards toward Erzincan and Sivas.

Goods came to Trebizond also from the south. Mention has been made of thread and cloth on sale in Trebizond whose provenance was Cilicia.⁴⁵⁸ It would be most logical to suppose that the thread and cloth came up the Pegolotti route as far as Erzincan but then came northwards up the line of a Roman road to Balakhor, an Il-Khanid mint, then joined a Roman road which led eastwards, then northeastwards, through level or gently rolling country, past the site of Roman and Late Roman Satala to Bayburt, where the tracks from Erzurum converged and from which the standard road to Trebizond progressed northwards over the Pontic passes. It is most unlikely that merchants coming from Ayas and Sivas went as far as Erzurum and then doubled back to Bayburt, crossing a high pass in between.

The availability of the reasonably easy and much shorter connection from Erzincan goes some way towards explaining the importance of Bayburt in the early fourteenth century. This small city, within and below an impressive citadel rock, functioned as a node where the tracks from Erzincan and Aqshahr/Akşehir joined that which came from Trebizond to Erzurum; on the latter, situated between two high passes, Bayburt lay roughly at the half-way point.⁴⁵⁹ The passage of caravans seems to have enriched the city.⁴⁶⁰ A few coin issues were minted under the later Seljuk sultans, which certainly has some connection with the exploitation of the silver mine somewhere to the south of Bayburt, and a single issue was struck during the early years of the Il-Khan Ghazan's monetary reform. However, the minting of coins starts here in earnest in 717/1317, just after the second Trapezuntine–Genoese treaty, that of 1316, and seems to become particularly frequent in the 720s and early 730s, a circumstance which is perhaps not entirely unconnected with the Trapezuntine concession to Venice in 1319.⁴⁶¹ Certainly the nearby silver mines were exploited, but it seems likely that some of the silver struck for the purposes of minting here came through in the form of coin, whether European or Trapezuntine, from Trebizond. Il-Khanid interest in the city seems to have been unusually high for such a small settlement, and was greater than at Erzurum. Two *madrasas* were founded here.⁴⁶² The governor of the Il-Khanid province of Erzurum took up residence here sometime between 1311 and 1315. Erzurum had evidently become so insecure and depopulated that the administration of the province could only be carried on from Bayburt.⁴⁶³

The decline of Erzurum has another aspect to it: the development of Avnik as a base at 3 days' distance from Erzurum, this time to the east rather than the west and occasioned

by the Ayas–Tabriz trade (and other uses of the track, such as the passage of military units and the postal service) rather than the Trebizond–Erzurum trade. Coins were first minted at Avnik in 720/1320.⁴⁶⁴ The castle and town at Avnik seem to have been developed, like Bayburt, as a strong point from which the administration could be carried on when Erzurum was captured or threatened. The original purpose seems not to have been entirely fulfilled. The decay of Erzurum principally stemmed from fighting between the Sutay *ulus* and the governors of Rum, as we shall suggest later.⁴⁶⁵ But Avnik itself was from time to time in Sutay hands.⁴⁶⁶

From the contracting Erzurum, the route continues eastwards into the Pasin plain but leaves this plain in a southwards direction, passing the castle of Avnik (Pegolotti's "Sermessocalo"). It then crosses high pastureland; finds the valley of the Lower Euphrates; follows it upstream (northwards) to the Eleşkirt plain, as it is now called, then to the settlement in the plain's centre (Pegolotti's "Calacresti", now Ağrı); progresses eastward; and enters the plain beneath Mt. Ararat. From here it traverses a series of small plains to the town of Khoy, making a rough arc turning from east to southeast. In each of these plains is stationed a *tangaul* or roving officer appointed to safeguard travellers. The plains communicated directly or at one remove with the Il-Khans' palace, known as Ala Dagh, which lay on a plain within the arc described by the Pegolotti route. From Khoy, the way to Tabriz lies over further easy land.

The Il-Khans' route to Tabriz had by no means replaced the old tracks between Erzurum and Tabriz via Ani and Nakhchevan. Ani's commercial vitality continued to the end of the period (mid-1250s to 1340s) and beyond. Under Il-Khanid rule it continued to be a seat of administration. After 1320 the city and its district became *hass injü*, or an estate the tax revenues from which accrued directly to the Il-Khanid treasury. Ani was the seat of an archbishop responsible for the district and of a bishop ministering directly to the city only. No new public buildings were put up, so far as we know. However, the period, down to the end, is notable for the number of additions and repairs to already existing churches. After Ghazan's reforms, coins were struck under several of the Il-Khans, including the last, Anushiravan.⁴⁶⁷

Ani's commercial activity was owed, as before, to a series of trading connections. From Tabriz and Nakhchevan one could come, as before, over the Erevan plain past the town and caravansaray at Talin and arrive at Ani, which overlooked the plain. From Ani one could travel northwestwards to the silk-producing city of Tiflis. Or, turning west and then southwest, one could attain Erzurum by the same way as before, via Kars and the relevant settlements on the Kars and Pasin plains.

As a way between Tabriz and Erzurum, the line via Ani was considerably longer than the Pegolotti route, which had now become the principal line of communication. Nevertheless the Ani–Kars tracks offered a line travelling from one secure settlement to another rather than over the open plains – relatively unprotected – traversed by the Pegolotti line. The same was true of the track to the south of Ani: on the rim of the escarpment overlooking the Erevan plain, the towns of Mren and Bagaran still flourished, and from these towns the track led to Surmari, still a viable city, on the plain of the Aras. From here a pass led over an arm of Mt. Ararat into the plain south of the mountain. In this plain Pegolotti's route was joined; from the plain one could also continue southwards over a pass into the plain of the Ala Dagh palace. Surmari itself offered a third, intermediate line between Nakhchevan and Tabriz to the east and Erzurum to the west: after Surmari the Aras plain would be left behind and the winding section of the Aras valley would eventually bring one to the Pasin plain. These relationships still constituted a powerful rationale for a network of trading cities to the north of the Pegolotti route, to some extent carrying the same trade and to some extent carrying a related but different trade.

The Ayas–Tabriz itinerary: Maintenance. Let us now briefly look at the Il-Khans' management of the whole route and the provisions made for the security of travellers. We will argue here that security was well covered on the stretch from Göksün, first settlement in Il-Khanid territory, all the way to Sivas, by a series of towns and caravansarays, but all of the latter were Seljuk products. But between Sivas and Erzurum there were several long stretches – each accounting for up to 5 days' travel – where the travellers had nowhere secure to stay at night: on these stretches neither towns nor caravansarays existed. Between Sivas and the plain of Erzurum we know of the existence of only two caravansarays, one at Tödürge/Pegolotti's *Dudriaga* and the other on the Cibice pass leading from the Erzincan plain into that of Tercan. There is no guarantee at all that either caravansaray was built under Il-Khanid rule rather than before. In the Erzurum plain we find a caravansaray and, immediately after Erzurum, another. For another three stages, until Avnik, the way is well protected by castles, but afterwards, in the plains over which the route progresses, no protection was to be had from settlements or caravansarays at all.

It was not that caravansarays were never built anywhere under Il-Khanid rule. At a distance of 40 kilometres – therefore two stages – west of Sivas on the track towards Tokat, stands a caravansaray, evidently later than the Il-Khanid period, in the wall of which, however, an inscription carved in the reign of Abu Sa'id is incorporated. The inscription explicitly refers to the order for the construction of a caravansaray in the year 730/1329–30 by the brother of an *amir* Ahmad, who was himself son of Hajji Zayn al-Din. We do not know who the *amir* Ahmad was, but the inscription itself states that the order was given during the reign of Abu Sa'id.⁴⁶⁸ Certainly the initiative was that of the brother of a local official, not of the Il-Khan or of an official high up in the Il-Khanid administration. But the fact was that a caravansaray, whoever paid and whatever the circumstances, was put up under Il-Khanid rule, and the same could presumably have been done anywhere else. It may be argued that even the caravansaray of 730/1329–30 replaced a previous one. Certainly it filled a gap in the chain of pre-existing Seljuk caravansarays. This may be the clue: under Il-Khanid rule, the limited expenditure required for a single caravansaray which complemented a whole line of already built caravansarays could be contemplated, but to break into long stretches of countryside completely lacking in caravansarays would be too expensive, and was therefore not undertaken.

The substitute for caravansarays were the well-known measures for the security of travellers taken by the Il-Khan Ghazan (1295–1304). These measures are especially relevant in the discussion of the tax called by Pegolotti *tantaulaggio*, which is charged at certain stations along the itinerary, and Pegolotti himself tells us that the tax is charged to pay for special guards along the way.⁴⁶⁹ One of Ghazan's measures was the appointment of officials to protect passengers passing through dangerous parts of a given road. The task of the officials was to arrest bandits and deliver them for punishment, and to recover the goods taken by the bandits. Stone columns were to be set up on which would be inscribed the number of such officers in the district and the aspects of the law relevant to robbery. Given locations seem to have been appointed where the merchant could consider himself safe, whereas anyone stopping in open country outside those locations would be considered a robber. (The columns were presumably seen by the merchants who brought back the information from which the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary was compiled.) Before taking a given road, travelling parties should ask at a village whether there were robbers on that road. If the answer was yes, the travellers should stay at the village. If the travellers were attacked owing to false information given in the village, the responsibility would fall on the headman.⁴⁷⁰ The tax, the *tantaulaggio* of Pegolotti, then, was paid to an officer responsible for a given point or district considered

dangerous for travellers. In a few exceptional cases, the *tantaullaggio* was levied over and above the transit taxes, but on the other hand the merchant did not pay the tax in safer districts and arguably (because safety had already been achieved) was receiving something which he was not paying for in those safer districts – protection.

The stone columns have not survived. But Pegolotti's text confirms exactly the measures taken for the provision of officers to protect travellers in dangerous regions. Besides the *diritto* or transit tax, the traveller has at certain points along the route to pay a tax called the *tantaullaggio*. The tax pays for security at a given settlement or in a given district.⁴⁷¹

Taking advantage of our examination of the route in the next section and of our identification of the toll stations, let us look at the points where, in the 1320s, a *tangaul* or guard had to be paid. The first was at "Mughisar", the fortress and town of Kemah on the Upper Euphrates.⁴⁷² There is no suggestion that the guard would accompany the merchant or caravan along the road upstream on the bank of the Upper Euphrates as far as Erzincan. Possibly the *tangaul* simply protected goods on the roadside: the town lay on the river's far (east) bank, on the slope above the riverside and in the formidable fortress. The sum paid, half an asper or single dirham, against the 2, 3 or 4 aspers normally paid in *diritto*, appears small. The next point where the *tantaullaggio* was levied was the exit from Erzincan on the side towards Tabriz. Again it is hard to believe that the purpose of the tax was the accompaniment of caravans and individual travellers eastwards over the plain on which the city stood. The plain of Erzincan, with its wealth of villages, was one of the safest sectors of the route. The tax was paid probably to guard caravans which could not be accommodated in the limited area within the rectangle (successor of a Roman camp) of the walls. The next point is the bridge over the Upper Euphrates at Kağdariç by the entry to the plain of Erzurum. Here the rationale is clear: the bridge needed guarding, even though the *diritto* was also charged there. At Avnik, east of Erzurum and south of the plain of Pasin, starts a chain of locations, evidently at intervals of a day's travel, where the *tantaullaggio* is levied but the *diritto* is not. These locations were all open districts where the local tribes (as we know from later evidence) posed a danger to travellers. Here the rationale is precisely that which inspired Ghazan's measures: to protect travellers from robbers in dangerous districts.

We can conclude, borrowing from our discussion later of the route itself and the settlements lying on it, that the *tangauls* were stationed along a specially dangerous sector of the route, elsewhere being appointed for incidental purposes such as guarding a caravan or merchandise at the gate of a city. We can also conclude that from Sivas to Erzurum, in the often long stretches between one secure point (town, castle or caravansaray) and another, the countryside was considered safe. Caravans would stop at villages or else camp in the open (as Ghazan envisaged). Our consideration of this countryside, as we identify the stations and precise path of the route, confirms the point: the way led through one district after another of villages lying among fertile fields.

For the Il-Khans, the tax had the advantage of ensuring that merchants, officials and ambassadors could travel the roads without involving the state in a financial loss.⁴⁷³ On the other hand, the incidence of the *tantaullaggio* at different stations along the route shows that, with one or two exceptions, it was not levied side by side with the *diritto* at any one station. Given that by paying the *tantaullaggio* the merchant gained something he needed (security), it could be argued that over the sector where it was levied his passage was cheap, as he did not pay the *diritto* over that sector.⁴⁷⁴ On the other hand in the safer districts where the *diritto* was paid, the *tantaullaggio* was not.

Despite the cheapness for the traveller of the imposts (*tantaullaggio* only or *diritto* only), Il-Khanid policy (no caravansarays built, and *tangauls* provided only in the sectors considered

to be under threat from tribes) emerges as rather minimalist. But matters seem somewhat different when we examine a further aspect of Il-Khanid maintenance of the route and of trading activity along it. This aspect is minting policy after the reforms of the Il-Khan Ghazan in 698/1297. Both for the sake of even coverage and by way of contrast, we first continue the story of Seljuk minting along the Tabriz road and elsewhere.

Coinage. We left this story in 655/1257, at which point the concurrent but geographically fluid reigns of Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan IV and ‘Izz al-Din Kaykavus II began. In 659/1261, Kaykavus was forced out, and Kılıç Arslan ruled by himself until his strangulation in 664/1266. The coinage of each sultan displays the same tendency as the other. Previously minting had focused on Konya and Sivas, and only one mine mint, that of Lu‘lu‘a, is known. In Kılıç Arslan’s and Kaykavus’ parallel reigns, the number of mints suddenly jumps; Sivas remains the most active mint, but, to take the much larger sample, that of Kılıç Arslan’s coins, the margin by which it surpasses the next most frequent mint is only around 4% of the total sample. Konya does not mint at all. There is a wide geographical spread, including Alaşehir to the west, Sinop to the north, Antalya to the south and Erzincan to the east. The number of mine mints has increased; these now include Gumush Bazar near Amasya; one called Ma‘dan (“Mine”), probably at Akdağmadeni west of Sivas; and Sarız, where some of the coins were inscribed “Ma‘dan Sarus” (translit. “Ma‘dan Sārūs”). Despite the wider range, the new mints were mostly set up at prominent commercial centres such as Sinop, Anatalya and Erzincan, or at mines.⁴⁷⁵

On the other hand, with the exception of Sivas, the pattern of minting does not on the whole favour a particular road, nor does it favour conspicuously the Ayas–Tabriz road. There are exceptions. Coins were first struck at Sarız in 656/1258, in the name of Kılıç Arslan IV, and minting continues here until 660/1262.⁴⁷⁶ It would be very cogent to deduce that the mint was set up to serve the fairs at Yabanlu Bazar, not far east of the Tabriz route as the latter approaches the Karatay Han.⁴⁷⁷ The date of 656/1258 fits very well with the evidence for the first years (1255 – Rubruck; not strictly a commercial journey – and 1257) in which Ayas is known to have operated as a port. Sarız continues striking coins during the reign of Giyath al-Din Kaykushrav III (663–81/1265–82), though only over the years 666–74/1267–76.⁴⁷⁸ Again the date of the last known coin corresponds well with the date at which trading ceased at Yabanlu Bazar. So it can easily be maintained that the mint of Sarız was set up to serve the Tabriz route. Erzincan certainly lay on the latter route, but Erzurum, a city which other information suggests was prospering at this stage,⁴⁷⁹ did not mint at all.

In the reign of Kaykhusrav III (663–81/1265–82), the number of mints increases again. Among the new mints are Samsun, Alanya, Ladik and Bafra. Again the motive of facilitating commerce seems clear, but still the Tabriz route is not emphasised: Erzurum begins to mint, but only rarely. It is true, however, that in the sample, Sivas is again way ahead of the other mints, and now accounts for around 15% of the total. The mint at Bayburt started striking (in 672/1273–74), partly because the nearby mine, noted by Marco Polo, was now being worked, and partly, perhaps, because silver was flowing from Trebizond eastwards towards Erzurum and Tabriz after the re-establishment of Trebizond as an international port.⁴⁸⁰

In the first reign of Mas‘ud II (682–97/1282–97) again the number of mints expands, though a few (for example Alaşehir, not far from the Aegean coast, and Develi, south of Kayseri) have dropped out. There are new mine mints (an unknown Derbent, also struck as “Ma‘dan Derbent”) and Samasur, on the edge of the Bingöl plain to the east of Harput. But the character of the other new mints seems somewhat changed. Süleymanşehir (also known as Beyşehir), Egridir and Tokat were commercial centres. But in the case of the first two,

might the motive have been to please a local lord, precursor of the future *beylik* of Beyşehir? The obscurity of Sandıklı and (?) Durmuş are also suggestive of local concessions made by a weak sultanate. The issue of five distinct types during Mas'ud II's first reign perhaps indicates something similar: a new type was an opportunity to give concessions to new local powers, which is not to say that in the principal mints examined by us – Sivas and Erzincan – the full sequence of types is not exemplified.⁴⁸¹ In the reign of 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad III (697–701/1297–1302), when the Seljuk sultanate was losing its grip even on the territory remaining to it in western Asia Minor and was about to give way to the direct rule of the Il-Khanid governors of Rum, a policy of opening new mints is nevertheless followed.⁴⁸²

Over the whole period (655–97/1257–97) till the end of Mas'ud II's first reign, the weight of the silver dirham was kept constant at the standard which had been observed in the period before (basically from the early thirteenth century to 1257). The Seljuk coinage stands in impressive contrast to other parts of the Il-Khanid empire in the same period. In the other regions there was no regularity about the metal in which coins were struck at a given mint. Mints opened and closed apparently without reason. Nor, generally, was the weight of the dirham maintained. Paper money was introduced in 693/1294; this itself, and its violent rejection by the population at large, point to an inability to strike coin, in turn owed to a dire shortage of silver, which probably led to hoarding by merchants and others; in fact subsequently, for a short period, only two mints were producing coin. Such random issues and interruptions to the striking of coins at given mints, and the sucking of silver supply out of the market, suggest an irregularity in the supply of silver and gold.⁴⁸³

In the reign of 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad III (697–701/1297–1302), the weight drops to a standard of around 2.30 g. But this steep reduction in the weight (at least 20%) took place not because the supplies of silver available to the sultan had diminished, but because in the western provinces left to him, the sultan was obliged to conform to the new standard set for the dirham in Ghazan's currency reform (698/1297); the reform itself was proceeding in the east. The most easterly of Kaykubad III's mints were Sivas and Erzincan. At Erzincan, an issue jointly in the names of Kaykubad and Ghazan was struck in 697/1298, but in 698 and subsequent years all was in Ghazan's name; at Sivas, coins were minted in Kaykubad's name in 699/1298, but later in the same Hijri year they bore the name of Ghazan.⁴⁸⁴

The constant weight standard and the steady rise in the number of mints from 1257 onwards are explained as follows. The Seljuks' motives were to pay the tribute imposed on them by the Il-Khans, and (no doubt) to accommodate the need for coinage generated by commerce.⁴⁸⁵ This they did, up to and including the reign of Kaykhusrav III (1264–85), in most of the major centres, but not emphasising any particular corridor of movement between cities. They were able to carry out this partly because western silver continued to enter Seljuk territory, particularly through Ayas. But in part the silver was supplied from the mines on Seljuk territory itself; these had first been exploited in the reign of Kaykhusrav II, but the expansion in the number of mints started only in the joint reigns of Kılıç Arslan IV and Kaykavus II (1257 onwards). The plentiful supply of silver at their disposal meant that the Seljuk sultans were able to mint so frequently that new coins could be struck before old ones had time to wear appreciably. This in turn meant that the sultans were not forced to drop the weight of new issues.

We will now turn to the empire-wide reform of the Il-Khan Ghazan (698/1297) and to the whole history of Il-Khanid coinage during the period down to the closure of Ayas in 1337 and even beyond. Our object is first of all to see whether and how the Il-Khanid authorities exploited monetary policy to help or accommodate trade in the same cities, those along the Ayas–Tabriz corridor; and secondly to examine both the extent to which western silver

continued to flow into Asia Minor and Armenia and the extent to which minting was influenced by that silver.

The new currency created in the reform was uniform over the whole empire and therefore more conducive to trade than a multiplicity of currencies. Such a multiplicity imposed exchange costs of various kinds, including, on occasion, the need for the merchant to present for reminting the coins he had brought with him. Exchange costs apart, the currency was instantly recognisable everywhere, thus making it more acceptable as a medium of exchange. The weight of each denomination and the whole currency's fineness were to be rigorously maintained. The quantity of new coin struck was greatly increased, in part by opening many new mints. The plentiful supply of coin helped to maintain weights, as it had done under the Rum Seljuks. It also ensured the viability and acceptability of the currency as a universal medium of exchange and avoided the shortages which had previously developed in Il-Khanid Iran. The new currency was issued in a greater variety of denominations than before. Beside the single and half dirham, the quarter dirham also was struck. Gold coins, too, were minted. These were intended, perhaps, more as a store of value than for everyday use in the market; the gold issues seem also to have been struck for celebratory reasons.⁴⁸⁶

The incidence of minting also changed. The three prominent cities on the Tabriz road, Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum, are now the most prominent mints, and stand out in relation to the mints in settlements either side of the road. In other words, instead of minting being spread over a host of settlements without emphasis on the main commercial avenues (as under the Seljuks in the last half of the thirteenth century), now the main commercial avenue predominates, again providing material for the conclusion that Il-Khanid policy either aimed at encouraging trade on the main route or at least aimed at ensuring that no obstacles were created to a volume of trade which was already taking place. The exception perhaps was Bayburt, but Bayburt's record of frequent minting is explained by just the same factors as at Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum.

The differences in the issue of coin between the three cities, again, seem to stem from differences between their trading roles, which are known from other sources independent of the coins. Erzincan minted with the greatest frequency and consistency, and struck the greatest variety of denominations. Its minting pattern seems to be explained both by its commercial role and by its manufacturing activity, the latter not independent of its function as a market and transit centre. Erzincan was a crossroads city. To the north it was connected with Bayburt and Trebizond, and we argue later that the Trebizond connection actually attracted the import of weaving thread which originated in Cilicia and Syria and travelled up the Tabriz road as far as Erzincan. Southwards, Erzincan was connected with cities in Upper Mesopotamia via Çemişgezek and the Aşvan crossing of the Euphrates.

Sivas remained a highly productive mint. It remained a crossroads city, though it seems unlikely that frequent trade along the easy road to Malatya took place after that city was captured for the Mamluk sultanate in 1315. Otherwise, the Kayseri connection was still open; that with Samsun and Sinop tied Sivas to Caffa and to Constantinople.⁴⁸⁷

Erzurum, however, comes a poor third behind the other two cities. The low minting performance is somewhat paradoxical. Since it was here that the trails from Trebizond joined those coming from Sivas towards Tabriz, Erzurum should have been a city with a very active trading role. And under the Seljuks, in the second half of the thirteenth century, it did become a prosperous city, apparently for this very reason. However, under direct Il-Khanid rule, perhaps from the beginning of the fourteenth century, population and, no doubt, trading activity started to desert Erzurum. Its Armenian population suffered from frequent struggles for control over the city. As discussed earlier, Erzurum's government functions seem to

have been devolved to Bayburt and Avnik. At the former city, minting started in 717/1317, a strong rate of issuance being maintained in the city thereafter. Later on, in 720/1320, a mint was instituted at Avnik.⁴⁸⁸

An even stronger indication of government direction in the pattern of minting are the minor mints where the striking of coin started in the late 710s/late 1310s and early 720s/early 1320s. These mints were sited in towns rather than cities, two of them in fact in villages, along the Pegolotti route. The mere geographical siting of these minor mints along the Ayas–Tabriz road is an indication in itself of an attempt to support trade along the road by the intensification of coin production, in this case at points where coin had not been struck before. A further indication of the same is that (with one exception) the minor mints were all sited at toll stations along the Ayas–Tabriz road; these toll stations, of course, we identify independently of the mints. The inception of seven or eight mints within such a short interval is probably explained by increased frequency of traffic along the Ayas–Tabriz track. The increase in frequency can in turn be explained, principally but perhaps not entirely, by the Venetian–Il-Khanid treaty of 1320 and the Papal enforcement of the ban on exports to the Mamluk sultanate in 1322, as a result of which more goods were routed via Tabriz.⁴⁸⁹ These events both helped to draw the traffic in Indian goods away from the Red Sea, Cairo and Alexandria and to augment the traffic passing through Hormuz, Tabriz and Ayas or Trebizond.

Of these mints, one, that of Bıkbik, which we identify later as Aqshahr/Akşehir, apparently first struck in 717/1317.⁴⁹⁰ The commencement of minting at Bıkbik is no doubt connected with the renewal of minting in Bayburt in the same year. As we have argued, the recommencement of minting in Bayburt must have taken place in response to the Genoese–Trapezuntine trade treaties of 1314 and 1316. These treaties would have given added impetus to commercial activity along the road between Trebizond and Erzurum, on which Bayburt was the principal stop. But from Trebizond, after crossing the Pontic mountains, one could turn west in the Gümüşhane basin without ever reaching Bayburt, and pass into the Kelkit basin and the Akşehir plain. From there the way to Sivas was exactly the same as the standard track, the section of the Ayas–Tabriz road, which we identify later, hence the augmented passage of merchandise through Aqshahr/Akşehir and the decision to start minting in 717/1317.

The remainder of the new minor mints (Koçhisar, Balakhor, Tabrud, Valashjird) were set up in the mid-720s/1320s, and certainly from 722 onwards. This may suggest that the authorities were inspired to open the mints by the treaty with Venice of AD 1320, and by the increase in commercial traffic which was engendered both by that and by the shift of spice traffic from the Red Sea and Cairo to Hormuz and Tabriz caused by the excommunication of Venetian merchants in 1322.⁴⁹¹ Some of the mints are short-lived, but several of the towns went on minting until the early 740s/1340s, in the reign of Sulayman, one of the last Il-Khans.

Once we identify the toll stations on the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, it becomes clear that all the minor mints were situated at toll stations, some of them, such as Tabrud, obscure and small settlements.⁴⁹² The object of instituting these minor mints was perhaps not so much to facilitate commercial exchange (in such small settlements) as to facilitate everyday transactions between travelling merchants and those that supplied the merchants with food and accommodation: the villagers and residents of the towns themselves. The monetary reform edict of Ghazan alludes to the circumstance that in the pre-reform period, people in villages and nomad camps did not know what coins to accept. This came about through lack of standardisation and poor supplies of coin. We can posit that, as long as 25 years after the reform, local minting of coins was needed to inspire local confidence in the coinage. The merchant could pay for hospitality or food in coin which the innkeeper or shopkeeper already

recognised. It seems difficult, despite the temptation at first view, to connect the minor mints with the payment of transit tax and *tantaullagio*. The mint does not help the merchant who has cash on him, nor the merchant who does not, unless he is able to sell some of the goods he is carrying.⁴⁹³

Let us now look, not so much at the evidence for a policy of facilitating or perhaps encouraging trade, but at the question of the actual flow of silver along the route and whether western silver is the source. This, among other things, would indicate the strength of trade along the route and the size of the trade deficit between east and west in respect of goods being transported along the route. Certain factors are known independently of the incidence of minting, at least if we exclude the mine mints themselves.

Part of the silver was supplied by mines on Il-Khanid territory. Of the mines that, from coins struck at the mine mints themselves, are known to have been producing silver at the end of the thirteenth century, only a handful can be proved to have been open during the reigns of Ghazan, Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id (the period 694–736/1295–1335). But, of the mine mints open during the Seljuk period, those now at work were among the most productive and consistent, a sign of steady silver production at the mine itself. Among them were Gumush or Gumush Bazar⁴⁹⁴ and Lu'lu'a.⁴⁹⁵ The others are Ma'dan (probably Akdağmadeni near Kayseri);⁴⁹⁶ Samasur (not far from the present town of Bingöl), which was active under Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id;⁴⁹⁷ and Bayburt. Bayburt resumed minting in 717/1316–17, which was certainly connected with activity at the mine as well as with an intensification of traffic along the Trebizond–Erzurum road.⁴⁹⁸ Apart from those minted at Bayburt, we do not discuss in the present work the full range of actual coins struck at these mints (Gumushbazar, Lu'lu'a, Ma'dan, Samasur) in the period. However, the much-quoted passage of al-'Umari on Asia Minor mines, in which those of Gumush, Lu'lu'a and Bayburt are named as being open around 733/1332–33, confirms that silver extraction at the three mines continued steadily if not at a dramatic pace.⁴⁹⁹ After the reign of Abu Sa'id (d. 735/1336), the minting at local mines becomes rare and spasmodic until the period when Eretna minted in his own right, which starts in 742/1341–42.⁵⁰⁰

But it was also Il-Khanid policy to encourage the inflow of silver, which could be in the form either of coin or of ingots, by exempting it from the transit tax.⁵⁰¹ Some western silver went into the minting of coins by the vassal kingdom of Armenian Cilicia; these then were the medium by which the kingdom's tribute was paid to the Il-Khanid treasury. According to the treaty of 1320 between Venice and the kingdom of Cilicia, half of the silver, whether coins or ingots, brought to the kingdom by Venetian merchants had to be handed to the mint at the Armenian capital of Sis (on the north edge of the Cilician plain) for conversion to local coin precisely for the purpose of paying the tribute.⁵⁰² The Il-Khanid government, according to Pegolotti, advertised a fixed rate of conversion from given western denominations to Il-Khanid dirhams.⁵⁰³ This must mean that western coin, whether in the hands of western merchants or in those of local people, reached various locations in the empire and in effect formed part of the supply available to the Il-Khanid government for the minting of coins.

As it is, we know of shipments of coin from Ayas to Sivas in the 1270s.⁵⁰⁴ Such deliveries of foreign coin in inland cities, or handing in of foreign coin for melting down and conversion into the Il-Khanid currency, again at points inland, must have been carried out partly for purposes of achieving a more favourable exchange rate: that is to say, the further from the point of entry the exchange took place, the more valuable the foreign coin became as a source of silver.

Now to look at the incidence of minting at commercial centres on and near the Ayas–Tabriz road and at the question whether western silver was the source. In the first place the

strength of minting in the three cities (Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum) and other settlements nearby, despite the silver extracted in mines not far from the route, is evidence of silver coming into Asia Minor, principally at the port of Ayas, but also at Trebizond and, no doubt, at others such as Samsun.⁵⁰⁵ The silver in question would be brought by western merchants in order to pay for products. The payment would take place at various points on the route, principally Ayas, Sivas, Erzincan and Tabriz itself. Wherever western coin or bullion was handed over in payment for goods, the coin was available for transformation into the official Il-Khanid currency. Of course the western coin or bullion could travel again, probably eastwards, as could the Il-Khanid coins once minted.

There exists, however, a second and very powerful argument for the opinion that western silver formed an important element of the silver melted down for monetary purposes in the mints along the Ayas–Tabriz road. This is the series of weight reductions, empire-wide admittedly, which took place down to the end of the Il-Khanid period and beyond. We shall look at these one by one, attempting to divine the reasons for the weight reduction in each case. The narrative of monetary developments will be hung on an account of Il-Khanid political history, which will be useful later and which will help to demonstrate the political inspiration of several of the Il-Khanid issues. We shall look particularly at the gradual emergence of Rum, first as a semi-independent governorship, then as a fully independent state.

We have alluded here to the initiation of Ghazan's reform, which began with a joint issue of the Il-Khan and the Seljuk sultan Kaykubad III in Erzincan. In the following year the reform then spread to other cities in the Mongol-held eastern portion of Rum (Sivas, Erzurum) and mints in Iran. Meanwhile, from 699/1299–1300 onwards, those western Seljuk mints in cities not directly administered by the Il-Khans or by Mongol groups within the Il-Khanid empire were forced to adopt a much lower standard for the dirham.⁵⁰⁶ Even in these western mints the Seljuk dirham was in any case due to be replaced very shortly by Ghazan's reformed currency. Despite the initial momentum with which the reform was implemented, the number of mints fell by a factor of roughly 60% (to 19) from the year 700 to the year 702,⁵⁰⁷ suggesting that the programme of expansion of the number of mints had proved too ambitious and was running up against a shortage of silver.

The reign of Uljaytu (703–16/1304–35) began with a new issue which was similar in design to Ghazan's reform coinage. Gold was struck, no doubt for the same reasons (celebratory and to serve as a store of value) as before. On the other hand a drastic reduction took place in the number of mints at which the new issue was struck; by the years 707–08/1307–09, the number of mints may have been as low as three.⁵⁰⁸

Uljaytu adopted Shiism after a visit to the shrine of Najaf in the winter of 709/1309–10.⁵⁰⁹ Immediately a second type of coin was introduced, bearing the Shiite profession of faith and a changed design. Nevertheless in some centres, minting of Uljaytu's first type, type A, continued until 710/1310–11, as might be expected when the weight standard had not changed; moreover, some cities stopped minting type B, the Shiite type, in 710 while others adopted it only in that year.⁵¹⁰

But in 713/1313–14 a third type was struck, and this time a weight reduction took place. The design was completely new (hexalobe-and-hexafoil). The inscription, though, somewhat different, still proclaimed the Shiite profession of faith.⁵¹¹ The devaluation has been put down to Uljaytu's long campaign in Gilan, to his expedition against the Mamluks in Syria of October 1312 to January 1313 and to the struggles over the vizierate ending in the appointment of Taj al-Din 'Ali Shah in February 1312.⁵¹² Of these events, the Gilan campaign had taken place 5 years before. The need to fill coffers after the Syrian campaign might have

decided the authorities to devalue the coinage; the end of the clashes within Uljaytu's court, without costing much, might have provided a pretext.⁵¹³

Abu Sa'id began his reign (716–35/1316–35) with a new issue which differed little in design from Uljaytu's type C, though the inscription now incorporated once more the Sunni profession of faith.⁵¹⁴ Two years later a second issue was struck, now to a different design (octagon and hexagon). The two issues again overlapped in the years 717 and 718; again this was because the second did not undercut the first.⁵¹⁵ The second issue might perhaps be explained by the intense conflict over the vizierate which resulted in the removal and execution of Rashid al-Din, who had recently been reinstated.⁵¹⁶ And yet no weight reduction took place. There seems, however, to have been an increase in coin production.⁵¹⁷

A third type, C (the "mihrab" type), was struck over the years 719–22/1318–23 and represented a further weight reduction. The occasion for this issue may well have been the violent events of 719/1319: a series of internal revolts took place while Golden Horde forces approached the Caucasus pass into Il-Khanid-dominated territory. The great amir Choban, former supporter of Rashid al-Din, helped to drive away the khan of the Golden Horde, but was then waylaid by a consortium of officers, some of whom had taken part in the initial revolt. Choban's triumph here led to a dominant position at court. It is highly relevant that most of the coins of type C were struck in 719, the year of the rebellion, although the type went on being issued until 722 and even, in a few cases, until 724. More new mints were opened at towns along the Pegolotti route: Avnik, to the east of Erzurum, probably small in population terms but a strongly-protected site, in 720/1319–20; and Valashjird, at the site of Toprakkale on the plain of Eleşkirt further east, in 722/1321–22.⁵¹⁸

There now followed, in 722/1322, the rebellion of Timur Tash, governor of Rum and son of the powerful amir Choban just mentioned. Timur Tash arrogated to himself the two essential badges of authority in a Muslim state: he struck coins, and had the *khutba*, or Friday sermon, given in his own name.⁵¹⁹ In the winter of 1323–24 his father sped through the snow to stop the rebellion and succeeded in having Timur Tash reinstated as governor, though Timur Tash later revived his rebellious stance, as we shall see later.⁵²⁰

Timur Tash seems to have controlled Asia Minor only as far east as Kayseri. The authorities' response was to issue a new type, type D, in 722, the year of the rebellion, and in 723. It was struck only in the eastern cities of Rum (Sivas, Erzincan, Bayburt, etc.). Its purpose was no doubt to ensure that Timur Tash's coinage would not be accepted in the eastern cities; the coins also served as counter-propaganda to Timur Tash's. A new design on both obverse and reverse would have made these coins impossible to confuse with those of Timur Tash, who was perhaps imitating Abu Sa'id's type C (the "mihrab"). In the reverse inscription a new epithet is introduced: Bahadur Khan, the "Hero Khan". But we can also read into this issue a further campaign to make available an ample supply of coin in the cities along the Ayas–Tabriz line. Type D did not always supplant type C: the weight standard was the same, and the two types again overlapped, though not in the same cities. A good quantity of this issue seems to have been minted at Erzincan; small mints were opened at Tabrud (a settlement lying on or near the Pegolotti route, on a high plain well east of Erzurum) in 722, and in 723 at Balakhor, a village north of Erzincan on the way towards Bayburt and Trebizond.⁵²¹

Type D was soon followed by another type, E, which was rescinded almost immediately after its inception, and then by a further type, F, which was struck at a steady rate over the years 723–28/1322–29. But this, again, was minted only in Asia Minor. It may have been intended, in part, to carry on the work of type D in replacing Timur Tash's coinage (which must have been melted down and so must have supplied some of the metal). But type F's

principal purpose was to stimulate or accommodate trade, particularly in the three cities lying along the Ayas–Tabriz route.⁵²²

Meanwhile political events were gathering pace, and elements of the stage on which violent episodes were to be played out after the death of Abu Sa‘id were being put in place. Abu Sa‘id’s stance towards Choban was changing. This was occasioned partly by Timur Tash’s revolt in 1322, and partly by Abu Sa‘id’s passion for Choban’s daughter Baghdad Khatun; the latter was already married to Abu Sa‘id’s cousin, Shaykh Hasan, and Choban refused to let her marry Abu Sa‘id.⁵²³ In 1324 died ‘Ali Shah, the vizier with whom Choban was allied. Although the vizier who replaced him was a protégé of Choban’s, the real authority was exercised by another of Choban’s allies, Dimashq Khwaja, the governor of Azerbaijan and the two Iraqs.⁵²⁴ However, in 1327 Dimashq Khwaja was killed.⁵²⁵ Choban’s position was now considerably weakened. He left for Khurasan, then attempted to march on the Il-Khan. However, his own officers deserted him, and he fled to Herat. Here the local ruler, at the Il-Khan’s request, put Choban to death (727/1327).⁵²⁶ Abu Sa‘id now forced Shaykh Hasan to give him Baghdad Khatun. The latter was in an influential position, as was the new vizier, Ghiyath al-Din (son of Rashid al-Din).⁵²⁷

Meanwhile, in Rum, Timur Tash, the formerly rebellious governor, had fled. In August 1327, he was engaged in operations against certain Turcoman principalities of the Il-Khanid province of Rum when he heard of the deaths, first of Dimashq Khwaja, then of his father Choban. In December 1327 he took refuge in Mamluk Egypt. He left behind in Rum an officer, Eretna, who later became not only governor of the province but also, subsequently, sultan of Rum. In Egypt, Timur Tash was eventually put to death.⁵²⁸ Abu Sa‘id sent Shaykh Hasan (his present wife’s ex-husband) as governor to Rum in 728/1328, but in effect it was Eretna who carried out the duties of governor.⁵²⁹ A succession of officers was appointed to the governorship: ‘Ali Padishah, of whom much more will be said later; Muhammad, of the Uyrat tribe; Mahmud, an Uyghur. Meanwhile Eretna was taken, temporarily, to Iran (729/1329).⁵³⁰ In 729 a very short-lived coin type was struck in Rum at only two or three of the cities. This could have been struck by one of the aforementioned governors, perhaps Muhammad, who was forcibly replaced with Mahmud the Uyghur. At any rate it was a sign that Rum was yet again gravitating away from the Il-Khan’s control.⁵³¹

The aforementioned events in Rum, as well as a revolt in 1329 by the governor of Khurasan, Narin Taghay, would have constituted a good opportunity for the introduction in 729/1329 of a new coin type, type G (the “two-octagon”). Expenditure on military intervention in Rum and on the suppression of Narin Taghay’s rebellion furnished a pretext, if not a sound reason, for another 2-qirat devaluation. The type was minted over the years 729–34/1328–35. Production of coins jumped. Caution should be exercised, however, over the significance of the rapid rise in production. A reduction in weight from 20 to 18 qirats (from 3.60 to 3.24 g) is one of 10%. Such a reduction will immediately undercut the previous issues: the last weight reduction – type C, the “mihrab” – had taken place 10 years previously, and it is unlikely that many of the coins minted in those years had suffered wear and tear to the tune of a 10% weight loss. The reduction in the weight standard would therefore provoke a melting down of previous issues for reminting in this issue. What appears a sudden increase in production is in reality, to some extent, a paucity of surviving specimens from previous issues. It should be remembered, too, that a jump in numbers of coins struck is not the same as an increase in the total weight of coinage: the increase in numbers struck has to be adjusted for the reduced weight of the coins.⁵³²

Events in Rum during the period (729–34/1328–35) when type G was minted are of the utmost significance for the province itself and for the fate of the Il-Khanid empire generally.

In 733/1333, one Dawlatshah was appointed governor of Rum. But he died as soon as he arrived there and was replaced by Shaykh Hasan, former husband of Baghdad Khatun. This was the beginning of the hold over Rum on Shaykh Hasan's part which was to lead eventually to the splitting away of Rum from the main body of the empire. At the same time, Eretna reappeared in Rum. He played the same role as before: he was Shaykh Hasan's man on the spot, doing the real work of governing the province; his capital was Sivas. However, some troops from Iraq, Hasan's power base, were stationed near Kayseri.⁵³³

None of the aforementioned would appear, however, to justify the introduction of Abu Sa'id's last coin type, type H (the so-called "bilingual") in 733/1332–33, or the accompanying weight reduction. As the issuance of the type continued in the khani year 33 (1334–35), the volume of coin production bounded upwards; apparently it was twice as high as in 729/1328–29, when type G had been introduced. The increase is no less of an illusion than the previous one, however. The short time interval (4 years) from the previous weight reduction and the somewhat deeper percentage reduction (11%) made it inevitable that currency would be handed in and melted down for the striking of this issue.⁵³⁴

At this point, the end of the last strong Il-Khan's reign, it is convenient to draw out the common threads in the story of monetary and political developments. The devaluations seem, in the first place, to be provoked by events in the military and political sphere: uprisings, invasions, foreign expeditions, fights over the vizierate. If so, this would suggest, as argued by Blair, that the devaluations took place in order to pay for recent military expenditure; the troops and others are paid in lighter coin, which allows the striking of a greater number of coins.

After the care taken by Ghazan to ensure a plentiful, standard currency throughout the empire in the interest of trade, the argument that the devaluations were undertaken to create a deceptively larger pool of money in government coffers, not to mention a deceptively larger money supply, so that the government could pay its debts strikes a false note. Such devaluations could only undermine confidence in the currency and so undermine commerce itself. Moreover, as we have argued here, it was difficult to fool serious traders, who for any large-scale transaction would have weighed the coins anyway. There is no evidence that minting policy (leaving aside the devaluations themselves) had changed. Within any given city, frequency of minting from type to type did not change; in other words, minting continued to accommodate, or actively encourage, trade along the Ayas–Tabriz corridor. New mints were opened in the 710s and 720s: Bayburt, Bıkbik/Aqshahr, Valashjird, Avnik, Tabrud.

In some cases, such as Uljaytu's expedition against Syria in 1312, there probably was net expenditure which required to be recouped. In others, such as a struggle over the vizierate, the military cost was negligible. But in any case, serious consideration needs to be given to the question whether the events in the military sphere which seem to have provoked devaluations really were so costly. Did the army not return with spoils, treasure, etc., which might have counterbalanced the expenditure? Were other years, where the sources do not report any engagements or expeditions on a grand scale, so much less costly? The expeditions and struggles which without doubt preceded the devaluations, and must in some sense have provoked them, begin to look like pretexts – suitable occasions for something which would inevitably have had to be done anyway. The devaluation of 733/1332–33, moreover, took place without any visible cause or pretext.

Furthermore, certain military episodes exactly comparable to those mentioned earlier took place without leading to weight reductions. Ghazan's reign, both before and after the monetary reform, is particularly marked by them. A revolt took place in the winter of 1295–96, followed by another on the part of the governor of Rum.⁵³⁵ In 1297 an expedition was

mounted against Herat, after which the governor of Rum again rebelled.⁵³⁶ At the same time the Mamluks attacked the Turkish prince at Mardin and captured the city (1299). Ghazan retaliated with an invasion of Syria which ended with a siege of Damascus.⁵³⁷ Other invasions of Syria took place in 1301 and 1302.⁵³⁸ On the argument from military expenditure, surely such operations should have so burdened the treasury that a devaluation was inevitable? The reason why Ghazan never needed to devalue his reform coinage, despite such relentless military activity, was that conditions were right: enough silver was available.

The picture that emerges so far suggests that successive Il-Khans were forced at intervals to devalue their currency, not so much for reasons of expenditure as for reasons of metal shortage. And this picture is confirmed by the increasing frequency of the devaluations: Uljaytu's type C in 713/1312–13 after 17 years, Abu Sa'id's first (type C) in 719/1318–19 after 6 years, his second (type G) in 729/1328–29 after 10 years and his third (type H) in 733/1332–33 after only 4 years, and that without any visible cause in the political or military sphere. The significance of this increase in frequency is augmented by the higher percentage weight reduction which each successive absolute reduction brought.⁵³⁹

The explanation cannot be a failure of mining in Asia Minor and nearby. We have already indicated that, although concentrated in six or seven mines, mining was relatively steady under Ghazan, Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id. What was not steady was the supply of western silver. Earlier we referred to the vigour of silver production in Europe during the thirteenth century and to its drastic reduction in the first four decades of the fourteenth century as silver mines closed one by one. The proportion of gold exported to the east grew and that of silver dropped.⁵⁴⁰ The curve, gradually declining at first and then falling faster and faster, of weight reductions in the Il-Khanid currency follows exactly the course that would be expected with dwindling supplies of western silver. It can be concluded that the weight reductions under Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id are owed to a gradual drop in European silver production and in the flow of silver to the east. This in turn implies that western silver continued to come in through the ports (principally Ayas and Trebizond) and travel along the relevant routes, reminted sometimes at the Cilician capital of Sis or at Trebizond, sometimes further inland.

Given that the scale of silver mining in Europe continued to decrease until the end of the 1330s, after which there was a silver famine in Europe, leading to debasement of coinage in several countries, we shall continue the story of Il-Khanid politics and currency more or less until the dynasty's end. This will act as a check on the notion that the weight standards of Il-Khanid silver coinage depended on supplies of European silver.

In the following story, two strong figures emerge as rival kingmakers, while the Il-Khans themselves, frequently replaced, were rarely more than puppets. Of the two kingmakers, Shaykh Hasan Buzurg ("the Great") was a son of the Shaykh Hasan to whom Baghdad Khatun had first been married. Founder of a dynasty known as the Jalayrid, Hasan Buzurg was a descendant of the first Il-Khan, Hulagu, and was connected to the dynasty also by marriage. In so far as was within his power, he was constantly loyal to the descendants of Hulagu.⁵⁴¹ Hasan Buzurg's power base was in Iraq, Upper Mesopotamia and Rum, where Eretna generally remained aligned with him. The other kingmaker was Hasan Kuchek ("the Small"), son of Timur Tash, rebel governor of Rum and grandson of the *amir* Choban who exercised so much influence over Abu Sa'id in the late 1310s and early 1320s; however, as a rival to Hasan Buzurg the Jalayrid, Hasan Kuchek was preceded by 'Ali Padishah, Abu Sa'id's uncle.

After Abu Sa'id's death in November 1335, Hasan Buzurg's nominee, Arpa Ke'un, was quickly defeated and deposed by 'Ali Padishah, who set up Musa Khan in his place (April

1336).⁵⁴² Hasan Buzurg (the Jalayrid) then announced a new protégé, Muhammad, and beat ‘Ali Padishah at the battle of Kara Dere, northeast of L. Van, in July 1336. Hasan Buzurg was now in a much stronger position: he controlled Iraq, Rum (through Eretna) and the Diyar Bakr (through its governor, the Sutayid Hajji Taghay). While Arpa Ke’un and Musa had issued coins, these had been very similar to Abu Sa‘id’s last type (type H). Muhammad now issued a type whose design (a 16-lobed circle) was different and which represented a weight reduction of a further 2 qirats: the standard was now 2.52 g. Most of these coins are dated 738/1337–38, though a few bear the date 739. The weight reduction, in 4 years, is 12.5%. The coins were issued in the cities on and near the Ayas–Tabriz route in the northeast of Rum (here Eretna was the local power at whose initiative the minting would have been done, in the name, of course, of his overlord Muhammad) and in the L. Van area.⁵⁴³

Shaykh Hasan, the grandson of Choban, found a slave resembling his father Timur Tash and proclaimed him Il-Khan under that name. Hasan the Chobanid then marched against Hasan Buzurg the Jalayrid and defeated him at Nawshahr (“New City”), again northeast of L. Van, in July 1338. But he soon quarrelled with the pseudonymous Timur Tash and instead set up Sati Beg, daughter of Uljaytu, as Il-Khan. Hasan Buzurg had to withdraw to Baghdad, while Hasan Kuchek the Chobanid got himself appointed governor of Azerbaijan (including Tabriz) and Arran (west of the Caspian Sea).⁵⁴⁴ This seems to have been the decisive break for Eretna, who was no longer so dependent on Hasan Buzurg. While keeping his distance (naturally) from Hasan the Chobanid, he made preliminary overtures to the Mamluk sultan, al-Nasr Muhammad. Although he took the title of sultan (739/1338–39) he nevertheless minted coins in the names of Hasan Buzurg’s puppets until 740/1339–40.⁵⁴⁵ These puppets were Taghay Timur (739/1338–39 only) and Jahan Timur (740/1339–40 only).⁵⁴⁶ As well as in Rum, the latter’s coins were minted in the other regions controlled by Hasan Buzurg the Jalayrid: Iraq, Khuzistan in western Iran and parts of Upper Mesopotamia (Mosul, etc.). Meanwhile in other regions (Azerbaijan, Caucasia, the L. Van area, etc.) coins had been struck in Sati Beg’s name in 739/1338–39. The latter’s weight standard was 12 qirats (2.16 g), a reduction of 14.3 % in less than a year. Taghay Timur’s coins, of the same year, were also struck to the same standard. Those of Jahan Timur (740/1339–40) were struck at 10 qirats or 1.90 g, a reduction of 16.7% in one year.⁵⁴⁷

Meanwhile Hasan the Chobanid had replaced Sati Beg with another puppet Il-Khan, also a descendant of Hulagu, who was given the name Sulayman Khan (around May 1339). Sati Beg was then married to him.⁵⁴⁸ Sulayman’s first type (A) was struck in 739/1339 to a standard of 12 qirats, like Sati Beg’s and Taghay Timur’s of the same year; for his second type, issued in early 740/1340, the standard was 10 qirats (1.80 g), like that of Jahan Timur’s coins.⁵⁴⁹

The current situation, in which Hasan Buzurg the Jalayrid had lost out and had had to retreat to his power base in Baghdad, while Eretna found himself increasingly free both from Hasan Buzurg and from Hasan Kuchek the Chobanid, led to a polarisation and a laying out of territorial lines which eventually resulted in a split of the Il-Khanid empire into a Jalayrid state centred on Baghdad; a Chobanid state in Azerbaijan and Arran (regions further south such as those of Isfahan and Shiraz had been taken over, in effect, by a local dynasty); and an independent Rum under Eretna. ‘Ali Padishah, the aged uncle of Abu Sa‘id, in 740/1340 invited the Mamluk sultan al-Nasr to assume the overlordship of Iraq (presumably with the object of marginalising or ejecting Hasan Buzurg).⁵⁵⁰ However, the two Hasans (the Chobanid, in Azerbaijan and Arran, and the Jalayrid, in Iraq) then made it up, agreeing in effect to hold the territories each controlled but to respect the other’s territory; this disappointed al-Nasr, who died in May 1341.⁵⁵¹

Meanwhile after Hasan Buzurg deposed his last and most flimsy puppet, Jahan Timur, Eretna in Rum took to minting in the name of al-Nasr, but this lasted only until al-Nasr's death (May 1341).⁵⁵² Thenceforward Eretna declared complete independence, from 742/1341 minting coins on his own account and putting on his coins the title of sultan.⁵⁵³ In 743/1342–43 Eretna sent an ambassador to the new Mamluk sultan, requesting again a status as *na'ib* or local deputy. This prompted Hasan the Chobanid to send another expedition in 743/1343–44. Hasan the Chobanid's forces were defeated at the battle of Karanbük, west of Erzincan. From now on Eretna was truly independent, though he was unable immediately to take back the eastern cities captured by the previous Chobanid expedition.⁵⁵⁴ Hasan the Chobanid did not fare well afterwards: in December 1343 he was killed by his own wife. Sulayman attempted to take control, but at the beginning of 745/1344–45 was forced to take refuge in the "Diyar Bakr" (in this case probably meaning the region of Mosul).⁵⁵⁵

Before summarising, we shall end this narrative of political and monetary events with some comments on Eretna's and Sulayman's coinage and those of the Trapezuntine empire and Armenian Cilicia; however, we shall return to Eretna's coinage in the context of the post-Ayas period. Sulayman's type A was issued in 739/1339 at 12 qirats (2.16 g) and his type B in early 740/1340 at 10 qirats (1.80 g).⁵⁵⁶ The weight standard of Sulayman's type C, which started in 741/1340 and was minted mainly in that year, was 8 qirats (1.44 g).⁵⁵⁷ These standards mean a devaluation of 16.7% in less than one year and another of 20% in about a year. The alarming speed of weight reductions fits well with what we know of the European economy and the decline in silver production at the time. However, Eretna's currency (742–56/1341–57) was issued at a higher standard, which seems to have been 10 qirats.⁵⁵⁸

The explanation lay, probably, in a sudden, short-lived increase in the flow of silver coming out of the west and in a revival of mining after so many years of conflict on Il-Khanid territory, including that of Rum. A sudden demand for silver in the Levant seems to have provoked large eastward shipments of the metal in 1342,⁵⁵⁹ exactly the date of inception of Eretna's coinage. In the sphere of mining, in the 7 years from Abu Sa'id's death (735/1336) to the year of Eretna's first coins (742/1343), the most productive mine seems to have been Ma'dan.⁵⁶⁰ The coin record at other mines (Samasur, Hani, Kığı) is very slight, although Hani and Kığı were new mines,⁵⁶¹ and Lu'lu'a seems to have closed. But during Eretna's reign the mine of Lu'lu'a was brought back into operation,⁵⁶² and mining at Ma'dan, to judge from the coins, took place at a high, steady level.⁵⁶³

As a test of the notion that the series of Il-Khanid weight reductions was provoked essentially by falls in the supply of silver from Europe, it is instructive to consider the coinage of Armenian Cilicia and Trebizond, which must have been the principal channels of entry into the Il-Khanid empire for European silver.⁵⁶⁴ Trebizond presents the clearest picture. Let us start with those emperors who were contemporaries of the Seljuks of Rum. The weights of the surviving aspers of Manuel I (1238–63) lie mostly in the range 2.75–2.85 g., which probably means the weight standard was set at the Seljuk one of 2.97 g.⁵⁶⁵ Under John II (1280–97) we find three groups of aspers. In group A, the surviving coins mostly weigh 2.52, 2.55 and 2.6 g.⁵⁶⁶ However, in the first and second divisions of group B, the weights are mostly in the same range as Manuel I's.⁵⁶⁷ This probably means simply that both divisions of group B were struck to the same standard as Manuel I's coins. The range of the surviving coins of Alexios II (1297–1330) is 1.95–2.25 g, though some coins go up to c. 2.40 or even 2.45 g. The most probable explanation is that at the beginning of his reign Alexios was forced, like the last Seljuk monarch, to set the weight of the asper at that of the reformed dirham of the Il-Khan Ghazan; strictly the weights would suggest a somewhat higher but more loosely controlled standard.⁵⁶⁸

The coins of Basil (1332–40) survive mostly within the range 1.85–1.95 g.⁵⁶⁹ Of Michael (1344–49), Retowski presented only five coins, all of 1.19 or 1.75 g.⁵⁷⁰ Despite the tiny sample, the weights are suggestive of the drastic weight reductions taking place in the late 730s/1330s within the Il-Khanid empire. Finally, the coins of Alexios III (1349–90) can be divided into four groups: the weights in the first two groups lie approximately between 1.50 and 1.75 g, whereas those in the fourth group fall roughly between 1.3 and 1.5 g. Probably, given that in Asia Minor weights generally kept on falling for the remainder of the fourteenth century, the fourth group was minted later than the other two. However, given the weights of the previous reign, that of Michael (1344–49), it is possible that the first two groups do not represent a fall in weight standard but a stabilisation: we have seen how under Eretna (minted on his own account 742–53/1342–52) and his son Muhammad (753–67/1352–66), the weight standard of coins minted in Rum actually increased.⁵⁷¹

Turning to the coins of Cilician Armenia, we find in the silver *trams* of king Lewon II (1270–89) a drop in weight of the order of 10% on the previous reigns, which requires explanation: conceivably more silver drained out of the kingdom into Seljuk territory than was entering it in the form of Italian coins and ingots. Between Lewon II and the reigns of Smbat (1296–98) and Kostantin I (1298–99) there is a rise, which may be explained along the same lines. Afterwards, the weight goes essentially downwards until the end of the kingdom's existence (1375). Under Kostantin IV (1365–73) the weight was around 75% of what it had been under Kostantin I (1298–99); however, the reduction is more drastic, since the proportion of silver in the coins was falling too.⁵⁷²

It could be argued that Trapezuntine policy was merely to keep in line with Seljuk, Il-Khanid and Eretnid norms, and so does not furnish independent evidence of the effect of falling silver supplies from the west. Even so, if the Trapezuntine coinage had been subject to different influences from the Muslim ones, it would eventually have diverged from them. The Cilician coinage evidently is subject to the same influences (fall in silver supply from the west) as the Seljuk, Il-Khanid and Eretnid, but without changing weight precisely in tandem with those currencies; in other words, it has greater value as independent testimony to the consequences of contracting supplies of silver coming from the west. The coins of Trebizond and Cilician Armenia, therefore, lend support to the notion of a contracting supply of silver from Europe, leading to successive devaluations of the currency of the Il-Khanid empire and the Eretnids.

It is time to sum up the whole argument and put down conclusions. First of all, some conclusions of a political nature concerning the province of Rum: The basic circumstances which favoured its emergence as a separate state were the province's distance, more strictly that of its central areas (Konya, Kayseri and Sivas) from the Il-Khanid capital, and the proximity of Mamluk territory; Mamluk troops at Malatya controlled the tracks to Sivas and Kayseri. However, the emergence of Rum came about gradually, as the changing circumstances of the Il-Khanid empire encouraged or permitted. The rebellions of Sulamish in 1298 and of Timur Tash in 1322 were not difficult to stop, in the first case because Ghazan disposed of a plenitude of loyal forces, and in the second case because of the powerful position at court occupied by Timur Tash's father, Choban. But by 1327, events had moved on. Choban was no longer alive, but on the other hand the Il-Khan's preoccupation with the affairs of his own court, and perhaps his basic weakness of character, had led to a situation where intervention on the Il-Khan's part in Rum had become more difficult. When Eretna assumed, *de facto*, the task of governing the province after the flight of Timur Tash (1327), a series of officers were sent to Rum to take over its administration (1328–29). None of these, however, lasted long, presumably because each in turn had had thoughts of breaking away. It may be that the Il-Khan's attempts at re-establishing control over Rum by sending relatively loyal governors,

one after the other, to replace previous appointees – apparently seditious once settled in the post – only resulted in a better-defined separation of Rum from the remainder of the empire, and this only paved the way for a more definitive rupture and departure from the empire later on. A better course of action might have been to tolerate the governors' minor schismatic tendencies and thus prevent their spinning off into outright disloyalty.

The appointment of Shaykh Hasan (father of Hasan Buzurg) as governor of Rum in 1333 appears to have been critical in the emergence of Eretna as fully independent ruler in 743/1342. Under Hasan's nominal governorship, Eretna was able to establish a sound hold over the province. On the other hand, after Hasan's defeat at the battle of Nawshahr in 1338, Eretna was able to break free of him. It only remained for Eretna to request Mamluk support so as to ensure freedom both from Hasan Buzurg the Jalayarid and from Shaykh Hasan the Chobanid.

None of these developments, certainly not before the death of Abu Sa'id, should have meant that Rum itself was a less safe place to travel in. On the contrary, the process of breaking away from the body of the empire seems to have been accompanied by a process of reunification within Rum: for the first time since the mid-thirteenth century, Erzincan and Erzurum were brought under the control of a central authority in Rum, whether Seljuk sultan or Mongol governor.

To turn to the coins: it emerged that the rate at which the Il-Khanid coinage's standard weight fell was at first slow (16 years before the first reduction, that of Uljaytu in 713/1312–13, a drop of 8.3%) but gathered pace in such a way that toward the end of Abu Sa'id's reign (735/1335), it was proceeding at the rate of 11% in 4 years. A failure of mining could not have been responsible, since in Uljaytu's and Abu Sa'id's reigns, five or six silver mines were working steadily. The acceleration in the weight reductions, therefore, can only be put down to the dwindling supply of western silver. The closure of European mines in the first four decades of the fourteenth century seemed exactly to fit the continued shrinking of the supplies apparently available to the authorities. We noted that in the 5 years after Abu Sa'id's death, the reductions in the weight of the double dirham continued to accelerate until by 740/1340 they had reached the alarming rate of 16.7% in one year. On the other hand, as soon as Eretna started minting on his own account (742/1342), there followed 15 years of monetary stability, and probably another 11 years under Eretna's son Muhammad. We attributed this to a temporary increase in the outflow of silver from Europe and to a resurgence of mining. This and the conformity of the Trapezuntine and Cilician coinages to the ever-accelerating pattern of weight decline in the Il-Khanid currency seemed to confirm that the drying-up of silver production in Europe is at the root of the Il-Khanid weight reductions.

Apart from the weight reductions, however, the pattern of minting constituted a continuation of Ghazan's declared policy of a uniform, stable currency. The incidence of minting in the three great trading cities on the Ayas track was the most conducive, or at least the most accommodative, to the nature of the trade in question. And the pattern of minting in these cities remained the same during the reigns of Ghazan's successors Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id and even in the reigns of the subsequent weak and ephemeral Il-Khans, and even while the weight reductions were in progress. Apart from the relative prominence of the three great cities, the Il-Khans' government pursued other policies to promote trade. Abu Sa'id's type D (722–23/1321–24) was issued only in the eastern cities just mentioned, and his type F (723–28/1322–29) only in Asia Minor. Minor mints along the route continued to be opened in the 710s and 720s.

The weight reductions were carried out unwillingly. We looked at the proposition that various events in the political and military sphere were responsible for the weight reductions, a proposition often based on the argument that military expeditions, the suppression of a rebellion and so on required extra expenditure. These events, we concluded, were more a pretext for a devaluation which would have had to take place anyway.

All of these arguments lead to the conclusion that as in the second half of the thirteenth century, so in the first four decades of the fourteenth century, western silver was flowing in through the ports (principally Ayas and Trebizond) and being converted into Il-Khanid currency, perhaps first being struck as coin in the mints of Trebizond and Cilicia. The Il-Khanid authorities ensured that adequate supplies of coin were available along the route and may have conceived of currency creation as a means of stimulating trade.

Trade flows on the Tabriz road. To understand the nature of the trade between Ayas and Tabriz, let us briefly indicate these directions and the origins of the goods in question; the routes are examined more closely in the next section. From Georgia, Karabagh and Shirvan came silk, but Georgia also had access to the Black Sea, and from its ports on that sea communicated with the Crimea and Tana. The route to Soghdiana (Bukhara, Samarkand, etc.) does not seem to have been very active, but at any rate some Chinese silk arrived in Tabriz along this track. From the moist, hot mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea came silk; this is the first period in which Iranian silk was marketed to Europe. From Hormuz on the Persian Gulf came the products of the Indies, principally spices, and the pearls of the Persian Gulf itself. But Baghdad was still a manufacturing and marketing centre, and produced cloth itself while acting as a separate channel for the Gulf pearls.

Let us now look at the list of goods described as available in Tabriz by Pegolotti. The list includes:⁵⁷³

Spices	Silk	Ermine	Silver
Indigo	“Ciambellotti”, a goat-hair or camel-hair cloth ⁵⁷⁴	Leopard skins	Gold and silver coins
Amber in grains	Wool fabrics	Sables	Quicksilver
Vermilion		Beach-marten furs	Tin
		Hides	

The spices, indigo and vermilion probably all come from India via Hormuz, the indigo possibly from Baghdad. The silver, other than the coins, which are a separate item, probably came from the west via Ayas and Trebizond. The gold may have done so too, or it could have come from India. The animal skins and furs must have originated in the steppes north of the Black Sea, perhaps also in the Caucasus, but at any rate the immediate origin was probably Georgia. The tin and wool fabrics probably came from the west.

Let us now compare the list of goods available in Tabriz with those in Ayas. For the latter, several lists or other sources are known, which date from the 1270s down to the text of Pegolotti himself, where the relevant date is probably the mid-1320s.⁵⁷⁵

Spices of very many sorts, a regular commodity at Ayas.	Balletto; ⁵⁷⁶ OF 167; L/A 125–26; Zib 62, 63, 109; Peg 30–31, 59, 61–63 ; cf MP 94. See Jac 2014: 266–69
Silk: again regularly available.	Balletto 1277/17, pp 229–30; 1274/114, pp 156–57; 117, pp 159–61; OF 167; B 290–91; Zib 61, 109; BMan 318; Peg 59
From China and the Caspian Sea (B 290–91, relating to the years 1257 and 1259). BMan 318 explicitly states raw silk from Tabriz. “Gigerio” (Balletto 1277/17) perhaps Jurjan. “Guiellum” (Balletto 1274/114): silk from Ghilan (cf Peg’s <i>seta ghella</i> : p 102). (Jac (2014: 275) identifies Guiellum as Ganja.)	Zib 61; Peg 297

The 'seda del Collfo' of Zib 61, and 'Leggi del Golfo d'Erminia' of Peg 297 are probably silk woven in Cilicia itself, <i>pace</i> Evans (Pegolotti: 430) and Stussi (Zib 61, n 193). For further references, Jac 2014: 276.	
Cloth of silk and gold. Reminiscent of the cloth with gold-worked patterns sold in Baghdad (p 100): perhaps from there, but likely marketed through Tabriz. For references on the type, Jac 2014: 276–77.	MP 94; Zib 62–63 Jac 2014: 277–78
Some woven and embroidered in Cilicia, probably at Tarsus or in its district.	
Scarlet silk. BMan says sold in Sivas, and mentions also the crimson dye from Sivas. This is a cloth made with silk imported from Tabriz, but perhaps woven and certainly dyed in Sivas (see p 93).	Zib 109; BMan 318; Peg 59
Pearls. Regularly available. Bought from Baghdad or Tabriz according to BMan 318.	Balletto 1279/106, pp 341–43; OF 167; Zib 62, 109; Peg 59

So the products of China, India and the Persian Gulf regularly arrived in Ayas. They came via Tabriz, sometimes going through Baghdad first. The crimson silk was something that was manufactured, or at least dyed, only in Sivas or in its vicinity and so would have to be bought there. From Ayas these goods were shipped to the west by merchants of the various Italian cities.⁵⁷⁷

Furs, bought in Sis and other places in Cilicia. None of these is explicitly mentioned as available in Ayas, but all likely to have been exported through the port there.	Sopracasa 2001: 87, sect. 9; see Jac 2014: 273–74
Buffalo and ox hides.	Balletto 1279/71, 77, 79, pp 298–300, 306–7, 309–11

These products are likely to have been bought in Tabriz, but their origin is the Caucasus and the northerly Russian principalities. Conceivably some crossed the Black Sea from Caffa or Tana to Samsun and so to Ayas via Sivas.⁵⁷⁸

Buckram. L/A says from Erzurum; BMan, of Erzincan which have come from Erzurum. It seems that, remarkably, the buckrams of Erzincan mentioned by Pegolotti as sold in Pera and in Italy were marketed in Erzurum.	OF 167; L/A 126; Zib 109; BMan 318
Fustians (defined on p 110). It is not clear where they were woven or marketed; possibly in Baghdad or Mardin, but marketed, by one of the cross-routes, in one of the cities along the route. (Compare the weaving of fustian observed later by Barbaro at Mardin and the fustian merchants found by him at Hisn Kayfa, p 127.)	Zib 109
Alum. Possibly the alum said by Simon de St. Quentin to be available in Sivas; it may have originated from the mines at Şebinkarahisar (on this matter, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 148–49).	OF 167
Lead. The source is unclear but is likely to be in Cilicia or at a point on the Tabriz track not far from Cilicia.	BMan 318; Jac 2014: 273

These are items wholly produced in cities on or near the route. The demand for them seems to have been solely in the west, so they travelled only down the route to Ayas. The exception was perhaps buckram, which is much more likely to have been woven at Erzincan than at Erzurum, but if marketed in Erzurum and sold in Pera it may have been exported via Trebizond.

Cotton. BMan: grows in large quantities in [Little] Armenia. Peg: high-quality cotton grown in Syria. So some of the woven cotton available was local.	L/A 122; BMan 318; Peg 366–67. Balletto 1277/40, 70, pp 55–56, 102–03
Some cotton, however, came to Ayas from Syrian fields via Antioch and by land around the coasts of Syria, then Cilicia.	(export) Jac 2014: 274
Linen, canvas. The flax probably grew locally.	Zib 61, 62–63, 109; Peg 59
Camlet. Local weavers, with raw fibre apparently available in Cilicia.	Jac 2014: 279
The raw fibre, ‘camlet’ wool, most likely goat hair, possibly camel hair. ⁵⁷⁹	

These are items grown or manufactured locally, for sale in the west. However, we know that yarn from Egypt and Syria and cloth from Cilicia were sold in Trebizond.⁵⁸⁰ So some of the production of Syria and Cilicia must have been transported from Ayas up the Tabriz route, not as far as Tabriz but as far as Erzincan, where the carriers would have turned north to reach Trebizond via Bayburt.⁵⁸¹ The cloth of Cilicia bought at Trebizond might have been linen, as mentioned here, and cotton cloth, which might well have been woven in Cilicia given the excellent supplies of raw cotton.

Cloth. Either sold on the spot, or transported to Sivas or Konya.	Balletto 1277/49, pp 271–72, 1277/51, pp 273–74; OF 167
Linen of Rheims: sold in Tabriz.	Bratianu 1929: Appendix 18; Ashtor 1983: 58
Linen of Germany and Lombardy.	Ashtor 1983: 58
Stanforte cloth manufactured in Malines.	Ibid
Tin and copper. The tin available in Tabriz is therefore an import from the west via Ayas. But some tin was also re-exported to Egypt (OF 167).	Zib 62–63; OF 166–67
Wool. It seems likely this is an import from the west (Jacoby 1996: 409) and was carried up the route for sale at Tabriz.	MP 94; Peg 59
Crystal	Ashtor 1983: 58

These goods (European cloth, wool, metals and crystal), then, were transported up the route from Ayas to Sivas and Tabriz.

Gold	Balletto 1279/106, pp 341–43. OF 167; Zib 109; Peg 59
Silver	Balletto: <i>ibid</i>

Given those of Pegolotti’s remarks, in his discussion of Il-Khanid *seignorage*, which seem to concern gold imported to Tabriz,⁵⁸² it seems likely that the gold available at Ayas was an import from the west, which was then transported up the track to Tabriz, there to be minted as coin. The gold in question was then part of the counterflow of coin and bullion which paid for the large imbalance between the value of eastern goods imported to Europe (especially the light but high-value goods such as pearls, spices and silk) and European goods exported via Ayas. The silver, again, is likely to be of western provenance. That for sale in Ayas must have been a small proportion of the silver flowing from the Italian and French trading cities. Most western silver, we argue, was either melted down and minted in Cilicia or sent as bullion to Sivas and Tabriz.⁵⁸³

Oil. Certainly an import from the west (explicitly so stated in BMan 317)	Zib 62; BMan 317; Peg 59
Soap: ditto (from Ancona and Puglia)	Zib 62–63; BMan 217; Peg 59
Grain. From the west (Jacoby 1994: 409)	Zib 61–62, 109–10
Cheese, salted meat. Imports from the west, some for rerouting to Syria and Egypt	Zib 61

These are foodstuffs unloaded at Ayas and consumed mostly in Cilicia, Syria and Egypt.

Iron. Imported from the west, but then transported to ports in Syria,
Palestine and Egypt

OF 166–67; Jac 272

Iron, then, was a pure case of re-export. A balance of payments issue with the Il-Khanid empire did not arise.

The following emerge. Among goods exported to the west from Ayas, first and foremost light, highly valuable items – silk, spices, dyes, pearls, gold – travelled down the route from Tabriz to Ayas. Second, merchants would buy certain items along the way – crimson silk and crimson dye materials, possibly alum, at Sivas; possibly also lead, at a point further down the line. Third, raw cotton was grown, and linen and canvas made from locally grown flax, in Cilicia, for export to the west, though some Syrian cotton was also sold in Ayas. However, some Cilician cloth may have been transported to Trebizond. So far the goods on sale at Ayas are essentially exports from the east or from the interior or from Cilicia, and had to be paid for by European merchants in silver or in kind. A few items travelled up the track from Ayas to Tabriz. The principal commodity so exported to Tabriz was cloth; some tin and copper also came to Tabriz from the west. This apart, certain foodstuffs arrived in Ayas on ships from the west; these were consumed in Cilicia, Syria and Egypt. These, then, would reduce the balance of payments deficit implied by the goods arriving in Ayas from Tabriz, Sivas, etc.. Iron came to Ayas purely for purposes of re-export, which did not affect the balance of payments at all.

In sum, however, the aforementioned transactions meant a large trade imbalance between goods going up and those coming down the route, and a smaller one between the Cilician and Syrian products (cotton, linen, etc.) and the foodstuffs from the west which were sold in Cilicia and Armenia. The imbalance was paid for partly in coin and partly in ingots. Coin and ingots could be either of gold or of silver. The gold attested at Ayas and Tabriz was in lump form, which in Tabriz would be melted down and struck as coin. As far as silver ingots are concerned, these were exported to Ayas by Venice at least in the 1310s.⁵⁸⁴ Some of this silver was converted into coin by the royal mint at the Cilician capital of Sis (at the northern edge of the Cilician plain),⁵⁸⁵ but the silver so converted could be used to pay for goods arriving in Ayas, and so helped to pay for the trade deficit. Both ingots and Armenian coins were taken in bulk to Sivas, sometimes to Tabriz.⁵⁸⁶ The motive for the transport of silver so far inland was to miss out intermediate conversions to local coin: the profit on the sale to the mint at Sis was lower than that in Sivas because of the legal requirement to present coin for reminting in Sis and because of the higher scarcity value in Sivas.⁵⁸⁷

The Antalya–Sivas–Sinop line. Antalya, as we shall point out later, was a wealthy, booming port in this period. Trade with Italian and French cities was carried on here, and there was a commercial link between Antalya and Alanya on the one hand and Egypt on the other. To account for Antalya's prosperity and for that of Konya and Kayseri, a transit trade, particularly in slaves, with the Black Sea coast through Anatolia, has been posited. This would mean that the slaves were disembarked at Sinop and brought down through Sivas, Kayseri and Konya.⁵⁸⁸ We shall see that such a theory is unnecessary and receives no support from the evidence.

To examine the trade of Antalya: In part at least, products of the interior were being exported from here. Pegolotti's own list of goods available at Antalya, with items such as wax, copper, flax, walnuts, wheat and legumes, hardly suggests anything else.⁵⁸⁹ Next,

Antalya functioned as a point of import, but even more as a transit station, for cloth from southern France and Lombardy. The principal destinations must have been Cyprus and Ayas. Equally spices, sugar, etc. came to Antalya and Alanya from Egypt; the goods in question were for the most part in transit and destined for south European ports. The despatch of slaves from Antalya is known.⁵⁹⁰

None of the aforementioned, however, implies an overland transit trade between Sinop and Antalya. We know that slaves were transported from the Crimea through the Black Sea and Aegean.⁵⁹¹ Some of course were en route to Europe, but others were en route to Egypt, in which case Antalya was a natural staging-post. The minor commercial handbook published by Bautier mentions slaves for sale in Antalya, but calls them Turkish, thus suggesting that they were recruited in Asia Minor.⁵⁹² Pegolotti, however, does not include slaves in his list of goods available in Antalya.

That slaves were carried, in the period, from the Crimea and adjacent regions to Egypt to supply the Mamluk army with soldiers is not in doubt, nor is their carriage by sea through Constantinople and the Aegean. From the Aegean, of course, some were taken to Europe. The transport of slaves to Egypt by sea was at first managed by Muslim merchants,⁵⁹³ but by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the carriage of slaves by sea to Egypt had become more the activity of Italians.⁵⁹⁴

We shall now take a brief look at the cities along the way. Antalya was still a large city, whose port attracted many merchants, but in the fourteenth century was controlled by the Hamid dynasty.⁵⁹⁵ It had large markets, indicating the importance of its role as a point of exchange between merchants arriving by ship, mainly Europeans, and those bringing goods from the interior. It was divided by means of internal walls into four sectors: those inhabited by Christian merchants, by the local Christian population, by the Jews of the city and by the Hamidoğlu prince and his officers and *mamluks*.⁵⁹⁶ The latter must have been the citadel repaired by the Seljuk state after the city's capture in 1216.⁵⁹⁷

In Konya, building had continued during the 1260s and 1270s. The impressive İnce Minare Medresesi and adjacent *masjid* of the vizier Sahib Ata were completed around 663/1264–65; to Sahib Ata's complex was added the *hankâh* or dervish lodge (668/1269–70).⁵⁹⁸ Other foundations of the same vizier around 663–79/1264–81 are known.⁵⁹⁹ The bulk of the building work on the *tekke* of Jalal al-Din Rumi was carried out in this period.⁶⁰⁰ There is good evidence for the foundation of a mosque (unconnected with the above foundations) and more shadowy evidence for two *masjids*.⁶⁰¹ But thereafter building seems to have stopped, partly for economic reasons and partly because of the political situation.

Konya suffered many vicissitudes in the 1280s and 1290s while still in Seljuk hands.⁶⁰² After its acquisition by the Karamanids it was attacked by Choban in 715/1315–16 and in 723/1323 by Timur Tash in order to wrest it back and to subdue the Karamanids.⁶⁰³ Nevertheless even in the 1330s it was a large city with well-organised markets; there were separate parts of the city for separate manufacturing trades.⁶⁰⁴ One of these trades may have been the carpet industry known to Marco Polo around 1270.⁶⁰⁵

Kayseri, too, was still a large city.⁶⁰⁶ It is noticeable how, as at Konya, the building boom of the early and mid-thirteenth century spills over into this period (from the late 1250s onwards) and then comes to an end. In the 1260s Kayseri and its district were evidently rich places. The Seljuk *pervane* ("butterfly", "postmaster", really *atabeg* or power behind the throne) Mu'in al-Din Sulayman, holder of many beneficiary rights over land in the region, assigned an income of 50,000 dirhams per year to a Sufi, 'Alam al-Din, merely because 'Alam al-Din had recited a panegyric which pleased the *pervane* and his wife.⁶⁰⁷ The previous vizier, Sahib Ata, also a builder at Konya and Sivas, had founded a large complex comprising a courtyard

madrasa, a *masjid* and a *türbe*, which was finished in 666/1267.⁶⁰⁸ But after this admittedly large project, building simply stops.⁶⁰⁹

Sivas's expansion in this period we have already pointed to and will explore later. But its prosperity is very adequately explained by the Ayas–Tabriz trade. Sinop and Samsun were active ports, in which an Italian presence is known from the 1270s. But their activity springs from the Trebizond–Constantinople sea trade and from the Caffa and Sivas trade.⁶¹⁰ No over-land through trade to Antalya is needed to explain their activity.

The cities along the road were evidently in a prosperous state. But it would be wise not to state dogmatically that this was due to the slave trade across Anatolia. A more reasonable explanation would be that the chain of cities prospered on account of a series of relationships between them, not always between contiguous cities. Konya and Antalya may have prospered on account of the goods imported and exported from Antalya. Kayseri in turn did business with Konya. Sivas' commerce was certainly intensified by the link with Sinop; however, commercial relations existed between Sivas and Kayseri too.

Cross routes. Again it is important to investigate the cross routes, as they can grossly be called. But in this period the two which we shall examine do not seem to have carried a great volume of merchandise.

In the first place limited trade took place between Ayas and Konya: the Anatolian plain was reached via the Cilician Gates. Goods exported from Ayas to Konya included pepper, ginger and various types of cloth.⁶¹¹

In the second place a route crossed from north to south, hitting the Pegolotti route at Erzincan and then leaving it at Kemah. It was argued here (p 97) that in the period, slaves cannot have been transported from Sivas to Malatya and so into Mamluk territory: the Il-Khanid government would not have allowed it, because it would have meant simply handing soldiers to the enemy. Nor is there evidence for the passage of any other goods from Sivas to Malatya in the period. However, another road ran roughly parallel to the Sivas–Malatya one at a certain distance to the east. This went through Erzincan and Harput to Amid/Diyarbakır and so to Baghdad via Mardin or Hisn Kayfa. During the Il-Khanid period the road seems not to have carried much traffic: Amid and Harput show little sign of activity. Nevertheless, for the Il-Khanid administration the road held a certain importance: it connected the Il-Khans' ally at Trebizond with another ally, Mardin, and so with the second Il-Khanid capital of Baghdad. As we shall see, the Mongols took special measures to ensure that the Mamluks did not seize any part of it and so intercept movement along it.

After Trebizond, Bayburt and Erzincan, traffic came down the road to Kemah, coinciding with the Pegolotti route as far as that city. It then continued down the Roman road in the Upper Euphrates valley, climbing out of that valley to avoid its gorges, crossing the Anti-Taurus and descending over the heights to the west of the Upper Euphrates gorge. Taking leave of the Roman road, travellers continued east through the Euphrates plain and crossed the Euphrates at the Aşvan ford. Coins minted at Çemişgezek suggest that a shorter line between Erzincan and Aşvan through the Dersim was also in use.⁶¹²

When Malatya was captured by the Mamluks in 1315, the Il-Khanid authorities built on the heights south of the river at Aşvan a fort, in recent times called Taşkun Kale, whose object was to protect the road south to Harput on a continuous basis rather than to hold out against a serious siege. Strangely the nearby village was evacuated and its church's masonry taken to build the fort; on the other hand, a small chapel was built near the church, suggesting, perhaps, a Christian garrison.⁶¹³ On the mound at Aşvan itself was built a large domed chamber with, apparently, a portico to the south. This must have been the office of a local

commander entrusted with the supervision of the ford and, no doubt, of a district which would have stretched downstream to the limits of Mamluk-controlled territory.⁶¹⁴

When the threat of hostile Mamluk action receded, the fort and domed chamber were abandoned by the authorities. This may have happened in the early 1330s: it cannot have happened straight after the Mongol–Mamluk treaty of 1323.⁶¹⁵

5. *Beyond Tabriz*

In this section we trace the routes by which goods reached Tabriz, and the origin of those goods. We attempt to point out why Tabriz, at the crossroads of so many different routes, was such an ideally located market-place.

Hormuz and India. The track to Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, followed by a sea voyage to India, was the access route of the bulk of the goods sold at Tabriz to Italian merchants. From India came spices, pearls, other precious stones, cloth and elephant tusks; in return, Iran gave only horses and a particularly tough brand of donkey. Of the various stations along the route, Hormuz was the great point of exchange. Horses were exported to India also from the Arabian peninsula; of the peninsula's ports, several of those on the shore of the Indian Ocean were the outlets.⁶¹⁶

From Tabriz and Sultaniyya the route seems to have reached Isfahan, not via Hamadan, which would have been the most direct line, but through Savah and Kashan.⁶¹⁷ Isfahan itself seems to have been in flourishing condition. Mustawfi (writing c. 1340 AD) mentions its many *madrastas*, *khanqahs* (Sufi lodges) and other charitable foundations; Ibn Battuta praises its size and beauty, but regrets that at his visit in 1327, damage had been caused by local conflicts between Sufis and Rafidhis (by the latter were meant Shiites and Ismailis).⁶¹⁸ From Isfahan one progressed to Shiraz via Kalil, Yazdukhah and Mayin.⁶¹⁹ Shiraz, too, would seem to have been a sumptuous, populous place. The city had already been endowed with several *madrastas* and other buildings such as hospitals in the previous period, mostly under a local dynasty, the Salgurids. Under the Il-Khans the administration of the region and city remained, partly at least, in the hands of local dynasts. Disorder and high taxation meant that, with the exception of one *madrasa*, investment in buildings was precluded until the reign of Ghazan (694–703/1295–1304), but under more peaceful conditions trade seems to have flourished. The last and perhaps most effective of the local dynasties were the Injuids (725–58/1325–57).⁶²⁰ Ibn Battuta details with approval the city's gardens, dense population and prosperous markets. The local ruler, Abu Ishaq, was at that time undertaking heavy expenditure on a new palace.⁶²¹ Before the Injuids, the city produced a lively coinage in gold, silver and copper, which may be indicative of intense activity provoked by international trade.⁶²²

From Shiraz one would then descend from the Iranian plateau to the coastal plain at Hormuz. By the 1330s, Hormuz had become the sole emporium for international trade: here merchants from Tabriz, Fars and even Khurasan met those from India. But until that time Hormuz and the island of Qays co-existed as emporia, the one serving predominantly the mainland of Iran and the other serving Baghdad and Upper Mesopotamia. Competition between Hormuz and Qays was therefore, in general, competition between different routes and destinations. On occasion military conflict took place. But by the 1320s Hormuz had won out and by the 1330s Qays had lost its international commercial significance.⁶²³

Hormuz, however, as Marco Polo indicates, was itself two cities, one on the plain by the Persian Gulf and the other on the island opposite. In Marco Polo's time the two functioned together.⁶²⁴ But the mainland city was abandoned around 1330, probably for a mixture of

military and commercial reasons. The island of Jarun therefore became the sole city, with extensive markets.⁶²⁵ Hormuz and the neighbouring coast and hinterland were ruled by an *amir*, subject in Marco Polo's time to the ruler of Kirman, who in turn was an Il-Khanid vassal.⁶²⁶

From Hormuz, merchants would go to India by ship, stopping at a number of ports on the straight southeastern coast of the Arabian peninsula, then leaping straight across the Indian Ocean. In certain Indian ports, Italians were resident.⁶²⁷ The route was also that of a number of Catholic missionaries in the period, some of whom continued to China.⁶²⁸ There are indications that the Genoese merchants had their own ships in the Indian Ocean.⁶²⁹ Some goods from China reached Iran via India, where the great emporium and transit centre was Ma' bar/ Malabar on India's east coast: Ma' bar had a special connection with the island of Qays in the Persian Gulf.⁶³⁰

Baghdad, Upper Mesopotamia and the former Gulf route. From Tabriz, Baghdad could be reached by coming south over plains to Hamadan, turning southwest over the Zagros range by the Kel-i Shin pass, where the principal stop was the fort and town of Qasr-i Shirin, and so gaining the Mesopotamian plain.⁶³¹ Despite the pass, this was much the quickest way. However, the way which traversed the easiest country, and where a number of minor cities was passed, led through Mosul, Upper Mesopotamia and the L. Van region.

Marco Polo in the late thirteenth century implies that merchandise could be carried between Baghdad and Hormuz, first down the river Tigris and then through the Persian Gulf, stopping at the island of Qays. According to him, Basra, not far from the head of the Gulf, was a great city, and the Tigris–Persian Gulf trade would appear the only explanation. Again, according to Marco Polo, most of the pearls exported from India to Christian Europe were pierced in Baghdad. This clearly implies that they would be brought up the Gulf and then up the Tigris to Baghdad, subsequently being carried (over the Kel-i Shin pass or through Upper Mesopotamia) to Tabriz and so to the markets of Europe.⁶³²

But, as we have just mentioned, by the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century, the Gulf route via the island of Qays had fallen out of use. Ibn Battuta's descriptions are instructive. The city of Basra had woefully contracted in such a way that an isolated mosque stood between the then limited extent of the city and its former defensive wall. Further down the Tigris, Ubulla had formerly been a great city, where merchants from India and Fars (the province of Isfahan) did business. Now it was a village. 'Abbadan was a large village, which would not explain its many mosques, *khanqahs*, etc.⁶³³ Ibn Battuta gives us a lively picture of a road which a local *amir* had developed between the head of the Persian Gulf and Isfahan, apparently in a deliberate attempt to reroute merchandise which would otherwise have been carried up the Tigris to Baghdad. It climbed up through Ramiz, described as a fine city, and Tustar, large and with full bazaars, to Idhaj, the *amir*'s capital, and Ushturkan and Firuzan.⁶³⁴ In the sectors from Ramiz to Tustar and from there to Idhaj and Ushturkan, the traveller stayed each night at a *zawiya* which the *amir* or his predecessor had constructed.⁶³⁵ The predecessor had built 460 *zawiyas*; the present *amir* had allocated one third of his tax revenue to the upkeep of the *zawiyas* on his territory.⁶³⁶ Some merchandise, therefore, was carried on ships past Qays island and from Hormuz up this track to Isfahan. It is unlikely that the track from the head of the Gulf through Basra and other settlements to Baghdad carried no traffic at all, however.⁶³⁷

The city of Baghdad itself, after the Mongol sack of 1258, gradually recovered. Rebuilding had started almost as soon as the troops of Hulagu, the Mongol commander and future Il-Khan, left.⁶³⁸ For the time being the Persian Gulf trade was maintained. This apart,

Baghdad was both a market and a supplier of goods for the cities in Upper Mesopotamia and further along the line towards Tabriz: these trading connections we shall explore later. The city kept some of its industry. The city's woven cloth was described in tempting terms by Marco Polo: a variety of types of cloth, including damasks and velvets, and depictions of fish, animals and birds woven into the pattern.⁶³⁹ Pearls were brought here from the coasts of India; in Baghdad they were pierced and eventually found their way to Europe, probably via Tabriz.⁶⁴⁰ A glass industry here manufactured vessels which were sent to Asia Minor and Transoxania, again no doubt via Tabriz in each case.⁶⁴¹ In the period, paper was also manufactured here. Baghdad was the Il-Khanid empire's second mint, and easily matched Tabriz in the issue of gold coins.⁶⁴²

Rebuilding and building *de novo* continued for around two decades. At least five of the *madrasas* resumed activity. Another *madrasa* was founded; new public works were undertaken. The result was that by around 1300, the city had been re-established more or less in the same mould as in the previous period. As before, the sectors of the city west of the Tigris consisted of isolated quarters, some of which, again, were walled. But populous east Baghdad, also walled, still flourished; there were still numerous *madrasas* and *ribats* (here in the meaning of buildings to shelter Sufi orders or societies). Some admittedly minor building projects were carried out under Uljaytu and Abu Sa'id (703–16/1304–16 and 716–36/1316–35).⁶⁴³ Jews and Christians on the whole lived quietly, the great exception being the pogrom enacted on Christians, Jews and Buddhists immediately after the enthronement of Ghazan (reigned 694–703/1295–1304). Ghazan soon weighed in to stop the disturbances.⁶⁴⁴

Upper Mesopotamia, or rather that part of it controlled by the Il-Khanid empire, and the Lake Van region present a continuum of commercially active cities. The reason was the connection to Baghdad on one side and to Tabriz on the other. As we have said, the tracks through these regions did not constitute the shortest possible trajectory between Baghdad and Tabriz. The shortest way was through the Kel-i Shin pass and Hamadan. But Upper Mesopotamia offered other advantages.

Between Baghdad and Mosul, the largest city of Il-Khanid Upper Mesopotamia, one passed Takrit, a sizeable walled city with impressive markets and a number of mosques.⁶⁴⁵ Mosul itself, having recovered from the Mongol irruption of 1261, made fine cloth, and its merchants were responsible for the transport of large quantities of spices, pearls, silk and cloth which included beaten gold elements. This means they must have brought spices, pearls and probably silk cloth from the Persian Gulf, and gold-embroidered cloth from Baghdad, to Upper Mesopotamia and probably all the way to Tabriz.⁶⁴⁶ Despite the ruination of several buildings erected in the early thirteenth century, Mosul had a flourishing suburb, outside its (admittedly limited) walled area. This suburb, evidently the principal trading area, contained a concentration of warehouses and bazars (*suq*), as well as a *qaysariyya* (central shopping complex), mosques, a hospital and hamams.⁶⁴⁷

The next city northwards was that of Jazirat ibn 'Umar (Cizre in modern Turkish). It lay underneath the first mountains delimiting the plains at a point not far south of the mouth of a gorge whereby the Tigris breaks out into the plain. The city had clearly contracted much by the fourth decade of the fourteenth century, but, now in the hands of a local Kurdish dynasty, still had a function as a trading-post for goods from the upper Tigris basin further north. Later tradition said that the vizier Rashid al-Din conceived a project to dig a canal from the Tigris past the city; such a tradition suggests at least a conception of Il-Khanid interest in the city.⁶⁴⁸ Under the Il-Khans the city minted in fair regularity and quantity both before Ghazan's reform and, more especially, after.⁶⁴⁹

In a westerly direction from Jazirat ibn 'Umar lay Mardin, a city crowning the escarpment of a range of hills overlooking the Mesopotamian plain. Cotton grew on the plain below the city, which was known for its manufacture of buckram and other cloths, and for its artisans, its markets and its merchants.⁶⁵⁰ Mardin was the most westerly of the prosperous cities of Upper Mesopotamia. Further north, Amid, an Artukid possession, was now greatly diminished in size and lay at a remove from the complex of commercially active cities in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia which connected Baghdad and Tabriz.⁶⁵¹

But Jazirat ibn 'Umar and Mosul were also supplied by cities in the upper Tigris basin further north, and these were closely linked, too, to Mardin. The upper Tigris basin is defined to the south by a belt of limestone hills, which then require a difficult passage for the Tigris itself and for those attempting to cross between the basin and the Mesopotamian plain. Once the belt of hills had been crossed, the merchant came to other cities. Hisn Kayfa (now "Hasankeyf") was a city partly spreading over the bank of the Tigris beneath cliffs, and partly atop the same cliffs, at the northern edge of the limestone hills, and capital of an important local Kurdish principality. At the end of the period, a large mosque was constructed here.⁶⁵² The city seems to have minted little before Ghazan's reform, but afterwards produced a respectable stream of coins, especially from Abu Sa'id onwards.⁶⁵³ Hisn Kayfa could be reached from Jazira by a track through the limestone hills which passed through Midyat, capital of the Tur Abdin, the central district of the limestone hills.

Once at Hisn Kayfa, the merchant could visit two cities in the Tigris basin, Arzan and Siirt (Arab. "Si'ird"). Arzan, within an enormous circumvallation, was nevertheless declining at this stage.⁶⁵⁴ But, an apanage within the Hisn Kayfa principality, the city nevertheless minted late in the period.⁶⁵⁵ Arzan lay on a direct track over the floor of the upper Tigris basin which led to the bottom end of the Bitlis valley, entry to the L. Van basin further to the northeast. The large town of Si'ird, known for its manufacture of brass implements (*ālāt min khūb*) and drinking goblets (*tās*),⁶⁵⁶ was surrounded by a wall three miles in length,⁶⁵⁷ and lay towards the southeast corner of the Tigris basin. It was a fairly stable apanage of the Hisn Kayfa principality. It could be reached from Jazira along difficult paths above the Tigris gorge, but the way from Hisn Kayfa to Siirt and then to the base of the Bitlis valley, respectively along the south and east sides of the Tigris basin, was easy. Si'ird displays a certain vitality in its coin output from the time of Ghazan onwards.⁶⁵⁸

Once he had arrived at the shrine of Ways al-Qu'rani, at the base of the Bitlis valley, it would take the merchant 3 days to climb to the town of Bitlis, probably by now the seat of a local Kurdish principality. Despite the town's size, coins were minted at Bitlis in 715/1315 in what might be described as a wave of mint openings, in which the spirit of Ghazan's reforms was revived to enlarge the number of mints in the L. Van region.⁶⁵⁹

The track now came to Ahlat on the shore of L. Van. This city's surprisingly small walled area lay at the edge of a wide ravine, but the city seems to have been comparatively extensive, spreading in clusters of housing along the shelf immediately above L. Van and further uphill.⁶⁶⁰ The city was the capital of the Il-Khanid province of Arminiyya.⁶⁶¹ The city shows every sign of prosperity in the period. Beginning with Ghazan's reform, it mints a copious and continuous coinage until the very end of Il-Khanid authority over the immediate region.⁶⁶² From 1312 onwards the city's cemetery was steadily filled with a series of elaborate gravestones, astonishingly profuse in their decoration.⁶⁶³ To the west of Ahlat and below it in height spread the plain of Muş, now in part planted with cotton,⁶⁶⁴ and in the town of Muş itself, coins were minted in 715/1315 and subsequent years.⁶⁶⁵ It seems likely that the town and plain were by now in the hands of the Bitlis dynasty. Further along the shore of L. Van rose the fortress-town of Adilcevaz on a rock outcrop; the town minted in the period.⁶⁶⁶ In

another day, one came to the city of Arčēš (pron. “Archesh”) or Erciş, which spread over the plain by the lake shore. The city again evinces all the signs of prosperity during the period, with three churches known, again continuous minting from Ghazan’s reform onwards and an abundance of manuscripts copied in the local monasteries.⁶⁶⁷ The city evidently profited from the proximity of the Ala Dagh palace on the plain of Garni (now wrongly called the Çaldıran plain), 2 or 3 days’ walk to the east (pp 128, 271), but the principal influence on its size and activity appears to have been commercial. From Arčēš, one walked in a day to Bendimahi, a village at the mouth of a river, protected by a nearby castle;⁶⁶⁸ by following this river upstream one came to the Il-Khanid palace on its plain. Another day’s walk brought one to the plain of Sukmanabad, and thus the Pegolotti route to Tabriz was joined. Alternatively one could continue along the lake shore to Van, whose development as a city seems to have begun in the early fourteenth century,⁶⁶⁹ and travel eastwards along a flat corridor to a pass. Either way brought one to Khoy and thus over easy ground to Tabriz.

From Takrit and Mosul to Khoy there existed in the period a series of prosperous and active cities; they were not exactly strung out on a line, but more constituted a belt of cities dependent at various removes on Baghdad and Tabriz. The Ala Dagh palace, too, must have been a magnet for some goods produced or traded in the cities, particularly those of the Van region. For the buoyant functioning of the whole system of cities, it was not necessary that Baghdad or Tabriz should have direct economic relations with more than one of the cities in question, just so long as that city in turn traded with a third, and that with a fourth, and so on. The commercial relations in question would not necessarily be between adjacent cities, nor only between cities lying along the principal direction of the swathe of cities as a whole: for example Hisn Kayfa could trade with Jazira, but also with Mardin, which from some points of view lay at the tip of a corner where the general direction of the sequence of cities turned from northwest to northeast. Very likely commercial relations existed over relatively long distances as well as over short ones. For example Mardin’s cotton industry probably supplied Baghdad; cotton grown on the plain of Muş probably went to the Ala Dagh palace and Tabriz. In brief, behind Mamluk war zones, the vitality of Tabriz at one end and of Baghdad at the other generated a whole series of economic relationships which produced a swathe of active and prosperous cities, politically in different hands, connecting the two anchors.

From the northeast: Ghilan and Mazandaran and the cities of Central Asia and the steppe. Raw silk from Ghilan and Mazandaran, which lie in the mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea, was certainly brought to Tabriz, and they must have been among its main sources of supply. This is Pegolotti’s *seta ghella*, from Gilan.⁶⁷⁰

Goods, including silk, were certainly brought from the cities of Transoxania, the low-lying region to the north of the river Oxus or Amu Darya, in southern Central Asia (Samarkand, etc.). From Transoxania they crossed into Khurasan, where the flat topography of Transoxania was continued, and where the city of Marv, now much reduced in size after its seizure by the Mongols, was passed. Travellers passed through a range of mountains and came to other cities, principally that of Nishapur, still in Khurasan. From Khurasan they descended into the great plateau of northern Iran, passing the cities of Varamin and Rayy. There followed an easy westward passage to Tabriz or, after its foundation, to Sultaniyya.⁶⁷¹

A brief look at Transoxania and the steppe cities to north and northeast is now required. The whole of Transoxania, from the region of Bukhara and Samarkand in the south to the river Syr Darya (Jaxartes) in the north, was under Chaghatay sovereignty. In the lee of the mountain ranges, now in Kirghizistan, which divide the plain of Transoxania from the Tarim basin to its east, lay a small group of trading cities, such as Shash – now Tashkent – and

Talas. The ascent from these cities to the pass from which the Tarim basin and its tracks to China were eventually reached came through a broad vale where such cities as Andijan and Ferghana were passed. At the end of the descent from the pass, travellers arrived at the city of Kashgar. The cities on the ascent here (Andijan, Ferghana, etc.) and land down to Kashgar itself again were included in the Chaghatay empire. Beyond, the Tarim basin was controlled by the Yuan empire, with its capital at Khanbalik/Beijing.

Going further north through Transoxania, the city of Utrar, on the river Syr Darya and therefore on the northern boundary of Transoxania, was reached. Here the roads from the Transoxanian cities hit the great steppe route from the northern Black Sea cities through Saray and Astrakhan (the latter on the northwest shore of the Caspian Sea). The steppe route continued roughly southeastwards until finding a line under and immediately north of the mountains of Kirghizistan. Here too the territory around Utrar and eastwards along the plain and under the Kirghizistan mountains as far as the city of Almaligh and the nearby city of Kayaligh lay within Chaghatay territory.⁶⁷² From Almaligh, the way continued through other cities such as Turfan in flat territory, of which the Tarim basin was an extension and which again was controlled and administered by the Yuan.

The Chaghatay left administration in the hands of a number of local rulers, each based in a single city (for example Utrar, Almaligh, Shash, Andijan, Kashgar), and kept only the largest cities, Bukhara and Samarkand, for themselves; the city where they most frequently resided was Talas.⁶⁷³ Trade with China, such as it was in this period, took place along several lines. One was precisely the steppe route from the Black Sea, which from Utrar to Almaligh passed through Chaghatay territory. Another was the classic line, mentioned previously, which came from Iranian cities such as Tabriz and, still in Il-Khanid territory, through part of Khurasan (Nishapur, Mashhad), then via an easy passage through a mountain range into northern Khurasan (now Turkmenistan). This region, with its cities such as Marv and Balkh, was again a plain and contiguous with Transoxania. So on the passage from Tabriz, merchants would pass Marv, progress to Bukhara and Samarkand and the smaller cities a little further north, then make the ascent and descent over the mountains into the Tarim basin. From Bukhara one could travel north through Transoxania to Utrar, where the way to China on one side and to the Black Sea on the other would be open. Another way from Bukhara led northwards to Urgench, passing the Aral Sea on its west side.⁶⁷⁴

Transoxania was devastated both by internal warfare within the Chaghatay state and by bitter conflicts between the Chaghatay and Il-Khanid empires. For a period of 7 years beginning in 1276, the Chaghatay ruler Qaydu fought over the region with his cousins.⁶⁷⁵ Earlier, in contest with his brother Baraq, Qaydu had plundered Bukhara and Samarkand.⁶⁷⁶ These conflicts must have been closely connected with warfare against Il-Khanid forces. In the years 1272–73 Bukhara was attacked by an Il-Khanid army, and again in 1275–76 the districts of both Samarkand and Bukhara were invaded.⁶⁷⁷ Meanwhile Khurasan had been invaded by Baraq (1270), an attack just as harmful to trade as Il-Khanid campaigns against Transoxania.⁶⁷⁸ Evidence from the 1280s suggests that trade with the Yuan empire was undergoing a shift from land routes to the geographically longer but substantially safer sea passage past southeast Asia and India.⁶⁷⁹

Starting in 1282, efforts were made by the Chaghatay leadership to reconstruct Samarkand and Bukhara, and it seems that by 1299 the two cities were prospering.⁶⁸⁰ Other cities, such as Ferghana, were rescued.⁶⁸¹ But in the 1290s the fighting started again. Nawruz, the Il-Khan's governor in Khurasan, started a rebellion in 1289 with a view to gaining independence. From 1291 to his submission in 1294 he attacked cities on the route such as Tus and Nishapur. Equally Chaghatay raids were carried out on cities in Mazandaran in 1295.⁶⁸² Roughly in

1304–06, in the middle years of the first decade of the fourteenth century, another fierce struggle took place in the Chaghatay state, this time between Chapar, Qaydu's first son, and Du'a, the reigning khan. Southern Transoxania and, further north, the district of Talas were particularly affected.⁶⁸³ Meanwhile in the 1290s, Yuan and Chaghatay forces had clashed in the Tarim basin and further east, destroying much of the region's economic base, and the Yuan now took advantage of the Chaghatay infighting to plunder Samarakand and Bukhara.⁶⁸⁴ Il-Khanid troops fell on Khwarazm, the district south and southeast of the Aral Sea, inflicting harm, among other places, on the city of Urgench.⁶⁸⁵ At last in 1323 an accord was reached between the Yuan and the Chaghatay, which allowed trade between the two empires to be conducted without harassment and so to increase.⁶⁸⁶ This must have saved the cities along the steppe route (Saray, Astrakhan, Utrar, Almaligh) and must have helped in expanding the trade of Tana, the port on the Black Sea whose speciality was interregional trade.⁶⁸⁷ However, without a cessation of fighting in Transoxania, peace with the Yuan could not help trade and cities on the Kashgar route or, further down the route, the cities of Khurasan.

Despite the two violent periods of Transoxanian and Khurasanian history (1260s to 1270s; 1290s to first decade of fourteenth century), the Chaghatay for the time being achieved, or perhaps somehow failed to prevent, a commercial revival in the cities of Transoxania and nearby and in those of the Central Asian steppe which were under their sovereignty. Many mints opened in the period. The coin reform started in the northern cities (Utrar, Talas, etc.) in 669/1270–71. Such a revival must be connected with the development of the Black Sea port of Caffa in the 1260s as a harbour for exports to Europe, including Chinese silk: the silk came from China over the inner Asian steppe through the city of Almaligh and then through the Black Sea steppe and its cities (Saray and others).⁶⁸⁸ The coin reform spread to Bukhara in 681/1282, just when the initiative for reconstruction of that city and of Samarkand was beginning. In the last two decades of the thirteenth century, a great volume of coins seems to have been minted in the Chaghatay dominions, with particular frequency in the north.⁶⁸⁹ And till the beginning of the fourteenth century, all the cities in question – those along the steppe route (Almaligh, Utrar and through the steppe to Saray and Tana) and those on the Transoxania–Tarim basin route (Bukhara, Kashgar, etc.) and the lesser lines from Transoxania to Utrar and through Urgench – seem to have acted as fora for eastern goods, particularly silk; this in turn seems to have provoked local production, and, for reasons perhaps partly connected with trade, agriculture flourished too.⁶⁹⁰

The results of these changes seem to have been diverse. On the one hand, the steppe route from China via Almaligh, Utrar and then Astrakhan and Saray flourished in the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth centuries and accounted for the most active years of Tana's trading life. On the other hand, certain cities in Transoxania suffered a decline. By the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in 1327 Samarkand was in a semi-ruinous state: it had no city wall, most of its buildings were in decay and its population was small in relation to the extent of the built area.⁶⁹¹ This seems to be a sign that in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century, the use of the Tarim basin line (Kashgar, Ferghana and Samarkand) as a thoroughfare between China and Iran had declined. Bukhara seems to have suffered the same fate as Samarkand. The decline, whatever its extent, had set in by the date of Pegolotti's Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, composed probably somewhere in the 1320s but possibly also in the 1330s. Traffic had been lost in Bukhara and Samarkand, and diverted partly to the steppe route further north and partly to the long sea passage via the coast of India and Hormuz. Not that silk ceased to come to Tabriz from the direction of Transoxania. In his list of types of silk, Pegolotti reported that one could buy *seta merdacascia* (i.e. from Marv, which was sometimes known as *Marv Khadijan*).⁶⁹² By the time of compilation of the Pegolotti manual,

the silk of the Marv region would have been transported mainly to Tabriz and by that means to western markets. But some could have been exported via Bukhara and Utrar or Urgench.

During the Il-Khanid period in general, for all the revival of the cities under the Chaghatay, trade and urban development do not seem to have paralleled their former state in the period before the Mongol devastation of Bukhara and Samarkand. The infrastructure and population, the Catholic presence so noticeable on the Tana–Almaligh–Khanbaligh route, the merchant communities and consuls which we have detailed on the Ayas–Sivas–Erzurum route, do not seem to be there. Marv was, to be sure, still the seat of a Nestorian bishop in the late thirteenth century.⁶⁹³ There was still a Nestorian presence in Samarkand in the late thirteenth century,⁶⁹⁴ and in 1329 a Catholic see was set up in the same city after a visit by Dominican missionaries. The bishopric is known in 1330 and 1342, after which there is no further news.⁶⁹⁵ The Catholic presence along the whole road (Tabriz to Samarkand) seems to amount to this.

General questions of trading activity in Transoxania apart, there is a question over the extent to which the trade was carried on with Tabriz or with central Iran, Hormuz and ultimately India. There seems to have been a direct commercial link between cities in central Iran (Kirman, Kobinan and others) and Khurasan. Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta (at different dates) attest the use of the track coming from Hormuz northwards through Iran to Kirman and Kobinan by merchants bringing Indian goods to Nishapur and Balkh. Marco Polo reached the Soghdian route at Balkh, staying on an easterly course in such a way as never to go through Nishapur.⁶⁹⁶ Ibn Battuta reports the passage of Indian merchandise from Hormuz to Nishapur.⁶⁹⁷ These routes are interesting because they show that merchants preferred to some extent to come from India to Central Asia the long way round through Hormuz rather than crossing Afghanistan with its passes and mountains. But the trading connection between India and Nishapur via Hormuz did not bring saleable merchandise to Tabriz, and if goods travelled from Transoxania in the reverse direction, that meant that Tabriz correspondingly lost out.

Goods may also have come to Tabriz from the steppe city of Urgench, which lay south-east of the Aral Sea. The way from Astrakhan, ultimately from Saray and Tana on a route described earlier, would therefore have led along a course west and then south of the Aral Sea, subsequently along the Amu Darya and so to Bukhara or directly to Marv.⁶⁹⁸ But equally the track may have served to connect Urgench with central Iran and Hormuz rather than Tabriz with Urgench.

Karabagh, Tiflis and the Caucasus coasts. From Tabriz and Sultaniyya a way led to Ardabil, southwest of the Caspian Sea, and from there to Karabagh, an inland silk-producing area.⁶⁹⁹ From Ardabil one could go to Shamakhi, capital of Shirvan, another silk-producing area; Shamakhi exhibits a strong coinage in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This would suggest that the two areas supplied Sultaniyya (and, before Sultaniyya's foundation, Tabriz) with raw silk. From Shamakhi one could go to the Caspian coast and work along it through a series of towns, seats of Catholic dioceses which, despite their late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century attestation, may betray a trading function.⁷⁰⁰ If so, the silk of Shamakhi may to some extent have been traded in the steppe cities of the Tana–Khanbaligh route.

From Karabagh one could travel northwards to Ganja. The city and its surroundings also produced silk, the *seta cangie* of Italian sources.⁷⁰¹ From Ganja one could again travel westwards to Tiflis.⁷⁰² Tiflis, capital of a vassal kingdom, was evidently a highly active place. It produced a daunting coinage in the second half of the thirteenth century. Toward the end of the same century, silk and other types of cloth were woven here and probably in the

surrounding villages.⁷⁰³ The seat of the Catholic bishop of Smyrna, one of the six suffragan sees of Sultaniyya constituted in 1318, was later moved to Tiflis;⁷⁰⁴ beside the numbers of Catholics in the city and in Georgia generally, this may be an indication of through trade.

The aforementioned concern Sultaniyya. If we now confine ourselves to the related question of the transport of silk from the Caucasus to Tabriz as opposed to Sultaniyya, we find that the more easterly of the silk-producing cities and regions (Ardabil, Karabagh, Shamakhi/Shirvan) were accessible with ease from Tabriz as well; Ganja, with reasonable ease, too. Tiflis, however, was not. A much more direct way existed than that through Ganja and Karabagh. This more direct way came south through mountainous country, past the city of Lori, and continued to the Erevan plain. At Erevan itself, the track from the still commercially vibrant city of Ani (on which more later) joined that from Tiflis. The way continued southeast to Nakhchevan, Julfa and Tabriz.⁷⁰⁵

Earlier, we emphasised that the Ani–Kars connection between Tabriz and Erzurum was still an alternative to the Pegolotti route because, despite its greater length, it offered a series of secure towns and cities at which merchants could stop and if necessary trade. From Ani, too, one could reach the Black Sea ports of Poti and Sevastopolis in a northwesterly direction through Georgian cities such as Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe.⁷⁰⁶ The pulling power of Tabriz seems to explain the increased prominence in this period of Erevan, at the eastern edge of the great Aras plain, opposite Ani; and of Garni (translit. “Garni”), the extensive fortress above Erevan.⁷⁰⁷ From the vicinity of Erevan came the way across the plain to Surmari and so to Erzurum via the Aras valley – another alternative to the line of the Pegolotti itinerary.⁷⁰⁸

Further down the route, Nakhchevan’s size, its status as a bishop’s seat and the choice of the city as the headquarters of the *Frères Uniteurs* or Armenian Catholic monastic brotherhood are explained in part by the silk traffic between Tiflis and Tabriz.⁷⁰⁹ In part, too, they are explained by the presence nearby of several secure fortresses, in particular that of Alinjagh.⁷¹⁰

To sum up so far, Tiflis, a silk-producing centre, was linked to the market city of Sultaniyya by an easterly road which led through two other silk-producing areas, the city (and its surroundings) of Ganja, and Karabagh. Sultaniyya was thus supplied with silk from three different production regions. The westerly road from Tiflis came south through Lori, Erevan and Nakhchevan and continued southeast down the Aras to Tabriz. In this manner Tabriz was supplied with Georgian silk, *seta giorgiana*.⁷¹¹

But Tiflis was more than the beginning of a silk road to Sultaniyya and of a silk road to Tabriz. It was also a node on a longer route. This came from the Genoese-occupied port of Sebastopolis on the eastern Black Sea coast; Sebastopolis communicated by sea, partly with Trebizond, but in greater part with a string of other ports on the eastern and northeastern shores of the Black Sea, ending in the Genoese base of Caffa in the Crimea. Of these ports, all were Catholic bishoprics.⁷¹² So via Tiflis, Tabriz was connected with the eastern Black Sea coast and Caffa, just as Sultaniyya was connected with the western shore of the Caspian Sea and the steppe cities of the Golden Horde via the district of Karabagh and the city of Shamakhi.

6. *Egypt and southern Syria*

In the period (mid-1250s to 1340s), the port cities of Italy, southern France and Spain carried on an active trade with Egyptian and Syrian cities, now under Mamluk rule. As before, the Indian spices which formed the chief, but not sole, export to Europe came up the Red Sea and so to Cairo and Alexandria. Aleppo and the north Syrian ports no longer functioned as a serious outlet for goods originating in the Persian Gulf or India. But as before some

goods came, directly or via Cairo, to Damascus. The latter was the chief marketing centre in Syria, with outlets in the south Syrian harbour-cities. Goods continued to be traded down the Levant coast to Egypt, but the journey now started from Ayas in Cilicia rather than from Aleppo or one of the north Syrian ports. Acre continued to play a double role, acting as a kind of crossroads port. On the one hand it, and Beirut, were the principal stopping-points of the coastal trade between Ayas and Egypt; on the other hand Acre was the chief outlet for goods coming, immediately or originally, from Damascus, and the point of embarkation of such goods for destinations in Europe.⁷¹³ As before, exports from the east outstripped in value imports from Europe, resulting in a flow of silver and gold coin from the European ports to Egypt and southern Syria.⁷¹⁴

The loss of Acre, last remnant of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, to the Mamluks in 1291 provoked an immediate ban on exports to the Mamluk sultanate, the apparent aim of which was to prevent war materials, including wood and iron, reaching the Mamluk army. But this ban was evaded, sometimes even by means of absolutions and permissions granted by the Papal authorities themselves, and until 1320 seems to have had no significant effect on trading movement and quantities.⁷¹⁵ Shortly after 1320 the Pope issued a stricter and more serious prohibition, which was followed in 1323–24 by bans and practical enforcement on the part of the European mercantile cities themselves.⁷¹⁶ This had the effect of drawing some trading activity away from Egypt, if not southern Syria; as we have seen, the trading activity thus removed from Egypt was transferred to the Ayas–Tabriz line.

On Egypt's Mediterranean shore the pre-eminent port was Alexandria. In Alexandria each of the prominent Italian trading cities was represented by a trading community and maintained a *fondaco* or lockable building containing shops and warehouses; some of the port-cities of southern France, and the Catalan kingdom, traded here too. Genoa appears to have been the most active of the cities.⁷¹⁷ The European merchants, besides spices, exported other goods, this time Egyptian, such as raw and woven cotton. They brought to Alexandria principally iron, tin, wood and cloth from Europe and slaves from the Black Sea.⁷¹⁸ In the period, Cairo's suburbs expanded, particularly to the north and southwards towards the companion city of Fustat. The expansion was helped by engineering projects such as new canals. Additional Friday mosques, a good 35 in number, as well as *madrasas*, were built, and money found its way into the construction of palaces and mansions for individual amirs.⁷¹⁹

In Syria, Damascus was now the critical emporium, and the Italian traders came here too. Damascus' principal ports, from which ships left directly for destinations such as Crete, and ultimately for European maritime cities, were Beirut and Acre.⁷²⁰ The European merchants again bought spices, but equally came for the gold-embroidered and cotton cloth woven in Damascus, and for the city's renowned metalwork. Silk seems to have found its way here from Tabriz and Baghdad, though the route is not known, and the obvious one through Upper Mesopotamia and Aleppo was barred by Mongol–Mamluk hostilities. The merchants also sold cloth from Europe.⁷²¹ The city's prosperity in the period is undoubted: its active *suqs*, many local products, and expanding suburbs were all noted. New commercial buildings, too, were put up.⁷²² The building of mosques, *madrasas*, etc. continued, but apparently not with the breathless speed of Ayyubid building.⁷²³ There seem to have been few and fragile European merchant communities in southern Syria, but in Beirut there existed a small Cypriot community whose main task was the carriage of goods between that port and Cyprus.⁷²⁴ The latter was often an entrepôt in the passage of goods between the Syrian ports on the one hand and the Italian and other mercantile cities on the other.⁷²⁵

Such was the situation in Egypt and southern Syria until the more austere Papal ban on trade with the Mamluk dominions in 1320 and the Venetian and other prohibitions of 1322

and after. After these, Venice withdrew the galley service to Alexandria, cancelled its protection for Venetian subjects in that city and withdrew its consul there. This led to the relocation to Tabriz of some Venetian trading enterprises in Alexandria and in turn to a rerouting of a portion of the spice trade from the Red Sea and Alexandria to the Ayas–Tabriz track. Nevertheless, some trade continued; apart from the other cities’ merchants, even Venetians continued to do business in Alexandria.⁷²⁶

C. After the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary

I. The European economy

Europe saw a general economic decline from the 1330s to the early fifteenth century.⁷²⁷ Thereafter its economy seems to have crawled upwards, as a general tendency, until the mid-century; from this point until the century’s end its economy prospered again, but not with the ebullience or on the scale of the late thirteenth century.⁷²⁸ A steep demographic decline took place,⁷²⁹ but after the mid-fifteenth century, population, particularly in the countryside but also in the towns, grew steadily.

The disastrous epidemic of the Black Death (1348–50) killed population in town and country alike, but in the countryside its effects were continued by subsequent, recurrent plagues, by failed harvests and the period’s protracted wars.⁷³⁰ Population did not decline only from external, one-time causes such as plague and war; population loss seems to have led to declines in consumption and production, partly caused in turn by falls in rents from buildings and lands, and these in turn knocked back on the population itself.⁷³¹ By the early fifteenth century, between a third and a half of Europe’s rural population had been lost; the countryside was characterised by deserted villages and farms.⁷³²

Prices fell generally, again until the mid-fifteenth century.⁷³³ From the 1330s to the very beginning of the fifteenth century, Europe suffered from a silver famine;⁷³⁴ temporary respite was found in the Serbian and Bosnian mines, and the silver extracted there arrived in the northern Italian cities first.⁷³⁵ When certain of the Serbian mines were captured in the early 1460s by Ottoman troops, after the initial panic, mines in Saxony and the Tyrol (now the western tip of Austria) were discovered, and the early fourteenth-century mine at Kutná Hora was re-exploited.⁷³⁶

In general some groups, and particularly labourers and skilled workers, benefited in terms of real income. Even in the highest echelons of society there emerged power centres, whether genuinely aristocratic as the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, or commercially or financially based as in the case of the Medici at Florence. These power centres were also centres of wealth and consumption. But the economic decline also led to the impoverishment of some classes, including, in general, the aristocracy, which had previously been a ready consumer of goods imported from the east.⁷³⁷ Conditions did not favour east–west trade so much as in the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary (taking it at its widest, from the mid-1250s to the 1340s).⁷³⁸

However, the larger Italian cities resisted the general economic decline more effectively than in the much greater land area north of the Alps. In the mid- and late fourteenth century, it is true, the loss of custom from the middleman trade (in effect exporting European manufactures and precious metal to the East and in return importing goods such as spices and silk) was visible in Genoa and Venice.⁷³⁹ Venice, certainly, was buoyed up by her own production of glass, sold both to the East and in Europe north of the Alps.⁷⁴⁰ The spice trade from India and China, with the loss of the Ayas–Tabriz road and the steep decline of trade on the Inner

Asian routes, was now channelled through the Red Sea and Egypt, and this trade became a virtual monopoly of Venice's. Venice became the supplier of raw cotton to the nascent industries of southern Germany, selling to that region's cities also the luxury goods of the East (spices, silk, pearls).⁷⁴¹ But Genoa was affected by the drastic reduction of trade in the Black Sea ports (Caffa, Tana, Trebizond) and by her defeat in the war of Chioggia (1381) at the hands of Venice.⁷⁴²

Florence's cloth industry was radically hit, probably by virtue of a general contraction of demand. Between the years 1340 and 1400, the city's population is said to have more than halved.⁷⁴³ Nevertheless, the manufacture of cheaper wool cloth held up in Lombardy and northern Brabant (Brussels, etc.).⁷⁴⁴ Woollen goods manufacture continued in the Low Countries, but the process was extended, by which the more northerly settlements won out at the expense of Ypres, Ghent and other towns and cities in Flanders.⁷⁴⁵

But matters reversed themselves from the very beginning of the fifteenth century. The Florentine wool industry picked up, again importing English and Flemish wool.⁷⁴⁶ By the 1430s at least, the city's firms were exporting wool cloth to the great Ottoman market of Bursa.⁷⁴⁷ Florence very early developed her own silk-weaving industry, whose scale increased, apparently without interruption, from the mid-fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. Some of the raw silk used, however, was imported from Bursa and from Cyprus, and on the other hand (in the mid-century at least), a certain amount of silk cloth woven in Florence was sold in Bursa and other Ottoman cities.⁷⁴⁸ There were silk-weaving industries, too, in Verona and Vicenza.⁷⁴⁹ Silk-growing had spread to many regions of Italy, and this brought down the scale of the import from the east.⁷⁵⁰

Florence was still the banking capital of Italy.⁷⁵¹ The expansion of the Medici bank, in part by the establishment of branches elsewhere in Italy and in France, accompanied and financed the development of the wool and cloth industry until the crisis of 1464.⁷⁵² At this point the Ottoman capture of certain Serbian mines a few years previously caused a series of banking failures and started the Medici bank's decline; many silk manufacturers went out of business too.⁷⁵³ However, the banking sector had restructured and broadened the range of its business, and now rested on a more stable base. It was less vulnerable to the shocks which had caused the collapse of the early 1340s. It was not dominated by giant firms like the Bardi and Peruzzi, whose failure could quickly cause multiple bankruptcies elsewhere. Not even the Medici bank stood head and shoulders above others in the manner of the Bardi and Peruzzi. Florentine banks had been able to move into new markets in some of the principal European centres and into others on the periphery of Europe. The firms, in their strictly commercial dimension (the import and export of wool and cloth), no longer relied on England as a source of high-grade wool, and to a greater extent derived wool from the same regions as those to which they sold – mostly Italy and Spain. Thus a better geographical balance between outgoings and receipts was struck.⁷⁵⁴ But it is to be noticed that, although some banking facilities were available in Pera (the merchant suburb of Constantinople), the Medici had no branches east of Italy itself. Still less did Italian banking facilities extend along the inland tracks in Central Asia and Asia Minor which brought silk and spices to Europe.

Venice, too, emerged from the depression in the early fifteenth century. If her manufactures had sustained her during the depression, the augmentation of her prosperity was again owed to her activity as a middleman. She imported spices, not so much from the Black Sea cities via Constantinople as from Alexandria in Egypt.⁷⁵⁵ She paid for these, not just in silver and gold coin,⁷⁵⁶ but also with her own cloth and glass manufactures. In the early fifteenth century her merchants began to import raw cotton from north Syria, and the deficit here was paid for in silver.⁷⁵⁷ At the end of the fourteenth century, silk began arriving in Aleppo from

Iran; the trade seems to have intensified in the second half of the fifteenth century. Of this silk some travelled further south in Syria and to Egypt; some was imported by Venice. The latter replied in the late fifteenth century with goods from the relatively new manufacturing towns of south Germany. In that region (especially in the cities of Ulm and Augsburg), new industries had been founded, supported in part by the Fugger banking operation. The latter bore some elements of resemblance to the earlier Florentine banks and in some elements resembled the Medici bank. It lent money, for example, to the Hapsburg dukes of Austria, securing the loans on copper and silver mines in which the Fugger company itself had invested; these mines were in Slovakia, Bohemia (with Prague as capital), the Tyrol and elsewhere.⁷⁵⁸ The south German companies manufactured, in particular, fustian, a cloth woven of both cotton and silk. For this manufacture they imported raw Syrian cotton from Venice. By the late fifteenth century, Venice was exporting to the east the products of the south German cities.⁷⁵⁹ The latter, newly prosperous, became importers, too, of luxury eastern goods.⁷⁶⁰

Venice, Genoa and Florence. After the shock of the mid-fourteenth century European crash and the Black Death (began 1348), economic activity in Venice, as articulated earlier, slowly picked up, owing in part to the city's links with the Aegean and Black Seas, and the city's population continued to grow.⁷⁶¹ At the end of the century there started a new wave of construction. In the state sphere it took the form of certain new public works such as the paving of the city's principal square, the Piazza San Marco, and additions and rebuilding work at the Ducal Palace.⁷⁶² From the beginning of the fifteenth century, weakness in certain sectors of the shipbuilding industry set in; after 1460, this developed into a more serious depression.⁷⁶³ But by now Venice's craft industries, particularly glass and silk, had come into their own, stimulated by the improving economy of Europe on the one hand and by Venice's success in penetrating eastern markets on the other.⁷⁶⁴ From the 1460s the authorities undertook further improvement and construction work, notably that of the new Arsenal.⁷⁶⁵

The fifteenth century sees a remarkable upsurge in private and ecclesiastical building. The professional guilds began to build, and sometimes to extend, their business premises ('scuola'). For example at the Scuola Vecchia della Misericordia, away from the central areas and towards the northwest, the façade was rebuilt in 1411 and a new assembly constructed in 1411–12; the whole building was enlarged in the 1430s.⁷⁶⁶ The fifteenth century as a whole was the century of the private palaces.⁷⁶⁷ For example, the flamboyantly decorated Ca'd'Oro ('House of Gold') was constructed over the years 1421–38.⁷⁶⁸ Two adjacent palaces were begun shortly before 1451.⁷⁶⁹ A small but exquisite palace, the Ca'Dario, was begun in the 1480s.⁷⁷⁰

In the sphere of church building, construction continued on the two "mendicant" churches, at SS. Giovanni e Paolo until the early fifteenth century and at S. Maria Gloriosa dei Freri until the late century, the church being finally consecrated in 1492.⁷⁷¹ But the century is remarkable for the number of smaller churches started, and mostly finished, in the century's second half. For example, that of San Michele in Isola was constructed between 1468 and 1477, that of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, with colourful west façade, from 1481 to 1489.⁷⁷²

After the general economic contraction in Europe of the late fourteenth century, Genoa was now essentially cut off from the Red Sea trade and faced declining markets in the Black Sea and to an extent in the Aegean. During the fifteenth century, the city suffered a series of political crises, periods of control by foreign powers and other periods of rule by local dictators.⁷⁷³ Nevertheless, Genoa continued to build and to develop. Commerce still exerted its direct effect on the city's fabric: the harbour's mole was extended in the 1460s.⁷⁷⁴ Hospitals were founded in the second half of the fourteenth century and in the early fifteenth.⁷⁷⁵ Some

new convents, such as Santa Margherita della Rocchetta and San Paolo di Pré, were built in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.⁷⁷⁶ Near the end of the period, in 1488, a large church, that of SS. Annunziata di Portoria, was founded.⁷⁷⁷

The grand, powerful families seem to have disposed of a plenitude of capital, and the period as a whole sees a remarkable spate of new private palaces ('alberghi'). Was this the inequality of recession, whereby those possessing money benefit from a drop in the general level of prices? Or, as in fifteenth-century Florence, were the families looking for a solid home and a sound investment into which to put their money? At any rate, any explanation must take account of the current of similar private palaces in the same century in Venice, Florence and elsewhere. To an extent, the succession of similar private building projects was determined by fashion.

In Genoa many of the *alberghi* took the form of a courtyard building, closed to the street, with arcaded porticoes on the ground floor. To an extent former palaces were replaced by building a new palace on the same site, for example the Palazzo Spinola and the Palazzo Doria (1486). There was a remarkable number of *alberghi* in the old city, the concatenation of narrow streets which lay within the former walls. The alberghi crowded, as before, behind the long portico giving on to the quays. They were particularly thick between the cathedral of San Lorenzo and the commercial portico and from there parallel to the quay towards the former citadel mound to the southeast. This time, however, some palaces were built in undefended sites well outside the city itself, at settlements such as San Pier d'Arena (Semperdarena) and even Voltri to the northwest and Nervi and Sestri to the southeast.⁷⁷⁸

In Florence the pace of building and decoration scarcely lessened in comparison to the prodigious scale of the previous period. In the sphere of public civil architecture, several new buildings were put up, mostly around the square (now the Piazza della Signoria) in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, for example the Loggia dei Lanzi (1376–81) and the new mint behind it (in the 1420s).⁷⁷⁹

In church architecture, the most impressive work was that done to the Duomo. The walls seem to have been finished by 1366 and the nave was vaulted by 1379.⁷⁸⁰ The dome was finished in the mid-fifteenth century.⁷⁸¹ But the period witnesses the construction of several other large churches. That of San Lorenzo, a short distance to the north of the old, Roman-defined, core of the city, was in effect the family church of the Medici. It was started in 1418, with a sacristy, sculptural ornament and paintings added in the following two decades.⁷⁸² Other churches were financed, wholly or substantially, by the Medici: the monastery of San Marco, to the east of San Lorenzo, rebuilt in the years 1437–52, somewhat later than San Lorenzo and containing a library and a frescoed dormitory; the new church at the Santissima Annunziata (1444–77).

Equally significant are the two churches south of the river, Santo Spirito and, outside and to the west of the city walls, Santa Maria del Carmine. Work on a new church of Santo Spirito began in 1446.⁷⁸³ At Santa Maria del Carmine, work to enlarge the existing church was done towards the end of the fourteenth century.⁷⁸⁴ Two private chapels, those of the Cortini and Brancacci families, were built attached to the main church. The painting in the Brancacci chapel was begun in 1424 and continued till the death of the artist in 1428; it was then finished in the years 1481–85.⁷⁸⁵

So far the great burden of building work seems to fall in the mid-fifteenth century; probably this is no coincidence, as the European economy was strengthening at that juncture. In Florence the period displays new general tendencies. One of these is the proliferation of private chapels. Prominent families, newly rich for the most part, looked for a pious gesture which would carve for them a profile within the city, and chose the private chapel attached

to a larger church.⁷⁸⁶ At the same time, the spread of private chapels marks the loosening of bonds between church building and public finance. The most striking example of the spread of private chapels is the church of Santa Maria Novella. Here the building work for eminent families (the Strozzi and Tornabuoni, among others) started in the mid-fourteenth century; there followed the construction of the sacristy (c.1380–c. 1420). The architectural work was accompanied, as in the other chapels, by paintings rich and varied in colour and subject matter, and it was the painting which continued until the end of the century.⁷⁸⁷

Another tendency of the period is the construction of private palaces by the city's great families; they take the form of cubic, three-storeyed buildings with an exterior face of massive cut blocks interrupted by recessed windows, buildings fit for a minor siege if necessary and perhaps consciously providing a protection similar to the defensive towers which, until the late thirteenth century, had been the refuge of prominent families. Here again the palaces leave the impression that bankers and industrialists concluded that the private palace would be a financially viable investment as well as a powerful symbol of wealth and standing.⁷⁸⁸ Apart from that of Cosimo de' Medici (building started 1444), which was sited near the church of San Lorenzo, the palaces were built in the densely inhabited streets of the old city, particularly at the latter's west end, suggesting a Mayfair effect. As in the case of private chapels, one detects a fashion effect too. From the mid-1440s to the mid-1460s, at least 10 private palaces were erected; from 1450 to 1478, 30.⁷⁸⁹

The whole history of the city's development points to the generation of immense wealth by the city's firms and the channelling of this wealth, whether directly or via public taxation, into construction and the city's development. The volume and pace of construction and decoration did not slow significantly, though we can detect a slackening in private investment during the final three decades of the fourteenth century. The whole progress of building in the final period (1350–1500) fits well with the city's continued pre-eminence in the fields of banking and commerce, with other industries such as silk also playing a role.

2. *The Inner Asian cities*

Silk and spices from China continued to arrive, with some interruptions, at Tana and Caffa in the mid-fourteenth century.⁷⁹⁰ The journey of a Genoese merchant along this route sometime before 1363 is known.⁷⁹¹ Thereafter the passage of goods such as silk and spices was temporarily stopped (c. 1362–68) by the actions of the first Ming emperor of China, who attempted to restrict the trade and refused to accept foreign ambassadors and others except on terms of vassalage.⁷⁹² It has sometimes been assumed that this was the end of east–west commerce on the line from the Black Sea through the inner Asian steppe to China. But later Ming emperors, although insisting on the forms of vassalage, in fact wanted trade with Central Asia (in the sense of the Transoxanian cities such as Bukhara and Samarkand and those further north, such as Utrar, which also lay on the Tana–Saray–Almaligh route) and took measures to promote it. The trade between China and Central Asia, irrespective of where it went after that, continued all the way through the remainder of the fourteenth and all through the fifteenth century.⁷⁹³ In any case, silk and spices reappear at Tana and Caffa after the supposed blockage by the Ming emperor,⁷⁹⁴ and spices were brought to Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople, in 1374 and 1385–92.⁷⁹⁵ At this stage Caffa also handled silk from northern Iran, which must have come up the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea to join the Saray–Tana track at Astrakhan; Trebizond and the Black Sea are also a possibility.⁷⁹⁶

In Tana there were three Latin churches, one of which was in use by the Franciscans. After the expulsion of all Italian merchants in 1341, the Venetians and Genoese, and eventually

others such as the Catalans, re-established themselves here, and Genoese consuls appear in 1386 and 1387, even in 1399 after Timur's sack of the port.⁷⁹⁷ Visits by the Venetian galley convoys resumed in 1358 after an interruption caused by a war with Genoa starting in 1352; the latter was occasioned by yet another war with the Golden Horde taking place in the years 1350–55. A new treaty between Venice and the khanate had been agreed in 1356. Between 1360 and 1380, trading at Tana must have been impeded by a civil war in the Golden Horde, and in those years no Venetian consul is known.⁷⁹⁸

At Caffa a new ring of walls was built, protecting the greater part of the city, between 1342 and 1352.⁷⁹⁹ An outer enceinte, 5½ kilometres in length, was built to protect the suburbs.⁸⁰⁰ Besides a market-place and a palace in which the Genoese consul conducted his duties, there were in all 26 Latin churches and 13 Chalcedonian ones; three Armenian churches; and a Jewish quarter.⁸⁰¹ A treaty of 1380 in effect recognised Genoese sovereignty inside the city walls; *de facto* Genoa had possessed this sovereignty since 1313.⁸⁰² In the late 1430s a high population and wide volume of merchandise, including furs, spices and precious stones, was reported.⁸⁰³ Somewhat earlier, silk weaving and the production of silk and other clothes had been noted.⁸⁰⁴ Around 1410 Caffa was still the seat of a Latin, a Greek Orthodox and an Armenian bishopric.

The trade seems, however, to have been lower in volume than in the first decades of the fourteenth century; it was to be further dented by Timur's efforts to divert the Chinese trade past his new capital of Samarkand and into Iran. His attacks on three of the steppe cities (Urgench, Astrakhan and Saray) in 1388 and 1385–86 and on Tana in 1395 were evidently meant to prevent them from functioning as emporia on the commercial thoroughfare to the Black Sea. But afterwards the trade resumed, and silk and spice shipments through Tana are known up to the 1450s, including substantial loads of silk in 1452 and 1455.⁸⁰⁵ The cities, for that very reason, recovered.

Urgench was destroyed by Timur in 1388, although the mosques were spared. Timur deported the population, including craftsmen, to Samarkand; his intentions seem clear. But in 1391, Timur allowed the repopulation of a single quarter, and thereafter the city became once more active. It must have been at this time that the large mausoleum known as "Turabeg Khanum" was built.⁸⁰⁶ Astrakhan had begun to develop as a city in its own right in the 1320s and 1330s.⁸⁰⁷ Timur attacked the city in the winter of 1395–96, but it soon recovered and took over the trading role of Saray.⁸⁰⁸ New Saray was also attacked, but again partially rebuilt.⁸⁰⁹ There was a Latin bishopric of Astrakhan in 1434; Saray was no longer the seat of an archbishop, but seems still to have been a bishopric.⁸¹⁰

Tana was, it is true, occupied by Timur in 1395. This, however, did not prevent Venetian convoys coming here in the immediately subsequent years (1396–99), though the convoy sailings to Tana were interrupted for five years and were resumed only in 1404 and 1406. The interruption between 1399 and 1404 must have been due to the Ottoman blockade of Constantinople. The blockade had started in 1394, and initially seems to have had no effect on the passage of the convoys; moreover, other Venetian ships still passed through in the years 1400–02.⁸¹¹ There followed an occupation by the Golden Horde in 1418. Expensive refortification work was carried out in the years 1419–29. Despite this work, the Venetian state-commissioned galley convoys were not sent to Tana in the years 1433–35, and not at all after 1446, when, under the threat of Ottoman military success on the Black Sea shore, merchants were told that they did business in Tana at their own risk. The Venetian consuls there worked under increasingly severe conditions.⁸¹² The Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, and Genoese and Venetian churches, were still there in the fifteenth century.⁸¹³ There was still a Greek Orthodox element, with the addition of a Russian Orthodox one, in the population.⁸¹⁴

Timur's policies had worked in the end. Even in 1395, Chinese silk was being sent through Samarkand and Iran to Syria, and the same appears to have been true in the 1430s.⁸¹⁵ This in itself was a factor denying business to the steppe cities such as Urgench and Astrakhan and so to the port of Tana. But more fundamental factors worked to the same effect. The decline of trade along the Inner Asian corridor was essentially due in the first place to the drastic contraction of the European economy, which led to slumps in European demand for all products of the Orient, and in the second place to a diversion of Chinese silk and of other products from the Inner Asian route to the Indian Ocean and so to Egypt and southern Syria via the Red Sea.⁸¹⁶ The Chinese silk has of course to be sharply distinguished from the Iranian silk which at the end of the fourteenth century began to find its way to European centres via Bursa and later via Aleppo.

Even though the silk and spice trade with Tana and Caffa continued until the 1450s, the conditions had turned against it. After the Ottoman capture of Caffa in 1475, trade taking place across the Black Sea was essentially regional rather than involving silk and spices from China or other distant origins.⁸¹⁷

3. *Trebizond, the Black Sea and the Aegean ports*

Sultaniyya's and Tabriz' trading role as silk and spice marketing centres continued. The chief sources, as under the Il-Khans, were the mountains south of the Caspian Sea and Chinese silk arriving via Hormuz; in fact during the fifteenth century, some of the goods were brought to Hormuz on Chinese ships.⁸¹⁸ In the second half of the fourteenth century and in the very early fifteenth century, silk and spices continued to be carried along the difficult roads between Tabriz and Trebizond, thereafter reaching the Italian cities by sea. From Trebizond, ships called at harbours, of which the two principal were Samsun and Sinop, on the southern Black Sea shore, and so came to Constantinople.⁸¹⁹ Beside the Genoese trade, Venice still wished to keep open the Tabriz–Trebizond corridor as an alternative to the now active Red Sea spice route.⁸²⁰ Her Senate emphasised the advantages of Trebizond and Tabriz and the vulnerability of the Red Sea and Egypt to Mamluk intervention.⁸²¹ After the closure of Ayas in 1337 and until the beginning of trading operations in Bursa at the very end of the fourteenth century, there was in fact no other way for goods bought at Tabriz to be transported to the Italian and other European cities. After the early fifteenth century the goods carried along the Pontic coast seem to have been confined to less precious ones such as wine and wool.⁸²² This must have been due to the success of Bursa in attracting the Persian silk trade; we will discuss the inception and development of this trade here.⁸²³

The port of Trebizond continued to be developed: in 1367 Venice was granted a quarter by the sea which was fortified by the joint efforts of the Emperor and the Republic. The quarter's fortifications were kept up at least until the 1440s.⁸²⁴ Venice maintained a *bailli*, assisted by a council, at Trebizond.⁸²⁵ The Genoese trading community, keeping its Franciscan monastery, remained here at least until 1440.⁸²⁶ By the 1380s there was a council of the Genoese in Sinop, which, with a *loggia*, is known also in 1403.⁸²⁷ By the late fourteenth century a fortified Genoese settlement in Samsun had come into being. Nearby and also on the coast was the Turkish quarter: the latter was also fortified and contained the harbour. A Genoese military governor is known in the 1370s and 1380s. The Genoese community kept its consul and Franciscan monastery. The Genoese, however, seem to have left Samsun sometime after 1424, certainly by the mid-fifteenth century. Despite the community's early departure, the expanded Genoese presence in Samsun is probably due to the increase, discussed later, in the number of slaves coming through the two ports of Sinop and Samsun, and particularly the

latter.⁸²⁸ These ports (Trebizond, Sinop, Samsun and others) were nodes on several north–south lines of communication besides the coastal route from Trebizond to Constantinople.

Trebizond and Caffa were in close trading contact all through the period down to the fall of Caffa in 1475. Some of the silk which arrived in Trebizond was sent to Caffa; this trade, like the silk shipments from Trebizond to Constantinople, perhaps lasted only until the first decade or two of the fifteenth century.⁸²⁹ The ships must in general have sailed from port to port along the east coast of the Black Sea. In Georgia the ports were Batum and Sevastopolis; these also functioned as outlets from the interior. Genoese consuls are known at Sevastopolis in 1373, 1374 and 1399.⁸³⁰ The traffic came south to Trebizond as well as north to Caffa, and the principal good involved was slaves. Most of these, it seems, were shipped further along the Pontic coast to Constantinople for eventual sale in Venice and Genoa.⁸³¹

Samsun and Sinop also traded with Caffa, this time across the open sea. Here again one of the principal items of trade was slaves recruited or bought in the Crimea. Other items included fish and leather.⁸³² The old conditions of enmity between the Il-Khanid and Mamluk empires no longer obtained, and most of the slaves would have been taken by land to Sivas and so to Mamluk-controlled territory in the Euphrates valley (around Malatya) and Upper Mesopotamia. After the destruction of Sivas by Timur in 1400 it seems other ways were taken, but the destination in Mamluk territory remained the same. Thus Samsun and Sinop functioned in a sense as crossroads ports, which explains the official Genoese presence there (consuls, governors, etc.).

As before, the Aegean Sea provided an arena for the transport of goods from and to various ports; the strongest and most vigorous current of trade was that which continued the passage of Black Sea goods, and slaves, beyond Constantinople, through the Aegean and either to the Italian cities or else to Egypt. As before, the movement divided into two: a western one which led southwest across the Aegean to Euboea and the coast of the Peloponnese, and from there to Venice and Genoa; and an eastern one which led past the west coast of Asia Minor and the islands of Lesbos and Chios to Crete and from there to Egypt. Traffic carried along the westerly avenue was not confined to goods from Caffa and Trebizond.

Constantinople, besides being a stop on the routes from Caffa and Trebizond, was also a destination for goods from the west, mostly from Italian cities. Such goods, which included soap and cloth, were traded also in other cities near Constantinople: Adrianoupoli/Edirne, the Ottoman capital from some point in the late 1360s to 1453; Kallipoli/Gelibolu on the Sea of Marmara; and Bursa, from the point, around 1394, when its development as an outlet for Iranian silk began.⁸³³

Venice went to great lengths to protect her trade on the western corridor (Peloponnese–Constantinople). She was faced with a new danger: Ottoman expansionism in regions of the Balkans which were fragmented among several Bulgarian kingdoms and a Serbia divided among members of the same kingly family; further south, again, the territory was divided between Byzantine remnants (Epirus in north-western Greece, Mystras in the eastern Peloponnese) and Frankish principalities (Achaïa in the western Peloponnese, Athens). Venice proceeded to a series of annexations, generally by diplomatic means, of cities on the west coast of the Balkans and the Peloponnese and in the Aegean islands. Durrazzo/Dürres on the Adriatic coast was taken in 1392; Patras on the west coast of the Peloponnese in 1408. In Euboea the Venetian takeover may be said to have started in 1366, with the assumption of control over one of the principal castles in the island's southeasterly fief. In effect the north-west and southeast thirds of the island (Oreoi and Karystos) were seized on the death of the two territories' Italian lords in 1383.⁸³⁴ The island of Tenedos in the northeast Aegean was acquired by Venice as early as 1376. Andros in the Cyclades was taken in 1388; the port of

Nauplion (east coast of Peloponnese) finally in 1389; Argos, a minor Frankish possession in the northeast Peloponnese, in 1394. Athens was administered by Venice between 1395 and 1403.⁸³⁵ It should be emphasised that these cities and islands were annexed to become directly administered territories rather than the venue for a Venetian trading community.⁸³⁶ Of course some were lost to the Ottoman empire later in the period, notably Euboea in 1470.⁸³⁷ In the Cyclades the dukes of the Archipelago seem to have maintained their independence until the mid-fifteenth century.⁸³⁸

On the east side of the Aegean a flow of goods and slaves from Constantinople and cities near it took place, much of which originated in the Black Sea ports. Many of these goods were taken to Egypt via Chios and Crete.⁸³⁹ A more substantial current emanated from the ports on the west coast of Asia Minor itself: Altoluogo near Smyrna, Phokaia somewhat northwest of Smyrna and Balat. Altoluogo and Balat were associated with the Turkish principalities, respectively of the Saruhan and the Menteşe dynasties, and Phokaia with the Gattilusio dynasty of Lesbos, to which we shall very soon refer. From the three ports were carried products of the coastal districts and of those further inland, such as corn, cotton, wine and alum.⁸⁴⁰ The island of Lesbos produced alum, certainly from the late fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century; it also exported horses and earned an income from the fitting out of ships.⁸⁴¹ The alum was bought by Italian merchants and carried, presumably in cross-Aegean voyages, to Italian ports. In return the ships brought metal and cloth.⁸⁴²

To the local food products of Asia Minor such as corn and wine must be added slaves, which originated from the interior, some from as far away as Thessaloniki and Bulgaria, and were exported through Phokaia and Lesbos. Chios was the point of assembly and shipping for goods from Altoluogo and Phokaia.⁸⁴³ The slave trade seems also to have been co-ordinated by the independent Genoese government in Chios, on which we comment later; Crete was an essential stopover before the final destination, Mamluk Egypt. In general the Asia Minor and Lesbian products, carried on local ships, took part in a pattern of trade with Crete; Cretan products were conversely transported to the Asia Minor ports and further north.⁸⁴⁴

Lesbos was acquired by a member of the Genoese family of the Gattilusio in 1355. Initially it was granted by the Byzantine emperor under the same terms as Chios and Phokaia in the previous period: it was a principality whose lord governed on behalf of the Byzantine emperor.⁸⁴⁵ But with the Byzantine emperor himself an Ottoman vassal, the principality gained an effective autonomy from Byzantium, though correspondingly it was obliged to engage in relations, collaborative or hostile, with the neighbouring Turkish principalities and eventually with the Ottoman state itself.⁸⁴⁶ A Gattilusio often held Phokaia, which remained a distinct entity, again theoretically with the same relation to the Byzantine emperor, though recognising Lesbos as a kind of senior partner.⁸⁴⁷ In Lesbos the inner ring of government personnel was Genoese, and several Genoese owned estates on the island.⁸⁴⁸ The Gattilusio were actively involved in the extraction of alum from mines in the west of the island until the absorption of this mining activity in 1449 by a Genoese consortium based in Pera.⁸⁴⁹ Lesbos was attacked by an Ottoman fleet in 1450, at which point the Gattilusio lord was obliged to recognize vassal status by paying tribute.⁸⁵⁰ The island was finally taken by a powerful Ottoman fleet and land army in 1462; two of the fortresses were turned into strongly fortified garrison bases.⁸⁵¹

Chios had been retaken by Genoa in 1346.⁸⁵² It was ruled by a novel institution known as the Maona. This was a coalition of Genoese shipowners who undertook to administer Chios and, initially, Phokaia, but had the right also to profit from the island, which could be done by imposing taxes. The arrangement was contracted initially for 20 years, but in 1362 a different coalition, the New Maona, took over from the first.⁸⁵³ The Maona developed a new harbour

and built a walled area next to it; the port of Chios became again a staging-post and to some extent a point of exchange in the trade, particularly with Phokaia and Lesbos on the one hand and Crete on the other, and particularly in the slave trade but also for goods in transit from the Black Sea.⁸⁵⁴ The Maona was forced to pay an annual tribute to the Ottoman state, first in 1418, but Chios was finally taken by Ottoman forces only in 1566.⁸⁵⁵

Crete was still governed by a centralised administration, directly appointed from Venice, with a duke or governor-general in Candia (Irakleio) and rectors in the county centres.⁸⁵⁶ The island again performed both a stopover role and a genuine role as importer and exporter. In the slave trade, it accepted slaves from the Asia Minor ports, as those from the Black Sea, and the slaves were then taken to Alexandria for recruitment into the Mamluk army.⁸⁵⁷ A regular link with Beirut was instituted in the winter of 1373–74.⁸⁵⁸ From Egypt came imported pepper and other spices, but these were re-exported to Venice rather than northwards towards Constantinople. European cloth, imported from Venice, travelled via Crete to Egypt. But Crete's own products (wine, cheese, etc.) were also exported to Egypt.⁸⁵⁹

4. *Asia Minor and Upper Mesopotamia*

We will begin with a brief summary of the overall political situation; we will return later to the subject of politics, but in the context of individual roads.

Eretna, with his capital at Sivas and sometimes Kayseri, lived until 1352. His state did not collapse immediately: the rulers of Sivas came from his family for another 30 years. But the state itself weakened; its territory was encroached on by its own amirs and its neighbours, including the Ottomans, coming from the west. Eventually (1380) an Eretnid was succeeded by a *kazi* or judge, Burhan al-Din, who had in effect been running the state for some years already. But Burhan al-Din was killed, and the Ottomans took Sivas in 1398. Meanwhile, on the death of Muhammad, Eretna's son (767/1364–65), effective control of the Eretnid principality's eastern portion (Erzincan, Erzurum, Bayburt) passed into the hands of a local figure, the *akhi* Ayna (c. 1348). Ayna was succeeded by a Pir Husayn in 1362, and the eastern cities in 1379 passed under the control of Mutahharten, who remained in power until the occupation by Timur (1400–05).⁸⁶⁰ To the south, the Mamluk sultanate still held its old positions in Malatya, on the banks of the Euphrates upstream of Malatya and west of the Euphrates up- and downstream of Bir/Birecik.

Further east, the Diyar Bakr and the higher parts of Armenia (the L. Van region and Erzurum) were controlled by a Turcoman confederation, the Kara Koyunlu. The Kara Koyunlu temporarily lost their hold over these regions at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, when their leadership was forced to flee by Timur, whom we discuss later. However, after Timur's death in 1405 the Kara Koyunlu not only came back to the Diyar Bakr, the L. Van region and that of Erzurum, but also conquered Azerbaijan, the region of Tabriz in northwest Iran, from Timur's son Shah Rukh (1408). They captured, too, the important city of Mardin in Upper Mesopotamia, annexing the remains of the small Artukid principality and putting an end to the whole Artukid dynasty (1409). Despite further conflict with Shah Rukh, the Kara Koyunlu expanded further east and southeast in Iran and even took Baghdad. The apogee of their territorial extent and political influence was reached under Jahan Shah (1438–67). Meanwhile, however, the Kara Koyunlu had already suffered territorial losses in the Diyar Bakr.⁸⁶¹

In the west, the Ottoman state was expanding southwards and eastwards, absorbing the Turkish principalities of the west and south coast. The Ottoman acquisition of Ankara (1350 or 1354) and of Sivas in 1398 were part of this general expansion.⁸⁶²

But circumstances were radically changed by Timur, who among other things captured Sivas, massacring its population, in 1400, and defeated the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara in 1402. To counterbalance the Kara Koyunlu and create a buffer against the Mamluks, Timur took Amid from the Artukids of Mardin and handed it in 1400 to the leader of the Ak Koyunlu, another Turcoman confederation which hitherto had been obscurely tilling the soil and pasturing its flocks on the plains and hills near Bayburt. The Ak Koyunlu expanded southwards from the Bayburt district into the Sivas–Erzurum corridor. From Amid they pushed eastwards through the Diyar Bakr from the 1420s to the 1440s, gradually wresting the region's small Kurdish principalities from the Kara Koyunlu. In 1467 the Kara Koyunlu sultan, whose dominions extended far to the east and southeast in Iran, suffered a surprise defeat at the hands of the Ak Koyunlu. The latter gained all the remaining Kara Koyunlu territory in Armenia (essentially the L. Van region) and all the vast Kara Koyunlu dominions in Iran. With capital at Tabriz, the Ak Koyunlu continued to dominate Armenia more or less until the end of the fifteenth century.⁸⁶³

As we have argued, from the closure of Ayas in 1337 to the beginning of Bursa's activity as a silk trading centre in the 1390s, the Erzurum–Trebizond track and the sea route from Trebizond to Constantinople were the only lines along which goods could be transported from Tabriz to the west, at any rate if we confine ourselves to the routes through northern Armenia and Asia. The resumption of trading activity at Aleppo in the 1370s is a different issue, which we shall deal with below. Given depressed trading conditions in Europe, the volume of silk and other goods carried through Trebizond must have been lower than under the Il-Khans.⁸⁶⁴ Whatever the immediate causes, the emergence of the Bursa route and the re-emergence of the Aleppo one seem to reflect Timur's attempts at spoiling trade on the Central Asian route and, later, the reorganisation of Europe's industries and the general turnaround in Europe's economy.

Bursa was developed as a silk manufacturing and trading centre. The first silk to arrive there seems to have been that of the regions along the south and southwestern shores of the Caspian Sea. Very soon, however, Chinese silk began appearing in Bursa; it would arrive by way of Samarkand and the northern Iranian plateau. The silk was assembled at Sultaniyya near Tabriz and transported along a track which largely reproduced the Pegolotti itinerary as far as the vicinity of Erzincan. Sivas, however, was now a shattered city, and a line through the Kelkit basin north of Erzincan was taken. This was the direct way to the city of Tokat, which now replaced Sivas as the principal crossroads city of Asia Minor. The line led after that through Ankara. Regardless of the wrecked state of Sivas and its replacement by Tokat, the Sivas–Ayas leg of the Pegolotti itinerary seems to have been completely out of use by commercial traffic.⁸⁶⁵ The southern cities and fortresses of Cilicia were held by the Mamluk sultanate; further north, the plain and mountains were controlled by the Dulğadır, a Turcoman principality subject to the Mamluks.⁸⁶⁶

The track along which goods travelled to Aleppo led westwards through Upper Mesopotamia as before, but then came through the Tigris basin and past the L. Van cities to Tabriz. The connection between Aleppo and Baghdad had been restored, but traffic along this line seems to have been the junior partner. The genuinely new element was that the line of cities from Mardin to Tabriz was now connected with, and continued to, Aleppo, whereas in the previous period the Mamluk wars and their aftermath had meant that the same cities could be connected only to Baghdad. The Aleppo–Mardin–L. Van track was much affected by the expansion of Aleppo and the beginnings of its renewed trading relationship with Venice. It is unclear when Iranian silk itself started to come down this track; perhaps in the mid-century.

Given these two principal avenues of movement, both partly occasioned by trade with western Europe, we can speak, as before, of cross-routes. Traffic originating from Baghdad, instead of continuing west at Mardin and thus reaching Aleppo, could stay on a northwesterly course and go to Amid/Diyarbakır and then Harput. From here a number of ways could be taken which tended north or northwest: past Çemişgezek and through the Dersim to Erzincan; up the west bank of the Upper Euphrates and then continuing along the line of the Roman road past Kemah; or else diverging from the latter and rising through Arapkir and continuing through Divriği, ultimately to Sivas and Samsun. The second cross-route was not parallel to the first and coincided over a certain stretch with the last-mentioned track. The route in question brought goods from Erzincan, some ultimately from Trebizond, towards Malatya, still in Mamluk hands, and so to Aleppo. The two routes coincided over the stretches northwest and southeast of Arapkir. The commonest line along which slaves were brought from the great market at Sivas to Malatya and so elsewhere in Mamluk territory must have been the direct road between Sivas and Malatya. From Malatya they crossed the Taurus mountains to the fortress at Kahta and then continued to Aleppo by a somewhat more direct road than that of the early Turkish period, through Besni and 'Ayntab.⁸⁶⁷ All this is subject to one important proviso. Once Sivas had been taken and knocked out by Timur in 1400, the city could no longer function as a slave market. This meant that slaves were transported from the northern ports by ways which bypassed Sivas to the north and then by tracks coming south to Mamluk territory, particularly the Divriği–Arapkir track. A third line came from the now-enlivened Aleppo through Mamluk Cilicia to western Asia Minor (possibly via Kayseri) and ultimately to Bursa, later to Constantinople also, and the Balkans. The chief commodity carried was Indian spices. The spices appear to have reached Aleppo mainly via the Red Sea, Jidda and Damascus, but came also via the Persian Gulf and Baghdad.

Bursa and the Ankara–Tokat line through Asia Minor. Bursa suddenly appears as a silk emporium and manufacturing centre at the very end of the fourteenth century. The first evidence seems to be that of Schiltberger, who reported from his experiences in 1396 that silk from Shirvan (on the west shore of the Caspian Sea, roughly speaking the hinterland of Baku) was not only woven in Bursa, but was also bought in Bursa and taken to Venice and Lucca.⁸⁶⁸ In 1406 Clavijo, in a passage commented on earlier, noted a caravan of Iranian silk being assembled in Tabriz in readiness for a journey to Bursa. Bursa appears to have developed as a market in specifically Persian silk.

It would be tempting to attribute the sudden rise of Bursa as a silk-trading centre to the decline of Trebizond; the argument would assume that Trebizond was declining in the second half of the fourteenth century, and since Iranian silk coming to Tabriz then required an outlet for exports to the west, Bursa was developed to meet the demand for such an outlet. The reverse argument might also be put: Bursa was developed as a market for Iranian silk, and this stole the trade from Trebizond and so led to the latter's decline.

Both arguments fail for lack of evidence. Trebizond did not decline as a port in the second half of the fourteenth century. We have seen how the trade continued (possibly on a smaller scale owing to world trading conditions) in that period, and how for half a century Trebizond was the only outlet for goods from Tabriz. Moreover, the Trebizond–Constantinople line was just as viable as it had been under the Il-Khans. It offered a relatively short land journey, admittedly over high passes, between Tabriz and Trebizond, followed by a sea journey. The Bursa route, on the other hand, involved a long and continuous land journey, one considerably more costly and normally more time-consuming than the journey by sea. Even if it is true that the rise of Bursa caused the decline of Trebizond, an explanation would still

have to be provided as to why the caravans abandoned Trebizond and chose the long route through northern Asia Minor. Moreover, it was not that trade between Tabriz, Trebizond and Constantinople simply stopped after the inception of Bursa as a silk outlet. The silk trade through Trebizond seems to have stopped by the 1410s, about two decades afterwards. But trade in other goods continued in the fifteenth century right until the capture of Trebizond by the Ottomans in 1461. Although this was not a trade in silk, it nevertheless shows that the way through the Black Sea past the north Asia Minor ports was just as viable as before.

The explanation for the rise of Bursa as a silk-marketing and manufacturing centre is surely the blockade of Constantinople by the Ottoman sultan Bayazid I, which started in 1394. The blockade had the effect of stopping all traffic through the Bosphorus. This meant that goods could not be transported either from Trebizond to Constantinople, or from Caffa to Constantinople, through the Black Sea. The blockade was successful in that it denied access to the city of Constantinople, not only of luxury merchandise but also of food. The price of food rose dramatically; there was hunger and starvation in the city. In Bursa, on the other hand, the first of the lavish, large-scale mosques, the Great Mosque, which stands by the central market area, was under construction between 1396 and 1400. Admittedly the blockade of Constantinople was raised in 1402 after the battle of Ankara, in which Bayazid was defeated and captured by Timur and lost most of the subject principalities in the Balkans and Asia Minor.⁸⁶⁹ But by this time it was too late: patterns and volumes had shifted irreversibly, and Bursa had permanently replaced Trebizond and Constantinople as the principal northern outlet for Iranian silk.

After the initial impulse from the blockade of Constantinople and the diversion of trade away from Trebizond, the development of Bursa cannot have been easy. The city was devastated by Timur's son immediately after the battle of Ankara, and was at the centre of the Ottoman civil war (1403–13).⁸⁷⁰ However, after the civil war, the city and its trade expanded quickly. The Genoese and Florentines were well-established here.⁸⁷¹ There was a relationship with the Genoese community at Pera.⁸⁷² Seven new *mahalles* or neighbourhoods came into being in the reign of Murad II (1421–44).⁸⁷³ The second of Bursa's two great building projects, the Yeşil Cami (Green Mosque) and its *madrassa*, were built, the mosque being substantially complete by 1420.⁸⁷⁴ In 1432 not only silk was on sale in the city, but also pearls and precious stones, cotton cloth and soap.⁸⁷⁵ We can conclude that pearls from the Persian Gulf and precious stones, probably from the Indies, were also travelling along the Tokat–Ankara route, transported as before via Tabriz. The real upswing in the silk trade seems to have come in the 1470s and 1480s. This may have been due in part to the failure of the Urgench–Astrakhan route and the subsequent closure of the Black Sea to international trade and non-Ottoman merchants by the Ottoman empire.⁸⁷⁶ It was due also to the establishment of the Ottoman court in Constantinople after the Ottoman capture of 1453. At the same time (the 1430s and later), Bursa began to receive spices, not only from Tabriz but from Aleppo, over an inland route across Anatolia;⁸⁷⁷ these spices originated, of course, in India, and had come to Aleppo mainly by way of the Red Sea.

Ankara was quickly affected by the new trade. A number of new mosques and *masjids* are attested in the mid-fifteenth century. Equally new hamams are known.⁸⁷⁸ Tokat, too, shows clear signs of expansion.⁸⁷⁹ Apart from the city's population increase, the documents reveal a large number of *zawiyas/zaviyes* in the mid-fifteenth century. Even given the incomplete documentation for earlier periods, a large number seem to have been founded in the early and mid-fifteenth century.⁸⁸⁰

Up to Timur's attack in 1400, Sivas continued to be a busy market, particularly in slaves which had arrived from Caffa via Sinop and Samsun. The great majority of these slaves must

have been sent to the Mamluk base at Malatya down the direct road leading southeastwards from Sivas. This was a main channel of supply to the Mamluk empire, which needed a constant inflow of slaves in order to maintain the army. The threat of the *kazi* Burhan al-Din, master of Sivas and the remnant of the Eretnid principality, not to allow any slaves to cross Anatolia aroused fear in the Mamluk sultan Barquq (reigned 1382–99).⁸⁸¹ The devastation of Sivas by Timur in 1400 must have been aimed, in part, at denying this source of slaves to the Mamluk sultanate.

Sivas after Timur's attack was a barely populated shell, in which, as institutions at least, only a few *zaviyes* had survived.⁸⁸² For the time being it was unsuitable as a province capital, and in the mid-fifteenth century Tokat temporarily became the capital of a new province, the *vilayet-i Tokat*, which included Sivas.⁸⁸³ In the city of Tokat were weighed all consignments of Iranian silk on their way via Ankara to Bursa.⁸⁸⁴

On the other hand, the supply of slaves arriving in Sinop and Samsun from Caffa remained as strong and impressive as before.⁸⁸⁵ To reach the Mamluk base at Malatya the slaves must have marched along a roundabout itinerary. This must have started with the Kelkit Çay valley past Niksar and subsequently the deep, straight section of the same valley beneath Koyulhisar. The new direction of march probably accounts for the sudden emergence of a small local Turkish dynasty, the Taceddinoğulları, whose principal base was precisely Niksar.⁸⁸⁶ From Niksar and Koyulhisar the travelling parties now came to Akşehir/Pürk, from where they would have continued southwards, following the Pegolotti route over the next mountain ridge into the plain of the Kızıl Irmak, then continuing from the junction at Tödürge to Divriği and Arapkir. At any rate the Akşehir–Divriği–Arapkir route bypassing Sivas explains the Mamluk campaign of 1438 in which Arapkir and Akşehir were occupied and Erzincan attacked.⁸⁸⁷ It also explains the subsequent establishment of a permanent Mamluk outpost at Divriği.⁸⁸⁸ Other slaves must have been brought along the Pegolotti route to Erzincan and Kemah. From Kemah, Roman roads could be followed nearly as far as the Euphrates ford at Aşvan, from which the city of Harput and so Malatya would be gained.⁸⁸⁹ From Erzincan a way through the Dersim mountains could be followed, leading to Çemişgezek on the mountain massif's southern rim and so to Aşvan and Harput. Again a local Kurdish dynasty appears at Çemişgezek at the end of the fourteenth century; the town was also subjected to a Mamluk attack in 1438.⁸⁹⁰

East of Sivas, Erzincan, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was ruled by Mutahharten, who controlled Bayburt as well. Soon the Ak Koyunlu acquired the city. Erzincan had suffered from the visit of Timur, on his way to Sivas, in 1400. Timur had wished to massacre all the Christian inhabitants of Erzincan, but after Mutahharten's intercession was persuaded merely to destroy the churches. Even this cannot have helped the city's Armenian and Greek communities, without whom Erzincan would have lost its status as a trading city.⁸⁹¹ Nevertheless, Erzincan continued to be a market city on the east–west route between Tabriz and Bursa. After the devastation of Sivas by Timur, goods must have travelled directly between Erzincan and Tokat, passing through Aqshahr/Nicopolis and following the Kelkit downstream past Koyulhisar, subsequently rising out of the valley on its south side and traversing higher ground to reach Tokat.⁸⁹² Erzincan was a market city, too, at the junction of the east–west route with the track coming from Trebizond via Bayburt; further south the track continued down the Upper Euphrates valley past Kemah, and so to Malatya and Aleppo.

The fiscal statutes of Uzun Hasan (who died in 1478) show that in Erzincan a customs tax was imposed on silk and cotton, as was a tax on the sale of pearls, musk and slaves.⁸⁹³ The customs tax on silk and cotton shows that these goods were in transit, the silk from east to west and the cotton probably from west to east. That the sale of pearls, musk and slaves was

taxed shows that these goods and the slaves were traded at Erzincan, not merely transported through the city like the silk and cotton. Again the pearls and musk must have come from Tabriz, ultimately from the Persian Gulf and India. The slaves must have been Circassians, Mingrelians and others from the east shore of the Black Sea. They could be sold or at least transported through Trebizond, or they could be taken by sea as far as Samsun and brought to Malatya via Divriği and Arapkir, or to Harput via Kemah or Erzincan, as described earlier. In either case their destination was Aleppo and the Mamluk empire.⁸⁹⁴

To judge from the exiguous coin record and the complete absence of evidence for new building or for commercial activity in the city, Erzurum must have been a feeble shadow of what it had been in the late thirteenth century. The decline documented here evidently continued.⁸⁹⁵ The conclusion is all the more surprising when we remember that goods were still exported from Tabriz to Trebizond in the late fourteenth century and then, after the blockade of Constantinople which ended in 1402, in the fifteenth century up to 1461. Commercial exchange between Tabriz and Caffa via Trebizond continued too.⁸⁹⁶ In 1478 Bayburt, the half-way stage between Trebizond and Erzurum and a strong point in the region, which Erzincan and Erzurum were not, had a population of around 1,500 houses.⁸⁹⁷ On the other hand, traffic coming between Tabriz and Trebizond did not have to pass through Erzurum at all: coming from Hasankale (Pegolotti's *bagni d'Arzerone verso Torisi*) it could remain north of the Upper Euphrates, stay the night at Karaz (just north of the river) and from there continue to Bayburt and Trebizond (northwest) or else continue towards Erzincan without crossing the river. At Kağdariç the Pegolotti route was rejoined.⁸⁹⁸

East of Erzurum the Pegolotti route was followed only by official and military traffic. Here Avnik retained its importance as a stronghold safeguarding the way to Tabriz and the various approaches to the Ala Dagh palace. The latter was still in use as a hunting base and military gathering point. Timur captured Avnik in 1394; afterwards it formed a critical base for his military operations in Asia Minor. In 1402, on his army's march towards Ankara, Timur sent his ladies and children back from Avnik; on his army's withdrawal from Asia Minor the following year, he similarly summoned them to meet him at the same fortress.⁸⁹⁹ After Timur, Avnik continued its role as a base between the Ala Dagh palace and the settlements west of Erzurum, principally Erzincan.⁹⁰⁰

In more dangerous times, when the Il-Khans' system of supervision no longer safeguarded them, commercial parties preferred to take routes along a series of fortified towns, which provided a measure of security. The old infrastructure – Kars, Ani and the associated towns – survived. From Erzurum, caravans would travel to the east end of the plain of Basean. They then took a track northeast to the cities of Kars and Ani. Tiflis and the Black Sea ports still exerted a northwards pull, providing additional reasons for east–west traffic to come through Kars and Ani. Ani itself survived as a settlement certainly until the end of the fifteenth century. The city must have shrunk, however. No building or repair work is known after 1348; however, there was a bishopric of Ani at least until the 1420s. The commercial viability of the city and of the Ani route as a whole seems to have been broken by the destructive Ak Koyunlu campaigns against Georgia in the second half of the fifteenth century and the conflicts between claimants to the throne of the Ak Koyunlu empire after the death of Uzun Hasan in 1478.⁹⁰¹

From Ani the favoured line seems to have been to come south along the edge of the plateau to the town of Bagaran and to drop into the wide vale of the Aras at the substantial town of Surmari, which seems to come to special prominence in this era. From Surmari, the pass into the plain below Mt. Ararat would be taken. Some contact with the Ala Dagh palace, which lay further south on the far side of a pass,⁹⁰² must have been maintained. In the plain

below Ararat, the Pegolotti route has been rejoined. But traffic did not take the sequence of plains to Khoy, protected by Mongol officers, which the Pegolotti route had followed. For the first time in the Turkish Middle Ages, the town of Bayazid, just east of the plain and protected by a castle on a formidable mountain site, comes into prominence. The way to Tabriz would normally lead to Maku, another settlement beneath a formidable castle, then to Julfa. At Julfa the track from Erevan and Nakhchevan came in, and traffic from both lines (Ankara–Tokat–Erzincan and Erevan–Nakhchevan) crossed the river Aras by a well-known bridge.⁹⁰³

Money on the Bursa–Ankara–Erzincan line. The minting of coin in the cities along this route takes a complicated and varied course. We saw in the discussion of the Il-Khanid period how under Eretna (744–53/1343–52) and his son Muhammad (753–67/1354–66), the dramatic decline in the weight standards of Il-Khanid coins was temporarily reversed, and weight standards were actually raised. We put down the fall in Il-Khanid weight standards to a drastic contraction in the supply of western silver, which was loosely connected to changes in commercial flows, and we attributed the reversal of these declines in weight standards under Eretna to an expansion in silver mining and a one-off influx of European silver in 1342.⁹⁰⁴ Under Eretna, moreover, a plentiful supply of coin was minted, if we can judge from the minting history of Sivas and Erzincan. One type succeeds another, perhaps with the purpose of allowing (illiterate) traders in the market to distinguish the ages of the various coins in which their transactions were conducted.

Under Muhammad, whose reign was of longer duration than Eretna's as an independent monarch (1343–52), only one silver type can be detected, and the datable coins seem to be confined to one year, 761/1360 (with one exception, of 762). This argues a swift contraction in the general volume of minting, which in turn is highly suggestive of a fall in the supply of silver. Sivas and Erzincan, however, no longer carried the burden, or a substantial part of the burden, of that sector of intercontinental east–west trade which passed through Tabriz. After the fall of Ayas in 1337, the burden fell on the Trebizond route until the inception of Bursa as an emporium for Iranian silk in 1394 or shortly after. The shortage of silver is hardly surprising.

We now come to the reign of 'Ala al-Din 'Ali, Eretna's grandson (767–82/1365–80). Here the coins of the first type in question were minted at Erzincan, and Erzincan, along with Erzurum and Bayburt, was controlled by local amirs who were no longer subject to the central Eretnid authority in Sivas.⁹⁰⁵ Hence the coins are minted at the initiative of *de facto* independent amirs who nevertheless acknowledge 'Ala al-Din 'Ali on the coins themselves.

At Erzincan we find a type, EA, and its subtype EA+, which are distinguished from one another only by the circumstance that in the second, a sort of imitation countermark is implanted over the word *allah* in the inscription. Both types exhibit the very strange phenomenon of fake dates such as 762 and 827. The genuine dates appear to be 767/1365–66 and 768/1366–67 (EA) and 767 and 769 (EA+). The two types represent a weight drop perhaps from 10 to 9 qirats (from 1.80 to 1.62 g). Those dates that appear genuine (767, 768, 769) suggest that his first type, EA, with the subtype EA+, were issued at the beginning of 'Ala al-Din's reign, when a weight drop took place.

At Sivas but not at Erzincan there follow two types (SA and SB) which again carry fake dates (728, 827 and 868). The genuine dates seem to be 768/1366–67 (SA) and 776/1374–75 (SB). While SA seems to fall within the date range of EA and EA+, SB was minted probably in only a single year which comes 7 years after the last EA+ coin; the long interval is again suggestive of a paucity of minting and metal shortage. In the remaining years of 'Ala al-Din 'Ali's reign (776–82/1374–80) there follow two more types, SC and SD, again at Sivas only.

They are both undated, but nevertheless were issued at a much reduced weight standard, perhaps 7 qirats (1.26 g, down from 9 qirats, 1.62 g). This is an extremely steep reduction which cannot fail to point to conclusions about the supply of silver. Under the usurper *qazi* (Muslim judge) Burhan al-Din (782–801/1380–98), a revaluation apparently took place, much as under Eretna.

The succession of weight reductions, the fake countermarks and scrambled or otherwise intentionally false dates are redolent of a continuously contracting supply of silver. The fake dates (in numerals, not words) are probably meant to fool the user into supposing an older coin, with a higher weight, and a longer period of issue, and therefore a more plentiful supply of coin, than was actually being minted. The fake countermarks, despite suggesting the contrary, are perhaps meant to induce the same impression, that of a previous issue which was then countermarked. The rapidly shrinking supply of silver was due not merely to the continued drop in the volume of silver mined in Europe and the associated decline in the value of goods imported by Europe, but also to the circumstance that that part of the Tabriz trade which formerly had used the Ayas–Tabriz route as far as Erzurum now took the Trebizond route.

Let us come now to the fifteenth century, where we rely on the record of minting at Erzincan since in no other city is a palpable sequence of issues available. The picture is somewhat changed. Under Timur, a currency reform took place; a large, heavy coin, the tanka (to a standard of nearly 6 g), was introduced. The smaller denomination, the one-third tanka, was equivalent in weight to the by now much devalued double dirham of ‘Ala al-Din ‘Ali’s last types, SC and SD. The tanka continued to be issued, without weight reductions, in the region until the century’s end. On the other hand, the table suggests an extreme paucity of coinage. Our survey has revealed generally no more than a single coin of each ruler.

The shortage of silver certainly seems to have been acute. A further indication is the curious coin hoard which must have been deposited near Erzincan shortly after 845/1441–42, when the latest dated coin in the hoard was struck. The vast majority of the coins appear to belong to a series of “spoof” issues, struck probably during the Mamluk occupation of 1438 by craftsmen with little knowledge of the reigning or past canons of Islamic minting and including several superficial and somewhat ignorant imitations of well-known past issues. The coins’ metrology is completely incommensurate with the tankas and one-third tankas which otherwise were minted at Erzincan throughout the fifteenth century.⁹⁰⁶ The striking of a series of unofficial issues of this sort is unlikely to have taken place if official issues had supplied sufficient coin for local transactions.

It is tempting to conclude that east–west trade along the Ankara–Tokat–Erzincan line was weak throughout the century. But we know that, in the fifteenth century, trade was strong: it was down the road in question that all the Iranian silk destined for Bursa travelled. Again, if fifteenth-century east–west trade in cities along this road was strong, the hypothesis of balanced trade, which would result in limited flows of precious metal, could be adduced in order to explain the feeble minting record at Erzincan. But the trade was not balanced. Iranian merchants took back with them from Bursa not only western cloths and Bursa silk fabrics, but also gold, silver and copper.⁹⁰⁷ In other words, the value of Iranian raw silk sold in Bursa greatly exceeded the value of western cloth and Bursa silk fabrics bought by Iranian merchants there. The explanation for the low volume of minting must be that the precious metal carried back from Bursa by Iranian merchants was not spent for commercial purposes in settlements along the way, or traded so as to be struck as local currency, but was carried to Tabriz. There the metals would command higher prices and so, if handed in for minting, would yield a greater number of local coins of a given denomination.

Aleppo–Tabriz. In Upper Mesopotamia and the Lake Van region in southern Armenia, much was changed by the revivication of Aleppo. The city, as a religious and commercial capital, was slowly rebuilt. The rhythm was slower in the 1340s–1360s, but gathered pace in the 1370s–1390s.⁹⁰⁸ In the last three decades of the fourteenth century, equally, and particularly in the 1370s and 1390s, Venetian trade with Syria boomed. This, however, with the exception of the Chinese silk to be mentioned later, was a trade with the ports and with the cotton-producing regions of the interior.⁹⁰⁹

Some of Aleppo's redevelopment in the mid- and late fourteenth century can be put down to a revival of contact with Baghdad. The latter city, and Iraq generally, were still in the hands of the Jalayrids, successors of Hasan Buzurg. In 1338 Hasan Buzurg was obliged to withdraw there after being worsted by his rival the Chobanid Hasan Kuchek in the battle of Nawshahr,⁹¹⁰ and this may be taken as the beginning of the Jalayrids as the dynasty which supplied the exclusive rulers of Iraq. The Jalayrids, once established in Baghdad, occupied Tabriz and Azerbaijan in 1357. They ruled over a relatively wealthy dominion, and are known for their building projects of the mid- and late fourteenth century.⁹¹¹ They were also patrons of painters, and Jalayrid manuscript illumination, principally at Baghdad, is considered the successor of painting undertaken in urban centres within the Il-Khanid realm.⁹¹² When Timur sacked Baghdad in 1401 he carried the painters back with him to his own capital, but even then the reigning Jalayrid, Ahmad, immediately set about rebuilding the city.⁹¹³ There is good evidence, then, for a relatively wealthy state and capital.

After the cessation of the many Mongol invasions of north Syria in the early fourteenth century and the treaty of 1323, the way to Aleppo was now open. The way came up the Tigris to Mosul, then along the edge of the Mesopotamian plain to Mardin. From there it continued over a more open stretch of plain to Urfa, crossed the Euphrates at Birecik and turned south to Aleppo via 'Ayntab/Gaziantep. At Mardin, in the 1370s–1380s, two giant *madrasas* were built in Mamluk style by the local sultan, one of the last members of the Artukid dynasty. The *madrasas* are of similar layout and were evidently started at similar dates. One stands within the walls and was finished in 1385; the other stands outside the walls and was evidently left unfinished at a certain point, probably the point of Timur's attack on the city in 1394. The two buildings suddenly appear out of a stream of elegant but much smaller buildings, again mostly *madrasas* and mosques, put up before and after.⁹¹⁴ Mardin, owing to Jalayrid Baghdad, may well have experienced something of a commercial revival in the mid-fourteenth century.

There is some evidence, too, for a revival of the pearl and spice trade from the Persian Gulf. But it is difficult to know when it took place and on what scale. Movement of spices from the Gulf to Baghdad is known in 1403, a date possibly acquiring a certain significance after Timur's deliberate devastation of the city in 1401. Afterwards, but still in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, spices arrived in Aleppo from Basra, therefore via Baghdad, and were bought by Venetians in the coastal cities.⁹¹⁵ Many of the pearls sold in Bursa came from Aleppo, and it seems likely some of them reached Aleppo through Baghdad. It is even possible that silk woven in the central Iranian city of Yazd came this way. At any rate the fiscal statutes of the Ak Koyunlu sultan Uzun Hasan, dating from no later than 1478, mention a tax levied in Mardin on silk from Yazd. The way from Yazd to Basra, and from there to Mardin via Baghdad, would be quite easy, and somewhat easier than the more roundabout way via Tabriz.

Timing and the nature of trade seem to have been somewhat different along the Aleppo track. According to Barbaro, who was writing around 90 years after the event, Timur's sack in 1395 of Astrakhan and, in fact, other cities on the track from China and Central Asia to Tana and Caffa meant a diversion of Chinese silk and spices to Syria, where previously there

had been no Venetian trade in such Chinese items.⁹¹⁶ “Syria” in Barbaro’s text must mean that such goods were available in Aleppo: the geography of the route forbids that goods could come along the way through Upper Mesopotamia and arrive at destinations in Syria such as Damascus without first passing through Aleppo. Barbaro’s statement does not imply a total diversion of the trade, but it seems to show that by 1395, Chinese silk and spices were available in Aleppo.

The passage of Chinese goods through Tabriz can scarcely have failed to attract Iranian silk down the same road, but in any case Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador to Timur, who returned from Timur’s capital of Samarkand in 1406, makes it quite clear that in that year Iranian silk was being exported to Syria. According to Clavijo, Iranian silk was assembled in Sultaniyya and despatched to Damascus and other parts of Syria.⁹¹⁷ We have just argued that if Damascus was the final destination, then the Iranian silk must have been available in Aleppo too, but in any case it is likely that Aleppo was one of the ‘other parts of Syria’ to which the silk was sent. Clavijo’s evidence seems to be the earliest that we have in the post-Ayas period for the passage of Iranian silk to Aleppo and thus to the west, but thereafter the silk trade seems to have kept steady, increasing in the second half of the fifteenth century. Trade thickened, too, between Aleppo and cities along the way (for example Mardin and Hisn Kayfa), gradually extending towards Tabriz.⁹¹⁸ Venetian merchants, besides buying the spices, silk and cotton crop of Aleppo and its region, brought European cloth to sell.⁹¹⁹ By and large, exports from Aleppo to the west and imports from the west were carried via Rhodes and Crete; the port of Famagusta in Cyprus had declined, and ships on their way to Aleppo tended not to stop there.⁹²⁰

In Aleppo the first two decades of the fifteenth century were inimical to a rapid development of international trade. Timur’s visit, rebellions by provincial governors, inflation and other factors all contributed to a delay in the establishment of regular and rapid flows along the corridors which converged on the city, and therefore to its re-establishment as an international market.⁹²¹ But once these contrary factors no longer obtained, the city rapidly expanded, and its re-establishment as an international market, which in reality had already taken place, became apparent. In the 20s and 30s of the fifteenth century, new caravan-sarays and *sucs* were built; the city was expanded by enclosing additional areas within the walls.⁹²² But, as we said earlier, the trade in the early fifteenth century was mostly, though not all, with the hinterland, where the cotton crop was still bought by Venetian merchants; and with regions somewhat further afield such as the Diyar Bakr.⁹²³ It is difficult to disentangle the effects of such trade from those of the silk trade. The outlets were the cities of Ladhikiya, a highly active port, and Tripoli. Venetians came to these ports to buy the silk, spices and cotton, and, further inland, to Hama and Sarmin, especially to buy cotton. By the second half of the century Venetian communities had developed both in these cities and in Aleppo itself, and in each city a vice-consul was appointed. Late in the century, apparently, some traffic came through the port at Payas, the other side of the Amanus range northwest of Aleppo; here the Venetians eventually built a small fort to control and safeguard the harbour.⁹²⁴

The track from Aleppo came north past Kilis and turned eastwards to ‘Ayntab/Gaziantep, guarded by a citadel partially rebuilt under the Mamluk sultan Qayt Bay (1468–90).⁹²⁵ In Birecik, where goods crossed the Euphrates, the period of calm after the Mamluk–Mongol treaty of 1323 had already been taken advantage of in the mid-fourteenth century by the Mamluk sultan to renovate the Great Mosque and by a private benefactor to build a smaller mosque.⁹²⁶ Urfa was eventually captured from the Mamluks by the Ak Koyunlu. The citadel had been rebuilt under the Mamluks, and part of it was again rebuilt by the Ak Koyunlu

Uzun Hasan (1453–78). A mosque was built by one of the Ak Koyunlu rulers, probably Uzun Hasan again.⁹²⁷

Mardin now emerges as a three-way crossroads, at which the track through the Upper Mesopotamian plain from Baghdad and the Gulf joined that coming through the L. Van and upper Tigris basin from Tabriz; the combined track then continued to Aleppo along the known line (Ruha/Urfa, 'Ayntab/Gaziantep and other cities). We have already mentioned the two *madrastas*, easily the largest in the city, which were built in the late fourteenth century; these exhibit the heavy import of features from Mamluk architecture such as tall trilobe portals.⁹²⁸ Mardin's history during the fifteenth century fully reflects a powerful position as a prosperous and at the same time strongly defended city and market. It was captured from the Artukid dynasty by the Kara Koyunlu in 1409 and kept by them until 1432. However, under the Ak Koyunlu it became the capital of three successive members of the state's ruling family, each of whom broke away from the parent body and held out independently in Mardin. The last of these was Qasim, who acquired Mardin in 1494 but who reigned here until 1502, a year beyond the collapse of the Ak Koyunlu state as a whole.⁹²⁹ The city's coinage, until the Kara Koyunlu capture of 1409, in so far as it is known, is strangely quiescent.⁹³⁰ But thereafter the city mints at a fairly fast rate, presumably in response to an inflow of silver.⁹³¹ Finally, direct evidence of the passage of silk through Mardin is available. Barbaro, coming through here in the late 1430s, noted that the city was a centre for the manufacture, i.e., the weaving, of silk and fustian;⁹³² as noted earlier, silk also came to Mardin from the Iranian city of Yazd. Mardin's silk cloth, both locally woven and imported, then, was very likely sold in Aleppo.

From Mardin the way towards Tabriz continued through low hills to the city of Hisn Kayfa, where the river Tigris was crossed by a giant bridge originally constructed in the twelfth century. Before Hisn Kayfa, however, the track passed a small fortified city, Savur, which gives every sign of having grown quickly in response to the passage of merchants. It was the seat of a new Syrian Orthodox bishopric which is first heard of in 1471; the appearance of new bishoprics is generally a sign of the growth of the relevant city, or perhaps of the contraction of others – at any rate a change in relative size which leads to a redefinition of boundaries.⁹³³ Savur emerges for the first time, too, as the capital of an apanage of members of the Ak Koyunlu ruling family.⁹³⁴

At Hisn Kayfa we find, again, that the years before and after the turn of the century witness an extraordinary phase of building activity, and one which is broadly responsible for the state of the city site as we now have it. The Great Mosque was restored in 1394 and another mosque constructed around the turn of the century; other small projects were carried out in the early fifteenth century.⁹³⁵ A further mosque, overlooking the river from a cliff-top, was reconstructed in 811/1409, and other reconstruction had evidently preceded this.⁹³⁶ Another mosque, the so-called Koç Camii ("Ram Mosque"), with remains of complex, delicate stucco decoration, is thought to date from the mid-fifteenth century, but could be somewhat earlier.⁹³⁷ Recent excavations have revealed a complex consisting of a caravansaray (for travelling merchants) and *çarşı* (shopping centre), as well as another *masjid* and what is probably another *khanqah* or building to house dervishes. Barbaro himself described the city, in the 1430s, as a 'great thoroughfare', and mentioned its fustian merchants.⁹³⁸

From Hisn Kayfa, the track ran east over the floor of the Tigris basin and reached Siirt. This city appears to have declined since Il-Khanid days – its wall was dilapidated by the time of Barbaro's visit in the late 1430s – but it was still commercially active.⁹³⁹ After Siirt the merchant travelled to the shrine of Ways al-Qu'rani and up the Bitlis valley.⁹⁴⁰ Near the top of the pass, in a deep valley, lay Bitlis, a settlement affected by the establishment of the new channel of trading activity in perhaps the most astonishing way of all.

Before the turn of the century the town had not minted for six decades, and barely before that. But, beginning at the turn of the century with Timur's issues, the city displays a voluminous coinage which remains steady until the end of the fifteenth century, even beyond the point where the Kurdish princes were temporarily evicted by the Ak Koyunlu.⁹⁴¹ Probably this somewhat surprising continuation of the numismatic efflorescence is due precisely to the volume of commercial traffic which continued to pass through the city right to the end of the century. As far as we know, nothing had been built in the town for more than three centuries. Suddenly at the beginning of the century, the local Kurdish prince built not merely a mosque but a whole complex of buildings including a hospital and *zawiya* or lodge to house dervishes. In the 1440s followed a madrasa and mosque. A further phenomenon connected with the growth of Bitlis from town to city was the foundation of monasteries where none had been known before. The connection to trading activity was different from that of Muslim buildings, where patronage and payment were those of the local prince, but the attraction of monastery foundations is clearly symptomatic of growth. One monastery is known in 1418, and by the turn of the century there were probably four.⁹⁴²

The track now followed the north shore of Lake Van, passing two small cities, Ahlat and Adilcevaz, which were well known from previous periods. Ahlat was now in decline, having in effect handed to Bitlis the regional role it had enjoyed under the Il-Khans. Adilcevaz was the securest of the cities, and at one point became the power base of the Kara Koyunlu İskender, son of Kara Yusuf. After Adilcevaz, another day brought one to Archesh/Erciş, near the lake's northeast corner. Here again we are confronted with a sudden resurgence of building at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in a city which had declined much from its glorious days under the Il-Khans. Permission to rebuild a monastery was granted in 1397 or soon after.⁹⁴³ The principal church was rebuilt between 1402 and 1409;⁹⁴⁴ later the same church's dome was renovated.⁹⁴⁵ The city was reconstructed, certainly on a more limited alignment of the city wall, perhaps in the early fifteenth century.⁹⁴⁶ The coinage was revived, when no coins had been struck since the disappearance of the Il-Khanid administration from the region about 1350. After Erciş the way probably came round the northeast corner of L. Van and from there eastwards up the broad, easy valley of the Bendimahi Çay to the plain of Garni (now the Çaldıran plain), then to the pass into the Sukmanabad plain and so to Khoy.

A second line was taken, perhaps in the 1470s, by merchants carrying silk from Iran, which by no means meant that all traffic switched from the Mardin–Hisn Kayfa line. The new line diverged from the first at Urfa, where it went northeast, over the shoulder of Karaca Dağ (an extinct volcano) and into the Tigris basin and its regional capital of Amid/Diyarbakır. From there it continued along the bank of the Tigris to Hisn Kayfa, then to the base of the Bitlis valley at Ways al-Qur'ani and so to Bitlis. Amid had been the Ak Koyunlu capital until the capture of Tabriz in 1468, but it had been starved of investment in buildings in the fourteenth century under the Artukids and in the fifteenth century under the Ak Koyunlu themselves. But towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Ak Koyunlu built three or four mosques in the city,⁹⁴⁷ and the city began to mint more regularly under their rule. In Uzun Hasan's reign a tax on the sale of gold, silver and jewellery as well as silk is known.⁹⁴⁸ The silk and jewellery probably both came from Tabriz, but the gold and silver here may have been travelling in the opposite direction.

The overriding impression left by the whole line of cities is that firstly, they were radically affected around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, initially by the Chinese silk, diverted from Astrakhan and Tana, of which Barbaro wrote, and then by the Iranian silk which must have started to travel this way by 1406; and secondly, that the trade was highly

imbalanced: few goods were transported eastwards to balance the flow of silk down the track towards Aleppo. This resulted in the passage of western coins along the track and their reminting as local coin in the various cities.

The "cross-route" from Upper Mesopotamia to Erzincan. As before, Baghdad at one end and the ports of Trebizond and Samsun at the other created a certain commercial cross-current running through Amid and Erzincan. It would be logical to suppose that after the devastation of Sivas by Timur, traffic would tend more to be aiming at Erzincan. In any case it would have left the Baghdad–Aleppo line at Mardin and come a short distance northwest to Amid. Aleppo, however, once it had been re-established as a commercial centre, acted as a magnet equivalent to Baghdad.

Between Amid and Erzincan, the most direct way lay over the Lower Euphrates at Aşvan and into the Dersim mountains. Here it passed through the town of Çemişgezek and eventually emerged on the south bank of the Upper Euphrates opposite Erzincan, crossing the river by a long bridge. Çemişgezek becomes more prominent in this period. A charming mosque was built there by a local princeling around 1400. The town was attacked by a Mamluk force in 1438; the same force also captured Arapkir. In both cases Mamluk aims must have been connected with the desire to interfere with commerce, particularly in slaves. The more frequent use of the Aşvan–Çemişgezek line is perhaps explained by its lower vulnerability to Mamluk raids.⁹⁴⁹

We have already seen that Amid displays a certain wealth and activity, particularly towards the end of the fifteenth century. Moving across the Euphrates plain and ascending the slopes of the Anti-Taurus, we find that building is taking place at the town of Arapkir. A building now known as the Great Mosque, with carved decoration on its portal and mihrab and turquoise tiles used in the mihrab's decoration, was constructed towards the very end of the Middle Ages. This is in reality a *zawiya* or *khanqah*. A smaller *khanqah* may belong to this period or else to the beginning of the Ottoman occupation.⁹⁵⁰ Under Uzun Hasan, silk, cotton cloth and linen goods passed this way, as the customs taxes on them are known.⁹⁵¹ The track had been pulled westwards because slaves intended for the Mamluk empire passed through Malatya. South of Arapkir, one proceeded down a course to the west of the Roman road. Contact was then made with the same road further down its course, where it headed, in a southwesterly direction, towards Malatya. For those travelling between Arapkir and Harput, the way led on to the plain and to the Makit Han in the present village of Denizli.⁹⁵² From there one would proceed to the Aşvan ford. North of Arapkir, the way led, always west of the Roman road, over a pass and down to Divriği.⁹⁵³ Alternatively one could reach Erzincan by turning east at Handere and joining the Roman road as it crossed the Anti-Taurus; this would take one down to the Upper Euphrates near Burmahan and so to Kemah. The latter town now saw some building activity, mostly in the nature of small projects: a number of *zawiyas* seems to have been built, as well as a *khanqah* and perhaps a *madrassa*.⁹⁵⁴

The cross-route from Aleppo to Bursa. Aleppo's and Bursa's development as great market cities meant that it was once again profitable for merchants to travel along the cross-route through Anatolia which linked the two. The trade developed no later than about 1430. Merchants from Damascus and Aleppo brought spices which originated ultimately in India, and traded them for the silk they found in Bursa.⁹⁵⁵ Some spices they took further, either up the western coast of the Black Sea to Akkerman and then inland to the Polish city of Lvov, or else to Sofia and ultimately Budapest.⁹⁵⁶

Once again traffic crossed the Cilician plain and went over the Taurus to Konya, Akşehir and Kütahya.⁹⁵⁷ The two principal cities of Cilicia – Adana and Tarsus – were restored by the passing trade. Barbaro, in the 1430s, was impressed by the size of Adana, and noted that fustians (as at Hisn Kayfa) were made both in the city and in its dependent rural districts; the manufacture of such cloth was a sure sign of the passage of caravans through the city. Tarsus was walled, and possessed also a citadel; according to Barbaro, the city was three miles in circumference.⁹⁵⁸ The newly revived trade seems to have benefited Ayas, seat of a Mamluk *na'ib* or district governor: in the third and fourth decades of the fifteenth century Ayas was a city of some size.⁹⁵⁹

Antalya and international trade. The question of Antalya as the terminus of a possible overland route from southern Black Sea ports again arises. The carriage of slaves from the Crimea and elsewhere on the Black Sea coast to Chios, then in Muslim-owned ships as far as Antalya and so to Alexandria continuously by sea (through the Aegean), continued in this period.⁹⁶⁰ Slaves were certainly brought to Samsun from the Crimea, and of these some were certainly sold in Sivas. We have suggested that the easiest way for the slaves to be brought to Mamluk territory was directly down the road between Sivas and Malatya before Sivas's destruction in 1400, via Divriği and Arapkir, or Niksar and Erzincan, afterwards. Were some brought via Kayseri and Konya to Antalya? We know that slaves were available in Antalya in 1420.⁹⁶¹ But this proves very little: they could be Crimean or Circassian slaves brought through the Black and Aegean Seas to be sold in Antalya. There seems no good reason, then, for supposing that Crimean slaves were brought overland through Anatolia, crossing from Samsun to Antalya and being exported from there, mainly to Egypt.

Similar conclusions emerge in respect of other goods. Wax, wool and carpets were exported from Antalya in the early fifteenth century.⁹⁶² The availability of good supplies of spices at Antalya probably suggests Indian spices brought from Alexandria. These would then be bought by European merchants or taken to destinations in the Aegean and beyond, mainly to Constantinople.⁹⁶³

Similarly, silk was exported from Antalya and Alanya to Constantinople. Egypt suggests itself as the immediate, India as the ultimate, origin. But silk was exported from Antalya and Alanya also to Alexandria, and this seems paradoxical. Probably the silk here came from Caffa via Constantinople; some may have been woven in Italy. It seems unlikely that it had come overland from Tabriz via Sivas, Kayseri and Konya.⁹⁶⁴

5. *Egypt and southern Syria*

After the closure of Ayas in 1337 and the vicissitudes inflicted on Italian traders by the struggles over the Il-Khanate in Iran, Rum and Iraq after the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335, part of the spice trade swung back to the Red Sea, Alexandria and Damascus. By 1344 the realignment seems to have been substantially complete; in that year, too, Papal permission was granted for galleys from European ports to sail directly to ports within the Mamluk sultanate, and a treaty between Venice and the sultanate was concluded. Trade between the sultanate's ports in Egypt and southern Syria on the one hand and the Italian maritime republics, particularly Venice and Genoa, on the other, quickly but temporarily intensified.⁹⁶⁵ Spices from India were shipped up the Red Sea, then transported to Cairo and either Alexandria or Damascus, in greater quantity.⁹⁶⁶

The foreign trading communities in Alexandria had either remained from the preceding period or else were re-established.⁹⁶⁷ Besides the Indian spices passing through its cities,

Egypt itself exported raw cotton and sundry products such as alkali (a contribution to the cloth industry in Europe). Goods imported to Egypt from Europe included cloth and metals such as lead and copper, and increasingly, too, the products of refined craft industries such as glassware, metalware and clothing. These products were able to penetrate Egyptian markets not only by virtue of price but also by virtue of quality, or at least the buyers' preference for them.⁹⁶⁸ The transport of slaves to Egypt from the Black Sea via the Aegean continued, but between Chios and Alexandria the business fell into the hands of Muslim merchants almost completely in the period 1405–21 and so was lost to the Genoese.⁹⁶⁹

In tandem with the slump of the European economy which started in the 1330s, European imports from Egypt declined,⁹⁷⁰ and this resulted in a partial but drastic reduction of the trade imbalance. The latter involved, among other things, a severe cut in the silver inflows from west European sources. From around 1380, the impact on Mamluk coinage was felt; by the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Mamluk state was no longer able to mint in silver at all.⁹⁷¹

In the first four decades of the fifteenth century, a phenomenon similar to that observable in Bursa at the same period is seen. European manufacturers fought back against the decline in their home markets by undercutting Egyptian producers of the same goods, particularly the more refined manufactured goods, and so putting some of them out of business. Despite the general recession in Egypt itself, the European products saw a local demand from the inheritance effect, i.e., from those who had been (grimly) enriched by the death of relatives in the plague, and from merchants still making profits out of trade, principally the spice exports to Europe.⁹⁷²

The penetration of Egyptian markets in the early fifteenth century (an increase of European imports to Egypt) added to the decrease in Egyptian exports which had already taken place, further narrowed the trade imbalance with Europe and brought about a further decrease in supplies of silver. At first a flood of copper coins were struck; later the minting of silver coins was resumed, but with a much reduced silver content. Meanwhile, the still-existing trade imbalance with Europe was increasingly paid for in gold, which, coupled with a shortage of gold from traditional sources such as Mali and Nubia, led to a reduction in the weight of standard Mamluk gold coins.⁹⁷³ Later, however, with the reflation of the European economy, the general volume of trade with Europe grew and with it developed more stable gold and silver currencies.⁹⁷⁴

In the period, the effect on Alexandria of the European recession was disastrous: in the early fifteenth century, according to one perhaps exaggerated account, its markets were almost empty, and even in the mid-century, two-thirds of the city was derelict.⁹⁷⁵ Turning to the city of Cairo, in the same period (mid-fourteenth century to 1500) construction continued: substantial numbers of mosques were built, both between 1344 and 1374 and, after the years of lean economic and financial conditions, again from the second decade of the fifteenth century to the Ottoman conquest in 1517. But we do not see the same scale or grandeur of building as in the previous period, nor was a large number of new religious buildings other than mosques put up. Many buildings constructed in previous periods were restored. Some new quarters were added, but not on anything like the enormous scale of urban expansion as in the previous period. Moreover, other districts were ruined and abandoned.⁹⁷⁶

In Damascus, trading in spices went on at the same pace as in the previous period (1250s–1340s), if not faster. Again the local craft products (glassware, metalwork) were much admired and in demand, and were available in specialised *suqs*. These crafts are sometimes held to have been irreparably damaged by Timur's having carried away the craftsmen after his occupation of the city in the years 1400–01. But there is indubitable

evidence of their having recovered and of their products' being available in the city's markets right to the end of the fifteenth century. Certainly, equivalent products from Europe began to penetrate the Syrian market, but did not replace the local ones.⁹⁷⁷ There were permanent Venetian, Genoese and Florentine trading communities in the city.⁹⁷⁸ The construction of mosques, madrasas, hamams and other buildings seems to have continued at just the same pace as in the previous period.⁹⁷⁹ All this took place despite events such as local rebellions by *amirs* (for example that of Yalbugha in 1391), insurrections by the townspeople and Timur's siege and occupation, which under other circumstances would have disrupted or permanently damaged and contracted the trade.⁹⁸⁰ The reason for the city's prosperity and generally intense business activity seems to have been Damascus's continuing viability as a market owing to the generally high volume of Indian spices coming through the city.

The principal harbour through which spices and the products of Damascene industry were exported was Beirut. The other ports on the same littoral included Acre, Ramla and Jaffa, but these seem to have been the outlet mainly for local products such as the cotton grown in Acre's hinterland.⁹⁸¹ There was no doubt about the dominance of Venetian merchants in the region as a whole. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there were Venetian vice-consuls in Beirut, Acre and Hama; in the century's second half they are known in Damascus and Beirut.⁹⁸²

In the period (the mid-fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century), trade between the west Mediterranean cities and the cities of Egypt and south Syria started at a low level owing to the general European recession; a further severe dip took place in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, after which trade expanded up to the end of the latter century. The story of trade is also one of the purchase in the region's markets of European manufactures on a much larger scale than in the previous periods and of an impressive rise in Venetian trade and a corresponding fall in Genoa's share.⁹⁸³

D. Summary

There is some advantage in summarising the previous argumentation.

In the period (1100 to mid-1250s) which precedes that of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, we noted three lines of communication by which goods could travel from the East to Europe and vice versa. One was the Antalya–Sivas–Erzurum–Ani line. We concluded that trade on this line commenced on a serious scale around 1180 and intensified in the 1220s and 1230s. At this stage much silver was flowing in from western Europe, and this inflow seems to have provoked the inception of silver mining on Seljuk territory. The source of the goods transported to western Europe seemed to be China and Central Asia.

The second line of movement was that between the north Syrian ports, Antioch, Aleppo, the Upper Mesopotamian cities, Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. We argued that the flow of goods from the Indies and the Persian Gulf had already started by 1100, but that it began to take a more northerly line, that through the Upper Mesopotamian cities, only in the 1140s. Silver reached the latter cities only in the 1210s. The trading relationships along this line seemed highly imbalanced in favour of exports from the east, primarily spices from India and pearls from the Persian Gulf. In the third line of commercial movement, that of the Red Sea trade, where the principal trading cities were Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus, eastern goods (mostly spices) easily outbalanced imports from the west.

In sum, spices and other precious goods reached Europe from India and China along the three routes, while western cities exported principally raw materials such as wood and iron.

The former easily outstripped the latter in value. The balance was paid for in silver coin; mining of silver in Europe increased in volume from 1200 onwards.

During the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary (mid-1250s to 1337 and, for purposes of commercial analysis, to the 1340s), European demand for eastern goods expanded greatly until the 1310s, after which it levelled out and then began to turn down in the 1330s. The expansion in demand was facilitated by a continued growth in the volume of silver mined in Europe and by an expansion in the volume of credit extended to merchants. At the end of the period, mining and banking operations contracted in tandem with the European economy as a whole.

These increases in the volume of European silver mining, of lending and of economic activity and demand were reflected in a greater volume of east–west trade and in particular in the development of new lines of communication with the east. The Inner Asian connection with China (from the Black Sea shore to Saray, Utrar and Almaligh) depended, of course, on the treaties between the Italian trading republics on the one hand and the Byzantine empire and Golden Horde on the other. But it was also facilitated, and perhaps would have been unworkable without, the shipment of Chinese silk in bulk. Tabriz was supplied with silk, partly from the Subcasian mountains of Iran and partly from the Caucasus, and with spices from India, partly via Baghdad but mostly via Hormuz. Two lines of movement now led westwards from Tabriz, that via Trebizond and Constantinople and that via Ayas. Each of these carried Indian spices and Iranian and Central Asian silk, and this was the first time Iranian silk had been exported to the west. We saw how the cities on both lines either sprang up or expanded and flourished: Trebizond and Samsun in the one case, Erzincan, Sivas, Ayas and Famagusta in the other. In either case precious metal flowed from the ports inland, some of it ending up as Il-Khanid coins; the evidence here seemed to show that these coins were minted, partly, in response to the influx of silver, though the response was not an entirely passive one and was at least partly determined by Il-Khanid policy.

The Red Sea route, by which Indian spices were exported through Cairo and Alexandria or Damascus, was active all the way through the period, and we saw that it was maintained even after the Venetian–Il-Khanid treaty of 1320, the Papal excommunications of 1322 and the resulting shift of a portion of the trade to the Ayas route. The Red Sea trade, too, occasioned heavy money flows from the west.

The impression given by such an overview of the different commercial routes in the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary is that the volume of trade, and especially of exports to the west of valuable items like silk and spices, had much increased by comparison with the previous period. Given that the previous alignments of the two routes through Asia Minor, Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia were no longer followed, nevertheless the east–west routes through Asia Minor and Armenia were still two in number, and the Red Sea route continued to operate. On the other hand what amounted to a whole new route (despite its use on a minor scale in the previous period), that of Caffa and the Asian steppe, had opened further north. Chinese silk was available in much increased quantities, while Iranian silk was being exported to the west for the first time. Correspondingly large flows of coin took place along the various lines of movement. The Ayas route therefore takes its place among a sheaf of routes along which was conducted a greatly increased volume of trade.

In the following period (1340s–1500), the European economy had sharply contracted; until the early fifteenth century there persisted a drastic shortage of silver in western Europe. Banking operations necessarily took place on a smaller scale overall; in particular the banking and notary infrastructure that had been so noticeable on the Ayas and Trebizond routes had now been withdrawn. Such factors would naturally make for a sharp drop in the volume of

trade. What mitigated this drop was western Europe's ability to reply with increased production of goods for export: some, such as wool cloth, its own speciality; some, for example silk cloth and glass, the very items which previously it had almost exclusively imported. Among other things this meant that in markets where European merchants were able to sell European products, the shortage of coin had a correspondingly lower impact on the volume of trade.

Thus the Asian steppe route dwindled in importance up to its demise in 1475: European merchants could not sell European manufactures here. On the other hand, the Trebizond–Constantinople and Bursa routes, which should be taken together for the purposes of the present analysis, displayed a certain vitality. On both routes, the export of western manufactures facilitated the flow of eastern goods, particularly Iranian silk. But the balance of trade flows resulted in a much lower value of coins minted locally. If we examine the Tabriz–Aleppo route, on the other hand, Chinese and Iranian silk, not to mention Syrian cotton, was bought by Italian merchants at Aleppo, but little was sold in exchange. This provoked an impressive volume of coinage in cities, such as Bitlis, along the way. Finally, the Red Sea regained its former dominant position in the spice trade, but again European products such as cloth and glassware were now being exported to Egypt and Damascus on a greater scale. In the third period, therefore, the picture of the commercial routes' alignments had much changed, mainly owing to changed political circumstances. The overall volume of trade was lower, but increased manufacturing productivity in Europe was able to compensate for the acute shortage of European silver.

The period of the Ayas itinerary thus emerges as the most active of the three in east–west trade, both generally and in the volume of goods imported from the east. In the preceding period, spices and the products of local manufacture (principally in Egypt and Syria) were exported to the west along three routes. In return the Italian cities exported mainly raw materials and paid for the balance in precious metal; in the period's last half-century, the supply of new European silver was adequate, and was augmented by new mines opening in Asia Minor. In the middle period, that of the Ayas itinerary, the geographical configuration of the commercial routes was much changed. Europe's economy continued to expand up to the second decade of the fourteenth century; thereafter its trajectory levelled out and then swiftly descended. Similarly, the supply of western coin expanded, helped this time by a variety of loan instruments, then sharply dipped. Some European industries were greatly increasing their productivity, but in the period generally this did not lead to an increase in eastward exports: Europe's imports from the east were now at their highest. This was because at least up to the 1320s, mines in Europe were producing enough silver to finance the continuing balance of payments deficit. In the third period, silver supplies in the west had severely contracted and remained limited; the European economy continued to contract, after which the decline came to an end and a general reflation began in the third decade of the fifteenth century. The volume of goods imported by the west, again along a much-changed configuration of routes, seems to have been reduced, but increasingly manufacturing activity managed to offset some of Europe's lost demand for eastern goods. The period of the Ayas itinerary was the most active of the three; along the four routes now in use by merchants were carried goods in increased demand by European consumers, including Indian spices and Iranian silk.

Notes

- 1 Contamine et al. 2003: 136–39 (speed of growth), 143–55; *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 4.1.13–14; 5.38, 50, 51.
- 2 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 4.1.38–40, 41–44, 71–72; 5.44.

- 3 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 4.1.70; 5.64–65, 68.
- 4 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 5.54–55, 57–58.
- 5 *Ibid*: 5.62–71.
- 6 On expansion, *ibid*: 4.1.50–52, 60, 63–64, 72–76; 5.27, 37. On foundation of new towns: *ibid* 4.1.48, 52, 82–83; 5.51–52.
- 7 See earlier, and esp *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 4.1.53–54.
- 8 *Ibid*: 4.1.69–70; 5.30, 59.
- 9 *Ibid*: 4.1.76–83; 5.59.
- 10 Spufford 2002: 60–94 (cities as centres of consumption), 116–23 (demand for luxuries), 141–46, 151–52 (fairs, manufacture etc); Luzzatto 1961: 79–82, 86–87, 89–91, 93–97 (Italian cities: some examples); pp 30–33.
- 11 Spufford 1988: 112–20, 122–24.
- 12 *Ibid*: 134–37, 138–41.
- 13 *Ibid*: 147–49; p 56 and nn 251, 252 on p 142. On silk imports to Genoa and especially Venice, Jacoby 1999: 12–15; *id* 2000: 266, 267–68, 272, 275. Note that the imports provoked the establishment of silk weaving industries in Venice and Lucca.
- 14 On Murano and the Giudecca, Goy 1997: 30.
- 15 Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 151; Goy 1997: 94.
- 16 Goy 1997: 95.
- 17 Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 120–21; Goy 1997: 96–97; cf 94.
- 18 Goy 1997: 26, 74, 78.
- 19 Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 23, 139–40.
- 20 *Ibid*: 140.
- 21 Goy 1997: 26–28, 60–61, 68; Lerner 2005: 35–42; Howard 2002: 90–91.
- 22 Grossi Bianchi, Poleggi 1980: 36–37, 40–44; Guglielmotti 2013: 3–4, 6–8, 9–11.
- 23 Grossi Bianchi, Poleggi 1980: 52–60; Guglielmotti 2013: 41. On the city's expansion generally see Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 32–43, 46–52.
- 24 Guglielmotti 2013: 41.
- 25 For all the aforementioned, including portico, etc., Grossi Bianchi, Poleggio: 45, 68–69, 71–81, 86–87, 116–22 (*passim*); Guglielmotti 2013: 8–9, 13–17, 32–34, 163–64. Monasteries, hospitals: Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 48, esp nos 29, 37, 38 and 64; nos 24, 57. On the city's great families and their churches, Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 28, 30–31, 48, 52–61.
- 26 Here we can refer to studies only of a few of Florence's buildings. There are several books on the monuments of Florence as a whole: one of the most recent is that of Wirtz (2005). In the baptistery the lantern above the dome, the choir chapel and the mosaics inside the dome were added after 1128. On Santa Reparata, Gurrieri et al. 1994, ch. I. On Santa Maria Novella, Baldini (ed) 1981. A church was already standing here in the late tenth century; this had been rebuilt by 1100, having been consecrated in 1094 (*ibid*: 31, 33).
- 27 Stopani 2014: 14/106, 27/115.
- 28 *Ibid*: 16–20/110–12.
- 29 On the new alignment and subsequent enlargements of the walled area, Bocci 2015: 79–81.
- 30 Stopani 2014: 16–21/108–12.
- 31 The first Dominicans arrived in 1219: Baldini (ed) 1981: 34.
- 32 For the history of the Byzantine-controlled regions of Asia Minor in the period, *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.11–28 and see p 000.
- 33 Turan (O) 1993: 148–485; Cahen 1968: 84–106, 110–38; for the period after Köse Dağ (1943), *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.53–61.
- 34 Turan (O) 1993: 112–47, 167–72; EI² 'Danishmendids', 2.110–11 (I. Mélikoff).
- 35 Turan (O) 1973: 55–79; Sakaoglu 1971: 31–103.
- 36 Sümer 1990: 17–45.
- 37 Cahen 1968: 99–105, 106–9, 126–31; Turan (O) 1993: 202–05, 251–54.
- 38 N 33 on p 33 (*sic*).
- 39 Turan (O) 1973: 133–219; EI², 'Artukids', 1.662–67 (Cl.Cahen).
- 40 See EI², 'Zangi', 11.451–52 (S.Heidemann); 'Zangids', 11.452–55 (*id*).
- 41 See previous note, and on Saladin, among many works, Lyons, Jackson 1982: chs 5–18, *passim*.
- 42 On the treaty in general, Thiriet 1975: 36–42, 44–46; Lilie 1984: 8–16, 50, 53, 54, 61, and on the renewals, with slight changes, in 1126 and 1148, *ibid*: 17–24; Borsari 1988: 3–16, cf 18–26.

- 43 Corinth: Lilie 1984: 195, 196, 197; Borsari 1988: 41, 73, 91; Gerolymatou 2008: 164–67. Nauplion: Lilie 1984: 202–03; Borsari 102. The olive oil exported from Corinth and Nauplion was produced mainly in the region, known then as Lakedaïmonia, of ancient Sparta, which lay immediately behind the two ports. See Lilie 1984: 198–99; Borsari 1988: 41, 91, 109–10, 113, 118; Gerolymatou 2008: 167–69.
- 44 Gasparis 2005: 235, 237–38. On Crete as a stopover, Lilie 1984: 120–21, 129, 245, 247. For the winds which made Crete such a key stopover for journeys to the Levant or Egypt, Pryor 1988: 94–95.
- 45 Lilie 1984: 119; Jacoby 2002: 152–53.
- 46 Jacoby 1997: 66–67, 68–70; id 1999: 12–14; id 2000: 267, 272, 276, 277.
- 47 Lilie 2004: 184, 187; Borsari 1988: 40–41, 87, 92–93, 108–09; Gerolymatou 2008: 155–58.
- 48 On the trade, Lilie 1984: 213–14; Gerolymatou 2008: 148–49. On the routes, Lilie 1984: 216–17, 248, 249. A significant land route between Almyros and Thessaloniki seems unlikely.
- 49 Smyrna: Lilie 1984: 167–68; Borsari 1988: 73, 92, 119. Phokaia: Lilie 1984: 165–66. On the winds which aided and impeded the journey up the east coast of Greece and the diagonal one through the Cyclades, Pryor 1988: 97.
- 50 Lilie 1984: 146–48; Borsari 1988: 73, 92, 119.
- 51 Lilie 1984: 145–46; Borsari 1988: 41.
- 52 Lilie 1984: 209–10; Borsari 1988: 41.
- 53 Janin 1950: 237–38; Jacoby 2001: 154–56; Magdalino 2007: 87, 88–90; on a Venetian installation there, Ağır 2006; on the community generally, Ağır 2013: Chs. II, III.
- 54 On the Egyptian aspect, Jacoby 2001: 244–45.
- 55 Magdalino 2007: 87, 90–91.
- 56 Lilie 1984: 69–76; Jacoby 2007: 685. Almyros: Lilie 1984: 188–89, 190; Jacoby 2007: 693.
- 57 Lilie 1984: 213–14 and 146–47.
- 58 Day 1988: 21–26, 90–91.
- 59 Lilie 1984: 188; Gerolymatou 2008: 156; Jacoby 2007: 695–96.
- 60 Lilie 1984: 146–47.
- 61 On this controversial point, Lilie 1984: 44, 136–38, 141, 142–44; Borsari 1988: 29; Jacoby 2007: 678–79. Further, Thiriet 1975: 61–62 (denies permission given for Black Sea trade); Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 545–58 (rights given to Venice and Genoa); Martin 1978: 111–13 (rights given). Many previous works are referred to in these items.
- 62 Balard 1978: 1.31.
- 63 Argued by Jacoby (2007: 697). On Tmutorakan', Karpov 2011: 417–18.
- 64 Suggested by Karpov (2011: 417–18).
- 65 Christian 1998: 298, 343, 345, 346–48.
- 66 Ibid: 368.
- 67 Ibid: 360.
- 68 William of Rubruck, tr Jackson: 64. William puts the plying of small boats down to the shallow depth of the Sea of Azov.
- 69 Jacoby 2005: 210; Christian 1998: 410.
- 70 Suggested by Karpov (2011: 417–18).
- 71 Jacoby (2005: 209) refers to the sale of slaves by Venetian, Pisan and Genoese merchants in the Holy Land in the 1240s. Karpov (2011: 417–18) suggests oil, as an element of Greek fire. On both subjects, Balard 2011: 443–44.
- 72 Jacoby 2007: 679–82, 687–93, 697–98.
- 73 Jacoby 2005: 209. Possibly furs, which later were exported to Egypt, are in question. (Ibid: 212.) Karpov (2011: 417–18) suggests oil, as an element of Greek fire. On both subjects, Balard 2011: 443–44.
- 74 Day 1998: 26; Borsari 1988: 48.
- 75 Day 1988: 27, 138; Epstein 1996: 85. On the agreement of 1169, Lilie 1984: 87–100; Day 1988: 26–27, 137–38; Epstein 1996: 84–85. For the political background in the Byzantine empire, Harris 2003: 112–16.
- 76 Day 1988: 31–32, 58; Epstein 1996: 85; Harris 2003: 116–20.
- 77 Balard 1978: 1.33–34, 37; Lilie 1984: 100–01; Day 1988: 29. On the subsequent *de facto* restoration of privileges, Day 1988: 32–33; Epstein 1996: 91.
- 78 Lilie 1984: 35–49, 62–65, 66–68; Borsari 1988: 28; cf Thiriet 1975: 58–61. The charter of 1198 gave Venetian merchants access to cities in the interior regions, particularly in northwest Asia Minor; perhaps their motive was to buy directly off the producers of agricultural goods.

- 79 For a comment, Day 1988: 30–31. On the restoration of the imperial family in the person of Isaac Angelus, Harris 2003: 124–25.
- 80 On the two Crusader captures of Constantinople, Harris 2003: 146–62. For the terms of the treaty as we develop them later, Carile 1965: 158–62; id 1978: 198–218. For a summary, O’Connell 2009: 18.
- 81 On the battle of 1224, etc., Angold 1975: 241; Ostrogorsky 1980: 435. On the geography and administration of the Nicaean empire, Angold 1975: 104, 244–49, 286.
- 82 *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*: 9.97–106; Ostrogorsky 1980: 432–33, 435–36, 440, 447–48, 453–54. The Despot was forced to recognise the authority of the Byzantine emperor in 1264.
- 83 Dourou-Ilioupolou 2005: esp 19, 23–25, 29–30.
- 84 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 5.528.
- 85 Balard 1966: 471, 472 (documents dating to before 1218 suggest prohibition), 475–77; Origone 2006: 104–08, 116–17.
- 86 Balard 1966: 479; Jacoby 2005: 196, 211–12. The treaty, restrictively for the Genoese, requires those in Romania to pay *to Venice* the taxes from which they had been exempted in the charter of 1201 granted by Alexios III. Note that in 1236 the Genoese as well Venetians and Pisans helped in the defence of Constantinople against Nicaean and Bulgarian forces. See also Origone 2006: 117–18.
- 87 Balard 1966: 483–84, 486–87; Origone 2006: 120–21.
- 88 On the geography, Koder 1973: 67–68, 109–13, 118–29; on the division and the status of the three sectors, *ibid*: 45–47. On their status, also *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 5.529, 532.
- 89 Koder 1973: 46; Jacoby 2002: 154, 155, 157–58, 159–63, 165; Saint-Guillain 2006: 182, 211, 213–14. On the geography and defences of the city, n 385 on p 146.
- 90 Balard 1966: 480, 484; Origone 2006: 118–20; Balletto 2006: 174–76. On Thebes, Jacoby 1999: 22, 29–31. Paradoxically, Genoese businessmen were able not only to buy silk in Thebes but also to some extent to specify weaves, designs, etc.; this was because in 1204 certain restrictions, which had favoured Venetians, were relaxed. Nevertheless the Genoese involvement lasted only until the second half of the thirteenth century.
- 91 Saint-Guillain 2006: 224–25, and for the argument as to the date of conquest, 204, 205–11, 217–18, 221, 222–24. Cf Gertwagen 2014: 542; Koumanidou 2005: 250.
- 92 Koumanidou 2005: 250–51, 253–54, 255–57, 259–64; also Gertwagen 2014: 543. The Ghisi in Tinos and Mykonos do not appear to have been sub-vassals of the Sanudo, but more direct vassals of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople. See Koumanidou 2005: 250–51, 259; Gertwagen 2014: 541–42.
- 93 Day 1988: 63.
- 94 Jacoby 1998a: 297–99; id 1997: 77; Balard 1966 : 473–75 ; Koumanidou 2005: 254–55; Saint-Guillain 2006: 185–89. Genoese claims on Crete were finally put to rest by the treaty of 1218 (Day 1988: 36; Origone 1992: 115).
- 95 Jacoby 1998a: 301–02, 306–11, 313; id 1993: 158–59, 161–62; Gasparis 2005: 236–40, 244–45. On increased production, Jacoby 1998: 300, 305–06; id 1997: 77–79; Gasparis 2005: 241–42, 244–45. On Venetian installations in Crete in this and subsequent periods, Georgopoulou 2001.
- 96 Jacoby 2005: 198, 200, 201–2, 208–12. Cf Karpov 2005: 285; Karpov 2011: 419; Balard 2011: 443.
- 97 Appendix II, p 31.
- 98 Whelan 1980: 151–54; 163.
- 99 Appendix II: 331.
- 100 *Ibid*: 331–32.
- 101 *Ibid*: 332.
- 102 Moreover, in other periods and regions, some silver at least is minted or reminted locally when it is being carried through for trade purposes. See esp pp 331–32.
- 103 Erkiletlioğlu and Güler’s has the weighty disadvantage of not describing the coins systematically, so that it is impossible to put them all into types. Nevertheless it is the only catalogue with a good range of mints. The only overlap with ours is in the Artuk catalogue (1970–74).
- 104 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 46.
- 105 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 49–52.
- 106 Mughith al-Din Tughril, who ruled at Erzurum from 589 to 618/1192–1221, was allotted Elbistan under the original division by Kılıç Arslan II (Cahen 1968: 111), but was then installed at Erzurum

- when the latter was captured from the Saltukids at the beginning of the thirteenth century (ibid: 115). But he broke away from the Seljuk state in 608/1211–12 (ibid: 125). His son Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah was finally defeated, and Erzurum annexed to the Seljuk state, in 1230, when the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din, with whom Jahan Shah had temporarily allied, was defeated at the battle of Yassı Çimen. (Ibid: 127–30; here p 47, n 106 on p 138; and on the site of the battle, pp 209–10, 212; 302–11.)
- 107 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 98–120; Appendix II, pp 337–38, 345.
- 108 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 122–45.
- 109 Appendix II: 338–39. See Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 122 for the dates. On the battle and its date, Matuz 1973: 193–96. The tribute: Simon de Saint-Quentin, ed Richard: 252.
- 110 Simon de Saint-Quentin, ed Richard: 68–69. The “Lebena” of the text must be Lu’lu’a. The mine put out three *rotas* of silver, or nearly 7 kg, per day. In the text, at least six silver mines and some copper and iron mines are stated to be active. 1247 is the latest date mentioned in the text (p 118). The mid-thirteenth century geographer Ibn Sa’id wrote that in Asia Minor four silver mines were being worked (Cahen 1968: 45).
- 111 For the dynastic history, Cahen 1968: 271–84. On the reign of Rukn al-Din Kılıç Arslan as sole monarch, *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.60–63. For the date of Rukn al-Din’s strangulation, Jackson 2017: 265.
- 112 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 148–57, 160–61, 164–76, 178–79; cf Appendix II, p 340.
- 113 Beginning p 78.
- 114 Heyd 1923: 1.303–04. Heyd suggests that Aldobrini, the Italian adventurer from whom the Seljuks first gained Antalya in 1207, would have taken the city from the Byzantine empire in 1204, at a time of commotion when the Venetians were assaulting Constantinople. See next note.
- 115 On the document, Martin 1980; discussed also by Turan (Ş) 2000: 168–79. The city was reoccupied by Frankish forces (see n 000) between 1210 and 1216 (Ibn Bibi, tr Duda: 61–64; Martin 1980: 326), which would suggest that the agreement was made as soon as the Seljuk sultanate regained Antalya. But an initial agreement reached between 1207 and 1210 is not excluded.
- 116 On the tribute, see e.g. Martinez 1993–94: 217, n 2.
- 117 On Antalya’s trading role before 1216, Thiriet 1975: 39; Heyd 1923: 1.303.
- 118 Redford 2008: 177, 179–80; id 2011: 266, 268.
- 119 Redford 2011: 269–70. On the rebuilding of the fortifications generally, Yılmaz 2002: 107–13, 16–20. The walls in question, i.e., city wall, citadel and internal wall, were enough to create a three-part city which in subsequent periods would be noticed by foreign visitors: p 96.
- 120 Yılmaz 2002: 53–55. Work stopped on it in 638/1240–41, however, owing to the sudden death of the builder.
- 121 Turan 1948: 82–83; Kuran 1969: 82–85. A building commissioned by a Karatay called a *dar al-sulahasi* (*dār al-ṣulahāṣī*) in Antalya is known from the *waqfiya/vakfiye* or endowment deed of his caravansaray. 648, the date of the *waqfiya*, would be the *terminus ante quem* for the building’s completion. Turan argues that since a *khanqah*, not in reality a markedly different category of building from the *zawiya*, founded by Karatay is known from a source of the late thirteenth century, the *dar al-sulahasi* must have been a *zawiya*.
- 122 The Yivli Minare Hamamı (Yılmaz 2002: 65–68) is dated by her to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. She concludes that the Yivli Minare Camii is a Seljuk building of the thirteenth century (ibid: 10–15, 82–91).
- 123 Yılmaz (2000: 116–25) argues for the first half of the thirteenth century.
- 124 Lloyd, Storm Rice 1958: 3.
- 125 For an account of the excavations, including a palace, here, with bibliography, Sinclair 2005.
- 126 Lloyd, Storm Rice: 9–66; Redford 2011: 270–71.
- 127 Erdmann 1961: nos 53, 58.
- 128 The two dated caravansarays: Erdmann 1961: no 71; Özergin 1965: nos 111, 122. For the others, Erdmann and Özergin nos 51/91, 57/66, 78/125, 79/29, 80/88, 103/93, and Özergin nos 5, 13. For a discussion of the routes from Antalya and Alanya to Seydişehir and Konya, Flemming 1964: 13–14.
- 129 Konyalı 1963: 311–12; Meinecke 1976: 2.213, 214–15. The *mimber* carries the date 550/1155.
- 130 Akok 1969; Arık 2000: 25–40. For a *mescid* and a *türbe* of the same period, Konyalı 1963: 397–400, 576–85; Meinecke 1976: 2.200–03, 223–33.
- 131 Konyalı 1963 and Meinecke 1976, vol 2: 279–80/205–8; 328–31/203–05; 404–15/208–12; 541–42/233–34; 543–51 (Konyalı only).

- 132 Konyalı 1963: 296–309, 314–15; Meinecke 1976: 2.212–23.
- 133 Anonymous History of the Seljuks of Rum, ed Uzluk: 29/44; Ibn Bibi, tr Duda: 110–11. See Rogers 1978: 419.
- 134 Baykara 1998: 29–55, 84–101.
- 135 Konyalı 1963: 630/Meinecke 1976: 2. 256–57; 883/2.249–53; 883/2.249–53; 909–14/2.494–96. On the Sırçalı Medrese, Kuran 1969: 74–75.
- 136 Konyalı 1963: 339–41/Meinecke 1976: 2.254–56; 354–56/2.338–39; 378–86/2.238–42; 389–96 (Konyalı only); 567/2.242–43. Note the Karaarslan Türbesi: Konyalı 1963: 623–26; Meinecke 1976: 2.236–38.
- 137 Konyalı 1963: 433–34/Meinecke 1976: 2. 283–99; 876–82/278–83; 433–34/276–77. On the Karatay Medresesi, Kuran 1969: 51–53; Turan 1948: 71–82.
- 138 Konyalı 1963: 505–11 (mosque), 719–27 (türbe), 927–34 (hankâh); Meinecke 1976: 2.304–13; Ferit, Mesut 1940: 36–45, as Larende Mescidi.
- 139 For the three, Erdmann/Özergin nos 25/115, 27/50, 28/102. Otherwise 24/6, 34/89, 35/105, 51/92, 60/3, 62/90, 66/67, 93/70, 164/132, and for the others Özergin nos 97, 119, 120.
- 140 Great Mosque: Gabriel 1931: 32–35; Kuru 1997: 33–52, esp 47. Kölük Camii: Kuran 1969: 12–14; Gabriel 1931: 36–39; Kuru 1997: 182–206, esp 205, 199–200. Kümbets: ibid: 288–95, 296–303, and for the others 304–31.
- 141 The Hoca Hasan Medresesi: Kuru 1997: 91–94. The Battal Mescidi: ibid: 230–42, esp 237, 241.
- 142 Gabriel 1931: 60–62; Kuran 1969: 65–67; Kuru 1997: 95–121, esp 111, 112.
- 143 Great Mosque: Kuru 1997: 33–52, esp 45, 47; Kölük Camii: see n 140, and Kuru: 199–200, 205.
- 144 Kuru 1997: 27; Gabriel 1931: 22–23, 30.
- 145 Gabriel 1931: 39–51, 86; Kuran 1969: 70–73; Kuru 1997: 67–90, 132–49. Kuru (348, 351–52) suggests that the Mahperi Hatun Türbesi (again that of the sultan's wife) attached to the *madrasa* was built between 1260 and 1270, but the indications are for a date in the late 1250s. On the *kümbet* itself, Kuru: 342–53.
- 146 The Avgunu Medresesi: Kuran (1969: 67–69) would put it in the first years of the century, but Kuru (1997: 122–31) argues for the third decade. The Seraceddin Medresesi: Kuran 1969: 73–74; Kuru 1997: 150–56. A *zawiya* is also known: ibid: 248–50.
- 147 Kuru 1997: 13, 22–23, 26–32.
- 148 The Hacı Kılıç Camii and Medresesi: Gabriel 1931: 52–54; Kuru 1997: 207–29. The Lalapaşa Camii, probably that of a *lala* or mentor of 'Ala al-Din Kaykubad I, and *khadim* or servant of Kaykavus II (d. 1246); but Badr al-Din Muslih was known to be still alive in that year, so a date early in Kaykavus II's reign (1237–46) is the most likely. Kuru (1997: 62, 65–66, 308–10) on art-historical grounds connected with the kümbet incorporated in the mosque, puts the mosque just before 1200. For the whole building, Kuru 53–66. The Ahi Evren Zaviyesi, cogently argued by Kuru (1997: 243–50) to be that of Evren, an *akhi* or member of an urban religious-cum-professional group who became prominent in 1238. The Çifte Kümbet ("Double Kümbet"): Gabriel 1931: 76–77; Kuru 1997: 332–41.
- 149 Cahen 1968: 46.
- 150 Sultan Han: Erdmann/Özergin no 26/116. Otherwise nos 72/57, 74/81, 75/121, and for one known from Ibn Bibi only, Özergin no 80.
- 151 Mahperi Hatun: Erdmann 1961: nos 14, 36, 45 (Özergin 1965: nos 123, 82, 37). For the others, Erdmann/Özergin nos 22/16, 23/94, 27/51, 44/23, 77/24.
- 152 Sughdaq was the target of a Seljuk attack in c 1222: Peacock 2006: 136. On Sughdaq at the time of William of Rubruck's visit of 1253, here pp 39, 45. On Sinop's limited military role, Peacock 2012: 111–13. On Sinop as a city, Redford 2012.
- 153 Sadeque 1956: 29–30.
- 154 Heyd 1923: 1.297–99; Bautier 1970: 281–82, 285–86.
- 155 Saray-Almaligh: pp 64–65. Urgench: Golombek 2011: 136. Utrar: Barthold 1977: 356, 364, 397–99, 406, 412. See also Kolbas 2006: 35–36.
- 156 Gabriel 1931: 2.143–46.
- 157 Wolper 2003: 44; Turan 1951: 454, and on the madrasa Turan 1951: 452.
- 158 See the bibliography collected in Sinclair 1989: 305, 526–27. It is not clear it was the sultan's intention to be buried in Sivas, however.
- 159 Wolper 2003: 44, 47.
- 160 Turan 1951: 454.

- 161 The Ottoman tax registers of the sixteenth century record the existence of a Melik Fahreddin Medresesi, presumably built by Bahram Shah. Miroğlu 1990: 151.
- 162 EI², 'Nizami Gandjawi', 8.76–81 (E.Berthels): 77.
- 163 For examples, K'iwrtcan 1953: 86–89.
- 164 Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, ed Wüstenfeld: 1.205; Arakelyan 1958: 2.112.
- 165 Ünal 1968: 28–31, and other bibliography collected in Sinclair 1989: 207.
- 166 Ünal 1968: 18–22; other bibliography in Sinclair 1989: 202.
- 167 On the monument, Ünal 1968: 58–197; bibliography in Sinclair 1989: 197. On the date, Rogers 1965. Another piece of building work worth noting in connection with Erzurum is the complete reconstruction of the immense citadel at Bayburt by the breakaway Seljuk, Mughith al-Din Tughrlu (1192–1221), father of Jahan Shah. On Yassı Çimen, n 106 on p 138.
- 168 Ibn Bibi, tr Duda: 166–72; Matuz 1973: 1988–89.
- 169 Kolbas 2006: 122.
- 170 Turan 1973: 6–13.
- 171 The evidence of the inscriptions: Basmadjian 1922–23: 331–44, nos 63–74; 1924: 356–62, nos 75–80. On Tigran Honene', bibliography in Sinclair 1987: 369–71.
- 172 Basmadjian 1922–23: 34–36, 38, 41–44, 46–47, 51–57; 70–73, 314–16, 318–19, 323–28.
- 173 Argued in Sinclair 2010b: 176, and note a third track coming to Nakhchevan from the west via Surmari: Surmari was connected with Ani via the towns of Mren and Bagaran. On Erevan, Arakelyan 1958: 2.87.
- 174 On the cities and connections between them, Sinclair 2010b: 176–77. On Nakhchevan's churches, William of Rubruck, tr Jackson: 265. On the few Muslim monuments of the period which now survive, EI², 'Nakhčiwān', 7.922–23 (V. Minorsky – [C. E. Bosworth]): 922.
- 175 Kolbas 2006: 80–81, 85, 104–5, and, on the coinage after 642/1244–45: 123–24, 127–29, 141–42.
- 176 Kolbas 2006: 127–28, 132–33.
- 177 Ibid: 109–10, 129–30, 153–55.
- 178 Ibid: 111–14, 127–28, 132–33.
- 179 EI², 'Nīshāpūr', 8.62–64 (E.Honigmann – [C.E.Bosworth]): 63; 'Marw al-Shāhidjān', 6.618–21 (A.Yu.Yakubowski – [C.E.Bosworth]).
- 180 EI², 'Bukhārā', 1.1293–96 (W. Barthold – [R. N. Frye]): 1295; 'Samarkand', 8.1031–38 (H.H. Schaeder – [C. E. Bosworth], Y. Crowe): 1033. On population, etc., Barthold 1977: 85–92, 100–13, 360, 409–14.
- 181 Kolbas 2006: 34–38, 42, 61–66, 68; for the wide-flan issues, 66, 68. On the economic recovery, Jackson 2017: 176–78.
- 182 Kolbas 2006: 92–96, 100–02, 147.
- 183 Martin 1980: 328; p 49.
- 184 Cahen 1968: 47.
- 185 Turan 1946: 481.
- 186 Heyd 1923: 1.134, 149–50, 333, 339: note the quarter given to the Pisans.
- 187 Ibid: 1.133–34, 156. Note the sovereign rights for the garrison.
- 188 Ibid: 1.163.
- 189 Ibid: 1.374, 375–77; Jacoby 2001: 241.
- 190 Heyd 1923: 1.377–78.
- 191 Ibid: 1.164–66, 378. On Syrian cotton, Jacoby 2001: 236, 241.
- 192 On Kish, Kauz 2006: 51–52, 55–56.
- 193 Heidemann 2002: 258–59, 286, 287–88, 292; on Raqqa, 287–88. Heyd 1923: 1.167.
- 194 Heidemann 2002: 293–94.
- 195 Heyd 1923: 1.367–71.
- 196 Otten-Froux 1988: 148–49. The Venetians were given land only. Langlois 1863: no I, pp 105–9; no X, pp 126–28; on Venetians, no II, pp 109–12; no XIX, pp 143–46.
- 197 Fedalto 1973–78: 2.146–47, 218–19.
- 198 Heyd 1923: 1.367.
- 199 Heyd 1923: 2.113; Manandian 1965: 191; Edwards 1987: 41.
- 200 Malloy 1994: 237–46; but see Schindel 2017: 264 for a possible original type c 1110.
- 201 Lowick 1967. The hoard includes a type minted by the breakaway Seljuk of Erzurum, Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah, dated 625/1227–28 (ibid: 28).
- 202 Lowick 1967: 18–20.

- 203 Lowick 1967: 20–27; 23–24 on Michael IV.
- 204 Lowick 1967: 27–28.
- 205 Lowick 1967: 31–46.
- 206 Spengler, Sayles 1992: 3–24, 73–75.
- 207 Ibid: 156–58; Artuk 1993: 108–18.
- 208 Artuk 1993: 108; Album 1993: 40. A silver issue was struck in 581/1185–86, probably for the purpose of recognising Saladin's authority: see Balog 1980: 89–92, 99. Note the silver coins struck for the Ayyubid dynasty at Ruha in 605/1208–09 and after: *ibid*: 138–39.
- 209 Album 1993: 23.
- 210 Spengler, Sayles 1992: 1.3–158. The authors conclude that the planetary symbolism refers to actual planetary phenomena. For the three basic phases, Lowick 1985. A use of Classical forms is attested also in certain local Muslim buildings of the period. On the coins see also Shukurov 2004.
- 211 Brown 1974: 354–55. But the hoard, found at Raqqa, is a less accurate indication of the currency in circulation in the Diyar Bakr than the Mardin hoard.
- 212 Tabbai 1997: 19–48, *passim*. On the caravansarays, p 24, and for the markets p 36.
- 213 See the bibliography in Sinclair 1989a: 212.
- 214 Eminateddin Külliyesi and Cami El-Asfar: Altun 1978: 14–20. Şehidiye Camii, built as a *madrasa*: Sinclair 1989a: 211–12 and bibliography on p 212.
- 215 See the bibliography in Sinclair 1989a: 180.
- 216 Aslanapa 1961; see also the minaret of the Kale Camii, certainly built in 550/1160: Sinclair 1989a: 193, bibliography.
- 217 Bell/Mango 1982: 66–69, 108–09.
- 218 Gabriel 1940: 1.151–57. The city walls: Gabriel 1940: 1.115–25.
- 219 Growth: Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, ed Wüstenfeld: 2.612; mosque: Altun 1978: 79–99; for other monuments and city's condition at different stages, Sinclair 2017: 184.
- 220 Gabriel 1940: 1.62–63; Sinclair 1989a: 233. Mausoleum ('Imam abd-Allah'): Gabriel 1940. 1.79–80: Sinclair 1989a: 238.
- 221 Jacoby 1997: 64–65. On Baghdad indigo exported to Venice, Jacoby 2000: 271–72.
- 222 EI², 'Baghdad', 1.894–908 (A.A.Duri): 901–02.
- 223 Artuk 1970–74: no 1299, 1.426–27.
- 224 Balog 1980: 255, 259, 263. The dynasty minted more at Mayyafariqin/Silvan, but mostly in copper: *ibid*: 255–57, 260–63, 265–66, and for two silver coins 255, 264.
- 225 Sinclair 1989a: 18–30, 32–33, 34–35; Arakelyan 1958: 2.109.
- 226 Aytaç 1999: 229–32. One is dated by inscription to 602/1205–06.
- 227 The road: Miller 1916: 492–93, 735–38; Hild 1977: 86–87; Sinclair 1989: 446–47, 477–79, 492–93. To Elbistan: Aytaç 1997. Eshab-ı Khef: Sinclair 1989a: 485–86, 497. For more on caravansarays and the medieval road, Sinclair 2017: 185–86 and Map 2, p 198.
- 228 On the Roman road, Hild 1977: 106. On Hekimhan and the medieval road, Sinclair 2017: 184–85.
- 229 Mitchell 1980: 49–55. The mound site was excavated before being flooded by the Keban Dam.
- 230 On the road, Sinclair 1989a: 65–69.
- 231 Bridge: Sinclair 1989: 413, and bibliography p 425. Caravansaray: Sakaoğlu 1971: 204–07; Yavuz 1984.
- 232 On the road in the Upper Euphrates valley, pp 53–54, 216, 222–23. Note that, according to Aflaki, Baha al-Din, father of Jalal al-Din Rumi, came to Erzincan from Damascus via Malatya, which would suggest the Upper Euphrates route past Kemah. See Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 1.22, no 14; 1.24, no 16; tr O'Kane: 18, no 14; 19, no 16. It was possible also to reach Divriği from Malatya via Akn/Egin: see Evliya, ed Kurşun: 4.18.
- 233 Yavuz 1997. The present bridge may not be as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century. The waqfiya, or deed of foundation, dated 641/1243, of the Great Mosque at Divriği mentions a Qarya-i Khan-i Mirjinga (a village – Arab. *qarya* – called Khan Mirjinga, the Mirjinga caravansaray) among a large number of villages, both north and south of Divriği, from which income would be derived for the mosque's maintenance: Van Berchem, Edhem 1917: 1.107–10, esp 108 and n 7. This means that the caravansaray must have been built by 1243. The mosque's construction was started in 626/1228–29: *ibid*: 73–74. See also Sakaoğlu 1971: 206–07; Yavuz 2004: 805. The track branching westwards off the Roman road could be seen as a continuation of one coming from Egin, in the Upper Euphrates valley, and even from Çemişgezek: see previous note; n 953 on p 163; Sinclair 2017: 184, 186–87.

- 234 Sinclair 1989: 396–403–4, 406. On the mosque, Kuban 2001; Pancaroğlu 2009. On the citadel, Eser et al. 2015, 2017. Other buildings of the Mengücekoğulları (the dynasty responsible for the Great Mosque): Pancaroğlu 2013: 30–42, 43–53.
- 235 Ünal 1978: 456–58.
- 236 Pp 194, 198.
- 237 Note the short-lived coinage series of the Mangujakid branch at Divriği: Appendix II, pp 343–44.
- 238 On China and India, Labib 1965: 49, 52–53. On the east African coast, *ibid*: 48, 53, 55. The main source of slaves was the Ethiopian port of Zayla*. On Iran, *ibid*: 39–40.
- 239 Labib 1965: 52–53.
- 240 *Ibid*: 55.
- 241 Jacoby 1995: 77–89 on the foreign merchants' activities and organisation; Labib 1965: 25, 30, 33–34. On exclusion from the Red Sea, *ibid*: 29. But note that raids were mounted on the Red Sea port by Franks from the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem (*ibid*: 27–28).
- 242 *Ibid*: 35; DeGeorge 1997: 175–76, 198–99, 216–17. On Italian access to Damascus and exports from Acre, Jacoby 1997: 64–66; *id* 2001: 23, 235–36. On Acre and the coastal trade, Jacoby 2001: 219–23, 225–26, 227, 229–33.
- 243 Labib 1965: 25, 39, 44–45.
- 244 *Ibid*: 30.
- 245 Asbridge 2010: 552–62, 584–88, 606; Labib 1965: 30, 32.
- 246 MacKenzie 1992: 15–17, 94–97 (Fatimid); 32–175 (Ayyubid).
- 247 DeGeorge 1997: 176–78, 181–96, 216, 216–37.
- 248 *Cambridge Modern History of Europe*, 2nd ed: 3.360–61.
- 249 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 5.27, 38; 6.83–94, 106–07.
- 250 Lane 1987: 60–62, 79 (Flanders); Hunt 1994: 44–45 (Florence); Luzzatto 1961: 97–98, 104–9. For a striking example of increased productivity, Lopez 1963: 483. See also *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.162–64, 167–68.
- 251 Jacoby 1999: 29–38 (Genoa); *id* 2000: 268–69, 288–89 (Lucca); 269–70, 275, 276, 277, 278–82, 286, 289–92. Note that these silk industries had in fact been established in the previous period. In the period under discussion silk and cocoons were exported from the Peloponnese and elsewhere to Venice: *ibid*: 272–73, 274.
- 252 See pp 92–94; 63; 66; 96; 106–7. Note how Genoa and Venice, despite their own silk industries, which exported to other European cities, continued to import woven silk from Tana, Ayas, Tripoli, etc. See Jacoby 1999: 22–29; *id* 2000: 284–85. For the expansion of the horizons of European geographical knowledge, partly as a result of Italian journeys to Mongol territory, and a possible taste for eastern goods which such a knowledge might have occasioned, Mazzi 2016: 30–32, 54–55, 59, 62–63 and *passim*.
- 253 Spufford 1988: 146–47, 149–55; Bautier 1979: 306.
- 254 Spufford 1988: 118–28; on Kutnà Hora, 124–25.
- 255 On the exchange, Spufford 1988: 163–36, 170–86, 212–19, 222. Gold mined and minted: *ibid*: 267–84. Silver as payment for eastern goods: *ibid*: 137–38, 143–45. Gold as payment: *ibid*: 211, 222. See also Bautier 1970: 306–08.
- 256 Spufford 2002: 44, 46.
- 257 Especially well explained in Luzzatto 1961: 119–20.
- 258 See the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 3.66–67. For local banking, Luzzatto 1961: 132–33; Spufford 2002: 38–43; Spufford 1988: 257–58.
- 259 See especially the *Cambridge Modern History of Europe*, 2nd ed: 2.355–60; *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 3.68.
- 260 For example Famagusta: n 2, p 188; Tabriz: pp 276–77; Erzincan: p 228. Contracts at Ayas summarised pp 92.
- 261 Spufford 1998: 254–55, 257; Spufford 2002: 34.
- 262 Spufford 1988: 258–59, arguing that banking expanded in regions where the supply of coin was largest. Many technical aspects are clearly explained in Lane, Mueller 1998: 2.293–303.
- 263 Hunt 1994: 39–40. The earliest evidence for bank deposits in Venice pertains to the year 1274: Lane, Mueller 1998: 2.13. Note that there is no evidence for a complete system of transfer banking in the city before 1322 (*ibid*: 2.16–17). On the constitution of the firms and the structure and regulation of the banking industry, *ibid*: 2.42–47, 52–53, 81–84, 96–110.
- 264 See *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 3.70–72, 76–78; Hunt 1994: 76–100; Najemy 2008: 113–14.

- 265 Hunt 1994: 45–53, 55–60, 148; Najemy 2008: 116–17.
- 266 Spufford 2002: 147–48; *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 3.72–73.
- 267 Hunt 1994: 60–61, 63–71, 189–99, 241–42. Here pp 7–9, 58–59.
- 268 Florentine public finances and banks: among many works, Najemy 2008: 133. On the Venetian failures, Lane, Mueller 1997: 2.130–34, and on the causes, 134–40. Mueller puts down the bank failures in part to famine, in part to the decline in the value of gold, in which the banks had some of their assets. He also suggests that the departure of six galleys loaded with silver and destined for the Black Sea deprived them of essential reserves (ibid: 137–40). But the increased demand for silver in the east can be seen simply as a widening of the trade deficit, caused not so much by an increase in imports from east to west as by an inability to pay for the existing level of imports.
- 269 Najemy 2008: 133–35. The Bardi and Peruzzi were finally wound up in 1346 and 1347 respectively (ibid: 141–44).
- 270 On the reasons why no new big holding banks emerged, Hunt 1994: 247–50.
- 271 Crouzet-Pavan 2000: 12–13, 17, 18–20, 28–29, 167. Prices continually rose in the interval 1319–44: Luzzatto 1961: 136.
- 272 Crouzet-Pavan 2000: 151–54, 158–59.
- 273 Ibid: 140–42.
- 274 Howard 2002: 91–96; Lerner 2005: 44–60.
- 275 Goy 1997: 74.
- 276 Ibid: 12–13, 153.
- 277 Howard 2002: 76, 81.
- 278 Ibid: 77–78, 81–83.
- 279 Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 65; Grossi Bianchi, Poleggio 1980: 124–25, 166–67, 169–73, 240–41; 116–22, 176–77 on churches. Guglielmotti 2013: 12–13. Origone 1992: 137–39, 203–8, 212–16, 229–35 for aspects of history.
- 280 Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 48, nos 31, 45, 61, 63.
- 281 Ibid: 66, esp nos 55, 72.
- 282 Balchin 2008: 53; Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 68.
- 283 Grossi Bianchi, Poleggio 1980: 100–19, 185–88; Guglielmotti 2013: 17–19, 70–76.
- 284 Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 68–70, 73; Balchin 2008: 52–53; and cf here pp 110–11.
- 285 Balchin 2008: 52.
- 286 Goldthwaite 1980: 9–10.
- 287 Najemy 2008: 99, 104.
- 288 Friedman 1988.
- 289 Ibid; *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.92.
- 290 Stopani 2014: 37–39/121–22.
- 291 Stopani 2014: 31–32/117–18. 37–39/120–22, 40–42/123–25.
- 292 On this new constitution, that of the “guild republic”, Najemy 2008: 81–87.
- 293 Balchin 2008: 116–17.
- 294 See p 33.
- 295 Gurrieri et al. 1994: 35–43; Luchinat 1994: 49–50, 53–54, 59–61. The baptistery’s doors, 1330–36, ibid: 26–37.
- 296 Gurrieri et al. 1994: 43–76.
- 297 Baldini (ed) 1981: 23–24, 37–38, 40, 42–47, 53–60.
- 298 On the first, Berti 1992: 21–29, 143–72.
- 299 The treaty: Angold 1975: 115. Nymphaion lay in Asia Minor to the east of Smyrna; the emperor John Vatatzes resided at a palace which he had built there (ibid: 111). On the recovery of territory in 1235, ibid: 23, 279, cf 286–95. On the recapture of Constantinople, ibid: 79–91.
- 300 Heyd 1923: 1.428–83; Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 551–53; Lane 1987: 76, 78–79, 128; Balard 1978: 1.43–45, 50–52, 112 and for subsequent agreements 1.74.
- 301 For the establishment of the Golden Horde, Jackson 2017: 142–48. It seems that in the initial shareout by the Great Khan Möngke, parts of Azerbaijan, including Tabriz; Arran (the plain of the river Kur west of the Caspian Sea); and other regions were granted to the Golden Horde; but Hulagu, soon to be Il-Khan, soon seized these areas, probably in the winter of 660/1261–62. The loss of Tabriz and Arran rankled with the Golden Horde khans continually for a century and determined much of their policy.
- 302 On the formation of the Chaghatay empire, Jackson 2017: 148–49, and on its functioning, 187–89.

- 303 On the grant of territory to the two respective khans and the seizure of Azerbaijan and Arran from the Golden Horde, Jackson 2017: 148; for events leading up to the partition, *ibid*: 131–33, 142–48. Ciocyiltan (2012: 59) places the final break between the khans in 1260, and most writers put it earlier than 1261.
- 304 On the relations between the Yuan empire and the three “regional” khanates, Jackson 2017: 183–86, 189–92, 195–98.
- 305 On the site, Karagianni 2014: 367–72.
- 306 Bratianu 1929: 207–9, 321.
- 307 Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 553–6; Heyd 1923: 2.168, 174–6; Vernadsky 1953: 187; Richard 1977: 94 for Franciscan monastery and 159, 235 for Armenian and Greek bishops. 1253: William of Rubruck, tr Jackson: 62, 64; Jackson 2005: 294, 307. 1278: Karpov 1995: 232.
- 308 Ciocyiltan 2012: 159–60.
- 309 Canard 1935: 673–74, 680; Balard 1978: 1.117, 118 n 82.
- 310 Spuler 1965: 392.
- 311 Heyd 1923: 164–66; Bautier 1970: 273, 274; Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 551–53.
- 312 Loenertz 1937: 110, 112–19; Richard 1977: 158 (the diocese extended as far as Saray).
- 313 Richard 1977: 94, 158–59; Heyd 1923: 174.
- 314 Heyd 1923: 2.174.
- 315 Richard 1977: 94, 95.
- 316 Spuler 1965: 84; Bautier 1979: 276; Ciocyiltan 2012: 163–65, 168–73, 181–83; cf 175–83.
- 317 Ciocyiltan 2012: 175–81, 184–85.
- 318 Balard 1978: 1.199–207. For the archaeology of Caffa (now Feodosia), Karagianni 2014: 378–81. For the other Black Sea ports, all minor ones compared to Caffa, controlled by Genoa, Jackson 2005: 305–6.
- 319 The terms of the treaty suggest that Genoese merchants were already developing a commercial base at Tana. See Ciocyiltan 2012: 101, n 177; 154.
- 320 Genoese: Karpov 1995: 233; for the Genoese presence up to the year 1315, *ibid*: 233–34; Jackson 2005: 306. Otherwise Balard 1978: 1.75–76, 151–52 (see also 1.152–54); Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 556–60. Venetians: Bautier 1979: 276. Re-established in 1319. For the state-commissioned commercial convoys, which brief appearances in the documents up to 1322 but are then not mentioned until 1332 (*sic*), Stöckly 1995: 106–07, cf 104–06.
- 321 Karpov 1995: 234–35; Thiriet 1978: 40–41; Spuler 1965: 394–95 and n 43, 397; Doumerc 1989: 252, 255–56, 260–62, 264; Jackson 2005: 304. In 1332 the Golden Horde khan gave Venetian merchants in Tana a charter granting them, among other things, a legal status in the city and the right to lease land. It is thought that the charter put an official seal on practices already established *de facto*. See Ciocyiltan 2012: 196–97.
- 322 Stöckly 1995: 106–7.
- 323 Lane, Mueller 1998: 2.84, 86.
- 324 Balard 1978: 1.154–55.
- 325 Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 559. From Anatolia, Byzantine (?) ceramics : Karpov 2011 : 421.
- 326 Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 558–59; Spuler 1965: 407; Balard 1978: 2.709. See also Fleet 1999: 105. For examples of silver ingots sent in payment, essentially to counter the heavy outbalancing of western products by local goods and slaves sold at this port, Karpov 2011: 422–23.
- 327 Bautier 1970: 314; Berindei, Veinstein 1976: 113, 115, 118, 119–22; Jackson 2005: 307; Balard 2011: 446–48. Ciocyiltan for the suggestion, based on William of Rubruck (tr Jackson: 85–86), that silk cloth purchases from China and Iran covered only the needs of the Golden Horde population
- 328 Suggested for Caffa by Balard (2011: 447–48).
- 329 Spuler 1965: 408; Heyd 1923: 2.188–89; Petech 1973: 172.
- 330 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 300, 382; Lopez 1963: 483–86; Bautier 1970: 288–90; Balard 1978: 2.727–28, 729, 730–31. See also Mazzi 2016: 55. For counter-arguments, Jackson 2005: 299.
- 331 Spuler 1965: 266–67.
- 332 Spuler 1965: 267.
- 333 EI², ‘Saray’, 9.41–44 (T. T. Allsen): 42.
- 334 Spuler 1965: 268.
- 335 EI², ‘Saray’: 41.
- 336 Nn 339 (Greek Orthodox), 340 (Armenian)here.

- 337 Vernadsky 1953: 198.
- 338 Balard 1973: 684. Note also the exchanges of ambassadors in 1340 and c 1341. It is not clear when the permanent Genoese presence in Saray began. Genoese, permanent or not, were arrested there in 1307 (ibid: 683).
- 339 EI², 'Saray', 9.41–44 (T.T.Allsen): 42.
- 340 Richard 1977: 159.
- 341 Ibid: 242, 243, cf 159–60.
- 342 Ibid: 95, 243.
- 343 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.410–11 (al-Hajj Tarkhan); EI², 'Astrakhān', 1.721–22 (B.Spuler): 721.
- 344 EI², 'Ürgenç', 10.892–93 (C.E.Bosworth); Golombek 2011: 136–38; EI², 'Çaghatay Khanate', 2.3–4 (W.Barthold – [J.A.Boyle]): 3. On commercial role, Biran 1997: 64.
- 345 Bautier 1970: 296. For the trading possibilities, Pegolotti, ed Evans: 22–23.
- 346 Richard 1977: 160. Richard argues that the bishopric had existed before 1340. It was still there in 1393.
- 347 1273 attack: EI², 'Bukhāra', 1.1293–96 (W. Barthold – [R. N. Frye]): 1295; otherwise here pp 102–5.
- 348 On Samarkand in this period, pp 102–5.
- 349 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 21, 23. Pegolotti leaves no doubt that Urgench lay on the track Saray–Astrakhan–Utrar–Almaligh (ibid: 22–23).
- 350 Pp 103–5.
- 351 On the city's political history, EI², 'Almaligh', 1.418–19 (W.Barthold – [W.Spuler, O.Pritsak]). On the remains, O'Kane 2004. For a massacre of Europeans in Almaligh, *Cambridge History of Europe*: 2.387. Catholic bishopric: Richard 1977: 160. The bishopric still existed in 1339. See also Heyd 1923: 2.233–35. On the Nestorian bishopric, EI², 'Almaligh': 1.419. For a comment on the route as far as Almaligh, Bautier 1970: 286–88.
- 352 On the problem of duration, Jackson 2005: 296–97. On Kan–Chou, Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.160.
- 353 Richard 1977: 145, 146, 150; Heyd 1923: 218–19; Balard 1973: 685; Jackson 2005: 300.
- 354 Genoese and bishopric: Balard 1973: 684; Petech 1983: 195–66; Jackson 2005: 295. Richard 1977: 150 for an Armenian who constructed a Catholic church and attached monastery in the city.
- 355 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 178–80, 182–95.
- 356 Heyd 1923: 2.94; on the treaties, pp 62, 63.
- 357 Bratianu 1929: 173–75; Balard 1978: 1.134; Heyd 2.96–97 (at the time of the English king Edward II's embassy to the Il–Khanid court in 1292).
- 358 P 17, cf p 66.
- 359 Heyd 1923: 2.96–97; Balard 1978: 1.134–35; Lymperopoulos 1999: 213; but the church given to them was outside the castle (ibid: 214–15).
- 360 Bratianu 1929: 175–76; Balard 1978: 1.136; Lymperopoulos 1999: 214. On the visits of the Venetian state convoys, Stöckly 1995: 106–7, 108. These visits became frequent from 1322, though it seems that during the 1330s Tana preponderated as the convoys' destination. On the locations, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 197–98. The existence of the Genoese in Trebizond was never easy: there were fights with the local population in 1304 and sometime before 1316 (Lymperopoulos 1999: 213–14, 215) and wars and other conflicts between Genoa and Venice (ibid: 217–20).
- 361 Bratianu 1929: 176–77; Heyd 1923: 2.101; Lymperopoulos 1999: 216–17. On the locations, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 202–3. For an indemnity paid by the Venetian authorities for losses incurred on goods being transported along the Trebizond–Tabriz tracks, Paviot 1997: 75. Fights between the Venetian merchants and the local population took place in the subsequent period: see p 114.
- 362 Ciocyltan 2012: 134.
- 363 Bratianu 1929: Appendices 17, 19, 20; Bautier 1970: 284, quoting manual. Bautier 282–83 on contracts for carriage by sea.
- 364 Spices: Lymperopoulos 1999: 206–7. Cloths: Bessarion, ed Lampros: 162; Lymperopoulos 1999: 207.
- 365 Bessarion, ed Lampros: 162; Lymperopoulos 1999: 207.
- 366 Baghdad: p 000. Ayas: pp 94–95.
- 367 For the argument, and more on Bayburt, pp 74, 80, 81, 84, 94.
- 368 Bratianu 1929: Appendices 13, 17, 18; Balard 1978: 1.139; Paviot 1997: 80–81. The chrysobull of 1319, which confirms the Venetian–Trapezuntine treaty, guarantees that gold and silver,

- among other goods, can be imported to Trebizond free of tax: see Zakythinos 1932: 10. On the demand for European gold and silver at Trebizond, Zachariadou 1978: 353. According to one contract, a merchant would have to pay for merchandise at Tabriz or, in the absence of a caravan, at Trebizond. This seems to imply goods arriving at Tabriz, probably from India by sea and then being disembarked at Hormuz; it also implies a merchant ready to travel to Tabriz in order to take delivery of and pay for the goods there. For more on Venetians, Genoese and Greeks travelling to Tabriz, Zachariadou 1978: 352–53. For European coin and bullion imported from Ayas, and for European cloth available there, pp 92, 94.
- 369 Balard 1978: 1.132–33; Bryer, Winfield 1985: 94, with many references. See also Nystazopoulou-Pélékides 1973: 568; Karpov 1991: 470.
- 370 On the local Turkish powers, Peacock 2012: 106–10; Yücel 1980: esp 66–67, 70, 98, 101.
- 371 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 72–73; Papacostea 2006: 3–4 (‘civitas’). Temporary expulsion: Peacock 2012: 109.
- 372 Heyd 1923: 1.550.
- 373 Clockwise: this note and n 377; anti-clockwise: n 375. For the use of *commenda* contracts on the Caffa–Trebizond line, Karpov 1991: 470–73. For the export of the alum of Koloneia/Şebinkarahisar from the port of Kerasounta/Giresun, see Balard 1978: 2.773.
- 374 Balard 2011: 447.
- 375 Bessarion, ed Lambrou: 162 (Phasis and Tanaïs); Lymberopoulos 1999: 206–7, 214–15; Bratianu 1929: 177–78 (years 1289–90); Balard 1978: 1.141–42, 156–57, 709–10; 2.852, 853, 855, 857. Note the volume of goods shipped from Caffa to Trebizond in 1290, around two-fifths of that sent to Pera.
- 376 Balard 1973: no 480, p 186; no 903, p 378 (although Trebizond is here an alternative destination).
- 377 Ibid: no 477, p 185; no 629, p 235; but the alum of the second document cannot have been mined near Caffa; so the ship may after all have taken the clockwise journey around the Black Sea coast, loading up with alum from Koloneia/Şebinkarahisar at Kerasunta/Giresun.
- 378 Peacock 2012: 116–18. Peacock argues from the difficult topography of Sinop’s hinterland and to the succession of caravansarays on the track between Samsun and Sivas.
- 379 Balard 1978: 2.852, 853; fig 69; 857. The placing in Balard’s fig 69 of the total value exported to Samsun and Sinop together wrongly suggests that it is the value of exports to Sivas. Some of the merchandise came via Trebizond or Constantinople, therefore via the Black Sea coasts. For Trebizond, Balard 1973: no 107, p 87; no 740, pp 291–92. For Constantinople, no 740, pp 291–92 again. On the use of *commenda* contracts, Karpov 1991: 470–73.
- 380 Balard 1978: 2.853, 855.
- 381 Jacoby 1997: 82–84; see later.
- 382 Balard 1978: 2.850. For Genoese traders in “Chirenza” or “Chiarenza”, a port and administrative centre near the powerful fortress of Chlemoutzi in the northwest corner of the Peloponnese, Jacoby 1999: 22–23.
- 383 Ibid: 82.
- 384 On the Thessaloniki trade, *ibid*: 83–84.
- 385 Jacoby 2002: 167–74, cf 176–80. In reality the city of Chalkis, then called Negroponte, lay on the mainland shore. It was connected to the shore of Euboia by a bridge, which was interrupted by a gateway between two towers. On the island the fortress of Phouska or Karababa stood on a bluff overlooking the whole sound. For plans and illustrations see Steriotou 2004: 395–98 & pl 17; 388–92 & pl 12; Vasilatos 1992: 57–65; Koder 1973: 69–95.
- 386 Koumanidou 2005: 258; Origone 1992: 136.
- 387 Koumanidou 2005: 257, 258; Saint-Guillain 2006: 155.
- 388 Phokaia: Balard 1978: 1.73, 119, 166–69; Wright 2014: 35–38 (the Genoese Zaccaria made over the lordship to another Genoese family). Note that a New Phokaia was founded, with which the original town coexisted. Chios: Balard 1978: 1.63, 69–72, 119, 121, 218; Wright 2014: 36–38. Mytilene: Balard 1978: 1.72–73, 171. In general see Epstein 1996: 178–79, 184–198, 209–10.
- 389 Balard 1978: 2.857, 858; on the Venetian presence and arrangements, Thiriet 1975: 144–68.
- 390 Balard 1978: 2.724–25 (note the local production of silk until the end of the thirteenth century), 857–58, 859; Fleet 1999: 76, 77, 85–86, 120.
- 391 Jacoby 1997: 83–84, 86, 97–99.
- 392 Ibid: 85–87, 89, 92 (for cloth, 92 also).

- 393 Pp 000–00 and nn Pp 70–71.
- 394 Ilisch 1984: 68–69.
- 395 For sources on the Mamluk acquisition of Malatya, Turan 1973: 191–92.
- 396 The Anonymous History of the Seljuks of Anatolia, ed Uzluk: 67/93; see Sümer 1969: 86.
- 397 Sümer 1969: 68; *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.84–85.
- 398 Spuler 1985: 295; Togan 1953–54: 46. Jalal al-Din, son of the vizier Rashid al-Din, was the director of the civil bureaucracy.
- 399 P 68 and this page, above.
- 400 Göde 1994: 35, 36; Sümer 1969: 92–93; pp 85–87.
- 401 Pp 85, 87–88.
- 402 Sümer 1969: 100, 101.
- 403 Sümer 1969: 92. ‘Ali Padishah put up Musa Khan as a candidate for the throne, and by beating the short-lived Il-Khan Arpa Khan at the battle of Naghatu near Maragha in 1336, succeeded in putting Musa on the throne. Best explained in Album 1984: 61.
- 404 Album 1984: 100; also Album 1985: 73, 75.
- 405 Sauvaget 1941: 159–61, 166, 167–68; pp 70, 254, 262. The citadel was repaired only in 1292, the city walls in 1390.
- 406 Ilisch 1984: 54, 55; Sümer 1969: 39, 41.
- 407 Von Oppenheim 1913: 101–3, nos. 127–29; Durukan 1998: 204–6 for others. For the present remains, Sinclair 1990: 1957–60; Durukan 1998: 197–206. For other Mamluk fortresses further north and east, Sinclair 2017: 188–89, and cf 190 (Besni).
- 408 Ilisch 1984: 52, 69–71, 77–78, 80–81; *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.387–89, 391–95, 403.
- 409 For recent archaeological work which suggests an abandonment of villages near Birecik in the mid- to late thirteenth century, Tuna, Öztürk 1999: 39–40; Tuna et al. 2001: 109–31, 374–79; Tuna, Velibeyoğlu 2002: 83–99, 340–49. For the zone east of the Euphrates, Ilisch 1984: 53–4. Birecik had been captured by the Mongols, and its population slaughtered, in 1259 (Jackson 2017: 130, 167).
- 410 Ilisch 1984: 53; on the seizure, Jackson 2017: 130, 167 (*sic*).
- 411 Ibid: 51; for the Mongol seizure, again Jackson 2017: 130, 167.
- 412 Ilisch 1984: 71, 79–80, 81–82; Turan 1973: 191–92.
- 413 Amitai-Preiss 1995: 49–53, 54–55, 60–61, 77 and esp chs 5, 6, 8–10.
- 414 Forcibly put by Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 104; remarked on by Bautier (1970: 283–84).
- 415 On weight of spices and different routes, Sanudo, ed Bongars: 23. On quality, Pegolotti, ed Evans: 30–31, 59, 370; Jacoby 2014: 267–68.
- 416 Sanudo, ed Bongars: 23 (up to a third of the Mamluk sultan’s cash income derives from customs receipts from trade on the Red Sea route); Pegolotti, ed Evans: 27–28; Ashtor 1983: 57.
- 417 William of Rubruck, tr Jackson: 275. The text indicates that between Erzincan and Sivas, Rubruck went via Kemah, as laid down by the Pegolotti itinerary (ibid: 271–72).
- 418 Cahen 1940: 699, 704, 711. Strictly, a Mongol attack on Syria had taken place in 1244. It predates the Mamluk regime’s seizure of power in Egypt and Syria (1250) and appears to have been aimed at Turkish tribes dislodged from Central Asia; moreover, the attack’s main outcome was confined to Syria itself, where some of the local Ayyubid principalities submitted to the Mongol empire. See Jackson 2017: 84, where an abortive attack on Baghdad in 1245 is also described.
- 419 Irwin 1980: 73–74.
- 420 Bautier 1970: 290–91. Paviot (1997: 72–73) argues that the Italian merchant Viglioni, whose will was drawn up in Tabriz in 1263, must have come along the Ayas route because in the will he bequeaths his goods to the Venetian *bailli* or sub-consul in Acre. The argument is perhaps probabilistic rather than completely valid.
- 421 Pp 170–71.
- 422 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 94.
- 423 Jacoby 1996: 402. For examples of goods embarked at Ayas and shipped to Cyprus, *Notai genovesi in Oltramare*, ed Balletto: no 68, pp 99–101; no 69, pp 101–2 (the latter concerns payment in Cypriot currency).
- 424 For these, *Notai genovesi in Oltramare*, ed Balletto. On Acre as the only destination mentioned, e.g. no 35, pp 47–48; no 44, pp 65–66. On Egypt, e.g. no 48, pp 70–71 (Damietta); no 60, pp 87–80 (Damietta and Alexandria). See also Velle 1983: 95–96; Jacoby 2000: 272; id 2002: 238–41, 249.

- 425 Jacoby 2001: 236–37, 242, 250–51. Ciociyiltan argues that by virtue of a treaty of vassalage agreed in 1290, by which the Cilician kingdom contracted to pay a large tribute to the Mamluk sultanate, the kingdom placed itself in a position of dependence on the sultanate; the Genoese, seeing this as a threat to trade in Ayas, decided to transfer operations to the Trebizond route (: 80, 82, 84–85, 114–16). But, among other things, timing and the volume of trade through Ayas in the 1290s to 1320s count heavily against the argument.
- 426 Velle 1983: 85, 86, 90–91; Jacoby 2014: 262.
- 427 Jacoby 1996: 398–400, 402–3.
- 428 Stöckly 1995: 121–23. As might be expected, the appellation ‘galleys of Cyprus *and Armenia*’ stops in 1338. Stöckly argues that the Mamluk capture of Ayas took place in 1348.
- 429 Balard 1996: 284–86, 261–63, 295–96; id 1985: 255–56.
- 430 Id 1985: 252–54; id 1996: 285.
- 431 Balard 1996: 265, 268–69.
- 432 Jacoby 1996: 405.
- 433 Balard 1996: 258–59; Jacoby 1996: 409, 410–12.
- 434 Lane 1973: 130.
- 435 On the treaties. *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantium*, ed Thomas: 1.47–48, no 26; 173–76, no 85. Otherwise Heyd 1923: 2.80; Lane 1973: 130.
- 436 Ashtor 1983: 44–45, 59, 60–62.
- 437 Ibid: 46–47, 48–49.
- 438 Ibid: 48, 50, 52–53.
- 439 Jacoby 1996: 407–8. Ibid: 404–5 on the increase in the pilgrim traffic in the late 1320s and the 1330s. See Martinez 1984: 138, 139, 145, for a dramatic rise in coin production in the “major provinces” of Iran (perhaps the northwest, north and southwest, including Baghdad) between the period 656–94/1258–95 and the period 694–736/1295–1336 and a fall between the latter period and 736–56/1338–1355.
- 440 Ashtor 1983: 66–68.
- 441 Balard 1978: 1.139–40; Paviot 1997: 77.
- 442 Paviot 1997: 77.
- 443 See pp 114–15.
- 444 Lane 1973: 131.
- 445 Balard 1985: 251 on the merchandise from all destinations appearing there in 1348.
- 446 Jacoby 1996: 422–23. See also p 130.
- 447 See ch 3, pp 171–76, 177, 178–80.
- 448 Pp 180–81.
- 449 Ibid; map B2.
- 450 Sümer 1985. For the positions of the Karatay Han and Pazarören, see Map B2.
- 451 Eretna and probably his predecessors held Darende, which would suggest possession also of the track westwards towards Kayseri, but how far west is not clear. Darende was seized from Eretna in 1337 and again in 1338, which means he had held it before: see Göde 1994: 47, 48–49.
- 452 A contract for a shipment of pepper to Ayas, starting from Sivas, is known: Jacoby 2014: 266 n 5. The pepper must previously have been shipped from Tabriz as far as Sivas.
- 453 P 93.
- 454 Bautier 1970: 318; Jacoby 2014: 276.
- 455 Velle 1983: 83.
- 456 Pp 94, 95.
- 457 *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ed Thomas: 1 no 85; Turan 1973: 74.
- 458 P 66.
- 459 On the citadel and Bayburt’s monuments in general, Sinclair 1989: 252–58.
- 460 Sinclair 2010a: 121.
- 461 On the Seljuk coins, Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: nos 644 (p 216), 693, 778, 817, 837, 852, 874, 826, 886, 929; our Appendix II: 345; Sinclair 2010a: 115–19. On the Il-Khanid, Appendix II: 368–69; p 66.; Sinclair 2010a: 122–23.
- 462 The *madrasas*: Miroğlu 1975: 13, 127–8. In the Ottoman defters, five *zawiyas/zaviyes* and a *khanqah/hankah* appear: one or two of these may have been built in the Il-Khanid period. See also Sinclair 2010a: 121.
- 463 For Bayburt in the Il-Khanid period, Sinclair 2010a: 115–27. For a situation at Bayburt and Erzurum parallel to that in 716/1316, p 253.

- 464 Appendix II, p 371.
- 465 In the context of the city itself, pp 252–54.
- 466 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 96.
- 467 Ani and the nearby cities in the Il-Khanid period are discussed in Sinclair 2011: 181–87.
- 468 Gabriel 1931: 167–69.
- 469 Ed Evans: 19, 29.
- 470 Rashid al-Din, *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, ed Alizade et al.: 3.488–90. Discussed in Heyd 1923: 2.118–19; Rogers 1978: 407.
- 471 Ed Evans: 29. Note that the tolls mentioned by Rashid al-Din (*Jami' al-Tavarikh*, ed Alizade et al.: 3.489) do not at all tally with those in the Pegolotti itinerary. The former are proportionate to the number of donkeys or camels in a caravan. In Pegolotti, the toll is levied per load; by itself this would not lead to a significant difference from the Rashid al-Din formula, since a fixed proportion between animals and loads was presumed. However in Pegolotti the tax varies greatly from location to location. The tax seems to be generally much higher in Pegolotti than in Rashid al-Din's specification.
- 472 Ed Evans: 28; here p 225; identified as “Mughisar”, p 194.
- 473 For two embassies which must have travelled the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, Petech 1988: 174–75, 175–76.
- 474 We argue on pp 268, 271, 273–74, that the officer necessarily roved from one part of his district to another; this may have been one reason why the *diritto* was not concomitantly levied.
- 475 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 182–203; Appendix II: 342.
- 476 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: nos 443, 453, 459, 471, 490, pp 186, 189, 191, 195; Appendix II: 336.
- 477 On these fairs, pp 73, 180.
- 478 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: nos 589, 599, 601, 671, pp 212, 213, 221, 255, 257, 261.
- 479 P 252.
- 480 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 208–28. Our Appendix II, pp 368, and see pp 74, 82. For the first coin at Bayburt, Erkiletlioğlu, Güler: no 644, p 216. Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.97.
- 481 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 239–52; Appendix II, pp 341–42, 343. The classification is my own.
- 482 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 254–62.
- 483 No regularity of metal struck: Kolbas 2006, 197, 207, 208–11. Mints open and close without reason: *ibid*, 218. Weight of dirham not maintained: *ibid*, 175, 198, 199, 204. Paper money: *ibid*, 209–91; similar issues in China had met with greater success: Blake 1937, 318–21.
- 484 Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: 255–62. For the Erzincan and Sivas coins, *ibid*: no 945, p 255; no 960, p 257. For subsequent coins of Ghazan in the same cities, our Appendix II, pp 351, 356–57. For other joint issues further west, Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: nos 958, 967, p 257 (Konya, 699 and 700), and nos 985, 987, p 261.
- 485 On the tribute, Martinez 1993–94: 217, n 3.
- 486 On the reform itself, Kolbas 2006: 313–27; on its implementation in Asia Minor, Armenia and the Jazira, *ibid*: 337–42. Part of the text of the reform edict is preserved in Rashid al-Din, *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, ed Alizade et al.: 3.490–94; Kolbas 2006: 313–21 (for the extant text's incompleteness, Kolbas 2006: 321). The text discusses fineness (*pace* Kolbas) rather than weight and supply. On weight and supply, it must have put similar arguments to those of fineness. The edict (Kolbas 2006: 314) complains of the cost of obtaining money, which probably means the percentage of coins deducted when a given quantity of silver was handed in for minting. For the gold coins, Appendix II: 351, 356.; Kolbas 2006: 326. The denominations of the gold coins seem to have been 1 and 2 *mithqals*: each *mithqal* was equal to eight of the units which ultimately underlay the silver coins' weight standards.
- 487 Pp 67, 73, 97.
- 488 Pp 81, 84, 86; Appendix II, p 371. The prominence of the three cities' mints is discussed in Sinclair 2012: 91.
- 489 P 489.
- 490 Appendix II, p 355.
- 491 P 72; Hormuz, pp 98–99.
- 492 On Tabrud, pp 266–67.
- 493 The reform edict: see translation in Kolbas 2006: 314. Discussion of the new mints in Sinclair 2012: 92–93.
- 494 Confining ourselves to Tübingen and BM: Ghazan: Tübingen GD8 C4–F1 (16 coins); BM: 6, no 93 (gold), two silver. Uljaytu: Tübingen GE9 E1–F4 and others (14 coins). Abu Sa'id: Tübingen GG10 F6 to GH1 E6 (31 coins).

- 495 Ghazan: Tübingen GE1 B2–C2 (7 coins); BM: 6, no 118. Uljaytu: Tübingen GF2 F5 to GF3 A3 (five coins); BM, one silver. Abu Sa'id: Tübingen GH8 C6–E2 and another (10 coins); BM: 6, nos. 191, 93, 196; 1984.5–66–12.
- 496 Ghazan: Tübingen GE1 C4, C5. Uljaytu: Tübingen GF3 A6, B1 ("Ma'dan Shahr"); BM: 1949.8–3–357. Abu Sa'id: Tübingen GH9 A1–C3 (15 coins); BM, two silver coins.
- 497 Ghazan: BM: Add 2. no 111^p, p 99. Uljaytu: Tübingen GF4 D1–E3 (9 coins). Abu Sa'id: Tübingen GI4 B3–D6 (16 coins). The name seems to be connected with *Sasun*, that of a mountain range to the northeast, which forms the south border of the plain of Muş. Armenian tradition connected *Sanasun*, an older form of *Sasun*, with *Sanasar*, name of the son of Senek'erim, king of Assyria. See Hübschmann 1904: 315.
- 498 Appendix II, p 368; other, pp 74, 82.
- 499 Al-'Umari, ed Taeschner: 20.
- 500 On Eretna's independence, see Göde 1994: 63, 64–65. Concerning mine output in the period of factional fighting from 736/1335 to 742/1341, the most productive mine seems to have been Ma'dan: Tübingen GK2 E3–E5, GL1 C4, GL9 C2–C5; BM, two silver. These coins are of Muhammad, Taghay Timur and Sulayman. The coin record at other mines (Samasur, Hani, Kiğı) is very slight, and L'ulu'a seems to have closed. For mining under Eretna, pp 89, 90.
- 501 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 28; Martinez 1993–94: 171; bullion, e.g. pp 66, 73, 83, 94.
- 502 *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed Thomas: 1.176; Martinez 1993–94: 233–34.
- 503 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 59–60, 81–83; Martinez 1993–94: 234.
- 504 Otten-Froux 1988: pp 163, 164–65, 167.
- 505 On the debarcation of silver at Ayas and Trebizond, pp 66, 73, 94.
- 506 Pp 000–00.
- 507 Kolbas 2006: 353.
- 508 Blair 1983: 296–97; Kolbas 2006: 356–58.
- 509 *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.402.
- 510 Blair 1983: 297–98, 310–11; Blair 1982: 211–12.
- 511 Blair 1983: 298–99; our Appendix II, p 346.
- 512 Blair 1983: 308; on the events, *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.400–1, 402–3.
- 513 Smith (1969: 23–27) adduces first of all the need to keep pace with the wear and tear of all the preceding issues; but of course the succession of issues had gradually replaced the currency in any case. Smith's argument that the authorities wanted to do away with the ratio of 1: 6½ between the dinar and dirham is difficult to sustain: one wonders why their patience ran out precisely at this point. And the coins do not, as Smith claims, announce Uljaytu's reconversion to Sunnism; even if they did, this would hardly be a suitable occasion for a weight reduction.
- 514 Blair 1983: 299–302, 310, as A₁; Album's type A.
- 515 Album type B. Blair 1983: 301 (as type A₃). For the overlap, e.g. Appendix II, p 351, Sivas: single dirham of type A, 718.
- 516 Sümer 1969: 82–83; *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.407.
- 517 Smith 1969: 29–32.
- 518 On the type in general, Blair 1983: 302–3, 308–9; Blair 1982: 214 (until 724). On political events, *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.408–9; Melville 1999: 12. For the two mints and sites, Appendix II, pp 371–72, 265–66.
- 519 Spuler 1985: 295. Timur Tash also called himself a latter-day *Mahdi* or saviour. On his governorship, *ibid* and Togan 1953–54: 46. The director of the civil bureaucracy in Rum at the time was Jalal al-Din, son of the vizier Rashid al-Din.
- 520 Sümer 1969: 86; *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.409.
- 521 On the issue, Blair 1983: 303, 311–12; Blair 1982: 214; our appendix II, pp 363, 372. Note that Sivas, not on Blair's list of type D mints (1983: 311–12, n 53), did in fact strike the type.
- 522 On type E, Album 1984: 57; Blair 1982: 219–20. Struck only at Kayseri, Erzurum and Pul-i Aras, i.e. Nakhchevan. On type F, Blair 1983: 303–4, 311–12.
- 523 Sümer 1969: 89; Melville 1999: 12.
- 524 *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.409–10; Melville 1999: 13–18.
- 525 *Ibid*: 5.410; *ibid*: 14–18.
- 526 Melville 1999: 18–28.
- 527 Melville 1999: 29, 35; *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.412.
- 528 *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.91–92; see also Göde 1994: 31–32; Sümer 1969: 90–92.

- 529 Göde 1994: 36.
- 530 Ibid: 36.
- 531 Blair 1982: 221 (as type E). Lozenge on obverse, lobed square on reverse. Blair put the type down to Eretna, but for him it would have been either too early or too late.
- 532 Narin Taghay's rebellion: *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.412. The coins: Blair 1983: 304, 309 (as type E); Blair 1982: 215–16. Note the somewhat changed titulature of coins of eastern Asia Minor: Kayseri, Sivas and eastwards. Blair attributes the devaluation to an attempt by the vizier to pay off the troops after all the internal conflicts of the 720s/1320s. Smith (1969: 29–32, 33–34) established the sudden spike in production and says the purpose of the increase in output was to monetise the economy; however he adduces no evidence other than the coins themselves.
- 533 Göde 1994: 36–40; Sümer 1969: 93. Shaykh Hasan had previously been imprisoned in Kemah (between Sivas and Erzurum on the Pegolotti track), on the false ground of corresponding with his former wife, Baghdad Khatun; he was brought out when the accusation was disproved. See also *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.412; p 225.
- 534 Blair 1983: 304–5. On the increase in production, Smith 1969: 30–32, 34.
- 535 *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.381.
- 536 Ibid: 5.383–84, 386.
- 537 Ibid: 5.387–88.
- 538 Ibid: 5.389, 391–95. Other such episodes which did not provoke devaluations include Uljaytu's campaign in Gilan (1307: *ibid*: 5.400–1; p 83) and the expedition of Choban and his son Hasan against the Chaghatay in 1326 (*Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.410).
- 539 See further Sinclair 2012: 94–96, where in addition to the weight standards the weight of the surviving coins themselves is analysed.
- 540 P 56.
- 541 Melville 1999: 67.
- 542 Melville 1999: 43–50; Album 1984: 60–61.
- 543 On political events, Melville 1999: 51–52, 67–68; Album 1984: 66–67; Göde 1994: 41. On the coins, Album 1984: 61–63, 67–68, 71–72. Muhammad issued a previous type, A, which is rare, and is dated 737. It resembles Abu Sa'id's type H. The weight reduction comes with Muhammad's type B.
- 544 Album 1984: 71, 77; Göde 1994: 42.
- 545 Göde 1994: 43. On the coins, Appendix II, pp 352, 356, 359.
- 546 Album 1984: 77, 84.
- 547 On the coins, Album 1984: 79–80, 81–83, 84–85, 87–90, 92–93. Note that coins in Sati Beg's name were minted in Erzurum in 739 and 740 (Appendix II, p 366).
- 548 Album 1984: 78.
- 549 Album 1984: 101, 102.
- 550 Sümer 1969: 99.
- 551 Göde 1994: 43.
- 552 Ibid: 44–46.
- 553 Göde 1994: 52–53.
- 554 Sümer 1969: 104; Göde 1994: 51–56. That Erzurum and Erzincan remained in the hands of Choban's deputies explains why coins were minted in those cities in the name of the Il-Khan Sulayman in 742 and later, when at Sivas 742 was the year in which coins started being minted in Eretna's name. On the geographical position of Karanbük, n 18 on p 327.
- 555 Album 1984: 100. Coins were issued in Sulayman's name at Baghdad and Jazira/Cizre in 745 and 746.
- 556 Album 1984: 101, 102; Appendix II, p 368.
- 557 Album 1984: 104.
- 558 Appendix II, pp 353, 359, 366, 370.
- 559 Pp 66, 73, 94.
- 560 Tübingen GK2 E3–E5, GL1 C4, GL9 C2–C5; BM, two silver. These coins are of Muhammad, Taghay Timur and Sulayman.
- 561 Samasur: Tübingen GK2 B5 ("Hamasur"; Muhammad), GK6 A1 (Sati Beg). That the mine at Hani, northeast of Amid/Diyarbakır, minted a few coins during this period perhaps has something to do with Il-Khanid policy, but it has to be remembered that Hani lay within the dominions of the Artukid sultan of Mardin. See Tübingen GL9 C6, D1, D2 ("Ma'dan al-Hani"): Sulayman B,

- two 740, one d.b. Kiğī (“Kik”): BM: three Muhammad type B, one Taghay Timur type A, one (1985.2–19–28) 744, 1.68 g, six-point star type.
- 562 Tübingen HC7 A3–A6 (4 coins), beginning 746 (type B2).
- 563 Tübingen HC7 B1–F1 (25 coins), with chronologically even spread.
- 564 See pp 44, 66, 73.
- 565 Retowski 1910: 26–28; Hendy 1985: 522 for the interpretation; the adoption of the Seljuk weight standard was first suggested by Wroth (1911: lxxxv). In Retowski’s catalogue the weights go up to 2.95 g.
- 566 Retowski 1910: 76–79.
- 567 Ibid: 79–104. In the second division the equivalent range is 2.75–2.90 g, tailing off slowly down to 2.65 g; but some at 2.91, 2.92, 3.02 g. (Hendy (1985: 522–23) suggests that the weight standard declined somewhat between Manuel I and John II.
- 568 Retowski 1910: 136–46. On the Seljuk reduction, p 79.
- 569 Retowski 1910: 151–52.
- 570 Ibid: 158–59.
- 571 Retowski 1985: 162–69, suggesting (p 162) that the fourth group is later. On Eretna’s, pp 89, 123; on coins in subsequent decades of the fourteenth century, pp 123–24. In Wroth’s table (1911: lxxxiii–iv) the weights of the Trapezuntine coins follow essentially the same course as those in Retowski. Wroth argued that a revival in Trapezuntine coinage took place under Alexios III (1349–90), implying that weights actually went up. Given Retowski’s coins a stabilisation seems more likely. For more on Trapezuntine coins, Wroth 1911: 232–307; Penna 2002.
- 572 Bedoukian 1979: 108–12 and graph II. On the import of coin and bullion from Europe, pp 66, 73, 94.
- 573 Ibid: 26–28.
- 574 See table on p 94, camlets.
- 575 To lighten the table and notes we shall use the following abbreviations:
 OF = Otten-Froux 1988: 1270s
 Jac 2014 = Jacoby 2014
 Balletto = *Notai genovesi in Oltramare*, ed Balletto (1270s)
 MP = Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: c 1290
 L/A = Lopez, Airaldi 1983: manual of 1279
 Zib = Zibaldone de Canal, ed Stussi: c 1311
 B = Bautier 1970
 BMan = publication of manual of c 1315 in Bautier 1970
 Peg = Pegolotti, ed Evans: perhaps mid-1320s
- 576 Indicatively, 1274/40, pp 55–56; 1279/77, pp 306–07; 82, pp 313–14; 106, pp 341–43. See also nos 73, 74, 101, 120.
- 577 Irwin’s argument (1980: 83–84) that Ayas sent slaves, of some origin or other, to the Mamluk sultanate seems to be invalid. The treaty between Mamluk sultanate and Cilician kingdom which seems to support the argument refers only to measures to be taken if slaves cross from Cilicia to the sultanate’s territory.
- 578 See pp 67, 73.
- 579 Heyd’s opinion (1923: 2.703) was that camlet was normally made of camel hair, but in Asia Minor could mean mohair (i.e. goat’s hair).
- 580 P 66.
- 581 Ibid.
- 582 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 59–60, 81–83; see here nn 502, 503.
- 583 P 95.
- 584 Zibaldone da Canal, ed Stussi: 62; Bautier 1970: 317.
- 585 Zibaldone da Canal, ed Stussi: 108–09.
- 586 Armenian coins: *Notai genovesi in Oltramare*, ed Balletto: 1274/31, pp 40–41; 1277/48, 51, pp 270–71. Bullion: *ibid*: 1274/110, p 151–52. On both coins and bullion, *Notai genovesi ...* 1277/51, pp 273–74; 1277/52, pp 275–76. Otten-Froux 1988: 163, 167; Bratianu 1929: Appendix 13; Balard 1978: 1.139; Paviot 1997: 80 (delivery either at Sivas or at Tabriz). But note that coin sometimes moved back from Armenia or Asia Minor to Constantinople or the Italian cities: *Notai genovesi in Oltramare*, ed Balletto: 1274/109, pp 150–51.
- 587 P 95 for the transport of silver via Trebizond to Tabriz.
- 588 Heyd 1923: 1.550–51.

- 589 Ed Evans: 57–58.
- 590 All Heyd 1923: 1.549.
- 591 Pp 67–68, 96.
- 592 Bautier 1970: 317.
- 593 The much-quoted treaty of 1281 guarantees safety of passage to Egyptian merchants taking slaves from Crimean ports (Canard 1935: 673–4, 679, 680); Verlinden 1973: 738–39; Ashtor 1983: 10–12.
- 594 Verlinden 1973: 739.
- 595 Al-‘Umari, ed Taeschner: 21, 48 on both the Hamidoğlu prince and the frequent visitors. For the history of the Hamidoğlu in the Il-Khanid period, Flemming 1964: 67–70, 72–73, 76–77, 80–83. On trade at Antalya in the period, *ibid*: 70–71.
- 596 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.258–9; confirmed by a later description (Buch 1982: 532, though saying only three sectors) and by the archaeological evidence (Yılmaz 2002: 113–15; again only three sectors). But an analysis of the positions of the standing monuments might reveal, to an extent, where each of Ibn Battuta’s sectors was. For an account of Antalya in the mid–1260s, Flemming 1964: 20–27; 79–80 (*zawāyas* and other buildings).
- 597 P 44.
- 598 Konyalı 1963: 927–34; Meinecke 1976: 2.321–25.
- 599 Konyalı 1963: 802–15; Kuran 1969: 54–55; and for the other foundations Konyalı 1963: 813; Ferit, Mesut 1940: 61–73 and for still others 46–60, 74–80.
- 600 Konyalı 1963: 633–40; Meinecke 1976: 2.341–42.
- 601 The Sadreddin Konevi Camii, 673/1274–75 (Konyalı 1963: 487–96; Meinecke 1976: 2.352–55); the two *maşjids* are perhaps datable vaguely to 1270 or 1280 – Beyhakim, founder of one, was alive in 672/1275 (Konyalı 1963: 333–38; Meinecke 1976: 2.325–26, 360–61). Note also two *türbes*: Konyalı: 416–20/Meinecke: 492; Konyalı: 541–42, 742/Meinecke: 325.
- 602 *The Anonymous History of the Seljuks of Anatolia*, ed Uzluğ, 41–42/63, 50–51/72–73, 51–53/73–75, 60–61/84–85.
- 603 *Ibid*: 67/93; Sümer 1969: 86.
- 604 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.281.
- 605 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.95. For other sources on the city, Krawulsky 1978: 410.
- 606 Krawulsky 1978: 407–8.
- 607 Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 2.792, no 9; tr O’Kane: 552–53, no 9. More details of extraordinary sums made over to the Sufi are in the text. Allowance for hyperbole naturally has to be made. *Pervane*, lit. “butterfly”, title of the postmaster in the Seljuk sultanate, but Mu’in al-Din was more than this.
- 608 Kuran 1969: 88–90; Kuru 1997: 157–71. The *maşjid* does not survive.
- 609 The exception is the Beşparmak Türbesi, dated to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century on grounds of form and style: Kuru 1997: 354–60. Aflaki mentions a *madrasa-i ‘ālī* (“grand madrasa”) founded by the *pervane* (Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 2.811–12, no 24; tr O’Kane: 566–67, no 24). If actually built, this madrasa would have been a project somewhat later than the Sahibiye Medresesi, Sahib Ata’s foundation. But it is possible it is in reality Sahib Ata’s foundation, wrongly attributed.
- 610 Pp 66–67, 73, 78, 80.
- 611 Heyd 1923: 1.75; Otten-Froux 1988: 167.
- 612 Kemah–Aşvan route: p 97. Coins at Çemişgezek: Appendix II: 97–98. On the way through the Dersim, pp 80, 97.
- 613 McNicholl 1983: 3, 6–21, 33, 50–51, 190. At Taşkun quite frequent burials took place in the cemetery (*ibid*: 34).
- 614 On the building, Mitchell 1980: 57–59, 61–62. The excavator interpreted the building as a *madrasa*, but among other objections the building lacks a *mihrab*. The excavator of Taşkun Kale also thought that the whole population of Aşvan was moved to Taşkun, but all we know is that villagers had to move off the Aşvan mound. See McNicholl 1983: 191.
- 615 McNicholl 1983: 33; Mitchell 1980: 57, 61–62. Despite Mitchell’s arguments there is every sign of an orderly evacuation. At both sites very few artefacts were left behind. The chapel associated with the fort at Taşkun was deliberately filled in. The domed chamber at Aşvan was pulled down, presumably for building material, but not as part of a violent attack. Among the very few coins found in either site are ones of Abu Sa’id type G (729–34/1328–35: 1328–32 according to Mitchell 1980: 57–59; cf McNicholl 1983: 17–19). This means that the abandonment cannot have taken place before 1328. On the treaty of 1323, pp 70, 71.

- 616 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.117, 123 on Iran; on the export of horses from both Iran and Arabia, Digby 1971: 29–33. Horses were brought to India also from the steppe north of the Black Sea, generally via Transoxania and the Khyber pass: *ibid*: 34–36.
- 617 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 184–87.
- 618 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 48–51; Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.43 and 48 for date. On the Rafidhis, *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.73.
- 619 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.51–52.
- 620 EI², ‘Shiraz’, 9.472–79 (A.K.S.Lambton): 473–75; Aigle 2005: 103–97. Note the *madrassa-i ‘Adhudiyya* constructed before Ghazan: *ibid*: 151. On the Injuids, *ibid*: 158–97.
- 621 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.50, 71–72.
- 622 Kolbas 2006: *passim*.
- 623 Kauz 2006: 56–60, 62–66. On the rulers of Qays, Jackson 2017: 223–24. On gold coins issued at Hormuz, Kolbas 2006: 242, 259.
- 624 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.117: ‘Curmos’. On the archeological evidence and the geography of the plain, Gabriel 1963: 141–44, 147–50.
- 625 Abandonment: Gabriel 1963: 145–56; Ashtor 1976: 266; Kauz 2006: 51, citing EI², ‘Kirman’. Island city: Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.230–21. On a Venetian commercial presence which may or may not have been permanent, Ashtor 1983: 59.
- 626 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.123, 125.
- 627 *Ibid*: 1.417–47, *passim*; Jackson 2005: 301. For further examples of the route’s use, and for discussion, Balard 1978: 1.139–40; Ciocyltan 2012: 120–21, 126–27.
- 628 On these, Loenertz 1937: 178–81; Bautier 1966: 284; Richard 1966: 354–56.
- 629 Ashtor 1983: 62, quoting RHC Docs Arméniens: 2.553.
- 630 On Ma’bar, Aigle 2005: 143–46, 153; Kauz 2006: 65–66; Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 381–94.
- 631 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 164–65.
- 632 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 101.
- 633 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery & Sanguinetti: 2.8–18.
- 634 *Ibid*: 2.22–42.
- 635 *Ibid*: 2.23, 29–30, 41–42.
- 636 *Ibid*: 2.31.
- 637 Mustawfi (*Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 171) describes a way from Baghdad to Basra, then to the *davlatkhana* of Qays; but his information was probably out of date. On the decline of this route and the dependence of Baghdad on Tabriz, pp 99–101 and *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 2.459.
- 638 On the siege and capture of 1258, Hilli-Elewy 2000: 26–33. On appointment of officials straight after the siege, *ibid*: 33–34. Otherwise see next paragraph.
- 639 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.101.
- 640 *Ibid*: 1.284; Bautier 1970: 283–84.
- 641 Ashtor 1976: 262. On all industries, Hilli-Elewy 2000: 174 and esp sources cited in n 6.
- 642 Kolbas 2006: 160–61, 197–98, 217, 247 and *passim*; Martinez 1984: 121–24, 126–37, Table II on p 125.
- 643 EI² ‘Baghdad’, 1.894–908 (A. A. Duri): 902–03. For the monuments built under the Il-Khanids and now standing, Janabi 1982: 85–110; Hilli-Elewy 2000: 181.
- 644 Hilli-Elewy 2000: 188–92.
- 645 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.133.
- 646 On Mongol devastation, Irwin 1980: 75. Cloth manufacture: Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.100: his phrase ‘cloths of silk and of gold’ is somewhat suspect, both by reason of repetition and by virtue of questionable meaning. Merchants: Ashtor 1976: 262.
- 647 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.135–36; on the ruination of the buildings put up by Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ in the early thirteenth century, Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 102.
- 648 On the state of the city, Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.139. On canal project, Togan 1953–54: 37–38, cf n 131 on p 193.
- 649 For Hulagu to Uljaytu, Kolbas 2006: index. Kolbas (199, 216–18, 256, cf 264–65) notes the large number of issues in which dies, on one side of the coin only, from previous coins of other cities (Mosul, Mardin, Baghdad) were re-used. This re-use is probably to be put down to the local ruler’s inability to find die-cutters able to cut sufficient dies in conformity with the latest types issued in Tabriz. See also Yapı Kredi 1992: 125, 127, 131, 138, 184, 216; Tübingen GD9 E3–E6, GE5 D3

- (Ghazan); GF1 D3–D5 (Uljaytu); GH4 D3–E4 (eight coins: Abu Sa'id); GK5 E6, F1 (Sati Beg); GL4 F5 to GL5 A2 (four coins; Jahan Timur); GL8 E3 to GL9 A1 (ten coins: Sulayman). On Sati Beg, Jahan Timur, Sulayman, Album 1985: 51–52, 54, 57, 67–68.
- 650 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.101 (cotton, buckram, merchants); Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.142–43. For a general description of Mardin in the period, Turan 1973: 190–91.
- 651 Pp 71, 128.
- 652 Gabriel 1940: 66–67: in 752/1351. Note that the same Sultan Sulayman was still alive in 809/1406–07 when the work on the mosque's minaret was completed.
- 653 Before Ghazan: Kolbas 2006: 157 (copper). After Ghazan's reform: Yapı Kredi 1992: 142, 188, 210, 216, 218. Tübingen GD8 F6 (Ghazan; see also Kolbas 2006: 341); GH2 D5–E1, GJ7 E1 (Abu Sa'id); GK2 B6 (Muhammad); GK5 D3–E4 (six coins: Sati Beg); GL8 A6–B4 (five coins: Sulayman); on the coins of Sati Beg and Sulayman, Album 1984: 80; id 1985: 49–50, 000. BM: 6, nos 304–13, pp 104–5; no 321, p 108 (Sati Beg); nos 332–35, pp 110–111 (Sulayman). A coin hoard has been found which illustrates the scale at which coins were minted here. Mustawfi (*Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 104) writing c 1340, said that Hisn Kayfa had previously been a large town, but was now middle-sized. But the remark is likely to be based on a drop in tax receipts rather than on direct observation, and the decrease in tax receipts may itself be a deceptive criterion: see Sinclair 2000: 51.
- 654 Sinclair 1996–97: 105–8; but some aspects of the view put forward there are revised in the present section and in pp 101, 127, 128.
- 655 Coins of Muhammad and Sati Beg, some of the latter issued after the throne had passed to Sulayman: see p 86. Dates 738, 741, 745. Album 1984: 80; id 1985: 48–49; Yapı Kredi 1992: 215, no 827; 216, nos 832–33.
- 656 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 105.
- 657 Barbaro: 49–50. Writing of his visit in the 1430s, he also mentions that the city has declined much; this implies that in the Il-Khanid period the city had filled the area within the wall.
- 658 Ghazan and Uljaytu's first type: Kolbas 2006: 341, 363. Uljaytu: Tübingen GF5 F4, GF5 F5, F6. Abu Sa'id: Tübingen G17 E6–F4 (five coins). Sati Beg: Tübingen GK6 A5. Sulayman: Tübingen GM1 C2–C4; Album 1985: 60–61.
- 659 Tübingen GE8 C4; Sinclair 2000: 47, 49–50.
- 660 Sinclair 1997: 200–8; Uluçam 2002: 183–270; indicatively Karahan, Güzel 2014; Karahan et al. 2015.
- 661 Sümer 1990: 57–59 for this and other aspects of the city's history in the period. Also Krawulsky 1978: 417–18.
- 662 A list of coins is to be published in a monograph by the present author on Ahlat and Bitlis. See n 941 on p 163.
- 663 Sinclair 2004: 682, with references to Karamağaralı and Rogers. The profusion of burials and gravestones comes to an end with the death of Abu Sa'id (736/1335).
- 664 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 101.
- 665 Uljaytu: Tübingen GF3 E1 (715), 91–2–11. Abu Sa'id: Tübingen GH10 E5–F2 (four coins), 91–2–18.
- 666 On the city, Uluçam 2002: 161–81; Sinclair 1997: 275–76. On coins, Uljaytu: Tübingen GF1 D2, GF9 B6. Abu Sa'id: Tübingen GH4 D1, C4, D2.
- 667 Sinclair 2000: 47–50; id 2010. A list of coins is to be published in a separate article.
- 668 Matrakçı, ed Yurdaydın: pl 26a.
- 669 A preliminary paper Sinclair 2014: esp 145–50. A fuller article, containing a list of coins down to the Ottoman period, is in preparation.
- 670 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 208, 297, 300; Matthee 1999: 16.
- 671 On the sector from Marv to Sultaniyya, Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 173–75. Generally, Aubin 1971.
- 672 On Utrar and Almaligh and the steppe route generally, pp 64–65, 103.
- 673 Biran 1997: 20, 23, 33–34, 96–97, 99, cf 25–26, 29–30.
- 674 For the continuation, p 103.
- 675 Biran 1997: 32–36, see also 25, 74–75.
- 676 Ibid: 25.
- 677 Ibid: 32–33; Jackson 2017: 199.
- 678 Biran 1997: 31.

- 679 Ibid: 103.
 680 Ibid: 102; Jackson 2017: 207.
 681 Jackson 2017: 207.
 682 Ibid: respectively 32–33; 57–59; 59, 61–62.
 683 Ibid: 74–75; Jackson 2017: 199–201.
 684 Biran 1997: 57, 75.
 685 Jackson 2017: 201.
 686 Ibid: 218.
 687 See pp 63–65.
 688 Ibid.
 689 Biran 1997: 100–102.
 690 Ibid: 103–5.
 691 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 3.51–52; EI², ‘Samarkand’, 8.1031–38 (H. H. Schneider – [C. E. Bosworth], Y. Crowe): 1033; Çeşmeli 2002: 66, 67.
 692 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 208, 298; Bautier 1966: 291.
 693 Dauvillier 1948: 281.
 694 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.143–44; Dauvillier 1948: 284–85.
 695 Loenertz 1937: 175–76; Richard 1977: 187, 189.
 696 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.126–36; Gabriel 1963: 118–39, 158–65, 172–77, 196–99.
 697 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.231.
 698 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 174, 176; pp 64–65, 103. Mustawfi says ‘Khwarazm’ (translit. “Kh”ārazm”) only. Khwarazm was a flat region spreading south and south-westwards from the Aral Sea.
 699 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 180–81.
 700 Richard 1977: 252–55.
 701 Bautier 1970: 291.
 702 On the route Karabagh–Tiflis, Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 181–82.
 703 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.98, 100. The text suggests production in the villages. The *seta giorgiana* of Italian sources (though not Pegolotti) was probably produced here too. See Bautier 1970: 291, though Bautier thought *giorgiana* referred to Jurjan; however silk was not grown in Jurjan.
 704 Loenertz 1937: 173.
 705 Mustawfi (*Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 182) mentions a direct way through Ahar: possibly a mistake.
 706 Pp 75, 106. As we mentioned, traffic could come from Tiflis through Lori and Ani directly to Erzurum.
 707 Garni seems to have been refortified precisely to protect Erevan. Sinclair 2010b: 183–84 for the coins of Erevan and Garni.
 708 P 75.
 709 For Nakhchevan’s commerce, note the contract drawn up both in Arzingan/Erzincan and in Nakhchevan in 1280: Bratianu 1929: Appendices 12, 13; Bautier 1970: 281–22. On the state of the city of Nakhchevan, Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 89. Bishop’s seat, *Frères Uniteurs*, Richard 1977: 193–94, 217–25.
 710 Pers. Alinjāq, pron. “Alinjagh”; Armn. Alinjak, pron. “Alindzak”, “Alindzag” or “Alindzagh”. The proximity of the fortresses is alluded to by Mustawfi (*Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 89). On the fortress itself, with surviving foundations of a palace, Ayvazian 1990: 58–61.
 711 Bautier 1970: 291; see p 106.
 712 Richard 1977: 178–89, 246, 248–51.
 713 On the coastal trade, Irwin 1980: 77–83; Jacoby 2000: 272; id 2001: 238–41, 243, 249. For the outlet function, p 72.
 714 Ashtor 1983: 27. Note the agreement of 1302 which implies that gold and silver were imported to Egypt. See also Ashtor 1976: 297–301, cf 291–92.
 715 Ibid: 17–22.
 716 Ibid: 44–49.
 717 Ibid: 9–17, 26, 27, 30–37.
 718 Ibid: 5, 8–10, 14–16, 23, 29; slaves, 10–12, 28–29, 38–39.
 719 Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 54–57.
 720 Despite the devastation in sieges by the Mamluk army. Ashtor 1983: 17, 42–43; Jacoby 2001: 250–51; id 2001: 236–37.

- 721 Ashtor 1983: 24–25, 49, 50–51. Silk: *ibid* 23–24. Cloth from Europe: 23, 29, 49.
- 722 DeGeorge 1997: 266–71, 324–26, 331–32, 334.
- 723 Ashtor 1983: 255, 263–66, 341–43.
- 724 *Ibid*: 39–40. Some Genoese lived in Beirut, some in Damascus: *ibid*: 49–50.
- 725 *Ibid*: 40–42; 43–44 for re-export of European cloth from Cyprus to Syria.
- 726 *Ibid*: 45 (cf 9–10), 59. Continued European presence: 48, 52–53. The Pope gave some permits to individual traders: 47–48.
- 727 Contamine et al 2003: 350–51; *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 350.
- 728 Contamine et al 2003: 386–99.
- 729 *Ibid*: 336–42, and 330–34 for explanations, including plague and war.
- 730 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.191–92, 200; 7.110, 156–58.
- 731 *Ibid*: 6.202–3; 7.108–9, 156–58.
- 732 *Ibid*: 7.106–8, 111–13.
- 733 *Ibid*: 352–55.
- 734 Spufford 1988: 343–49. See also 305–08, 310–18 (debasement); 327–29, 331–35 (new coins with low silver content).
- 735 Spufford 1988: 349–51.
- 736 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 7.159.
- 737 *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*: 389–92, 394; Contamine 2003: 355–58, 364–67. For aristocracy, Contamine 2003: 358–59. For Burgundy and Medici, Armstrong 1977; Fryde 1977. See also MacKenny 2005: ch 4 on early Renaissance courts in Italy.
- 738 In general, Spufford 2002: 347.
- 739 Kedar 1976: 5–7, 16–19.
- 740 Crouzet-Pavan 2000: 174–76.
- 741 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.186–87, 202, 207–8.
- 742 On the Black Sea trade, pp 112–14, 125–26. Chioggia: *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.186–87, 206.
- 743 Luzzatto 1961: 159–60; *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.203, 207, attributing the loss of demand to an increase in wages, which in turn led to a rise in prices.
- 744 *Ibid*: 6.202, 206; see 127, 129–30 on arms and other metal goods manufacture in Milan.
- 745 *Ibid*: 7.112–13, 126, 133.
- 746 Luzzatto 1961: 159–60; De Roover (R) 1963: 42–43, 48.
- 747 De Roover (R) 1966: 271–72; Richards 1932: 45–46, 55, 57–59.
- 748 The silk industry in Florence generally, and esp the contribution of non-Florentine workers: Francesci 2000: 403–09, 412–15; Goldthwaite 1980: 42–44. Raw silk from Bursa: De Roover (F) 1966: 237–38; 239–41; Richards 1932: 57–59. Silk cloth to Bursa and other Ottoman cities: De Roover (F) 1966: 272–75; Goldthwaite 1980: 37. Imports from Cyprus and from other Italian cities: Francesci 2000: 410–12.
- 749 Demo 2000: 305–12.
- 750 Luzzatto 160–61; De Roover (F) 1966: 238–39.
- 751 Spufford 1988: 289–99, noting that the only stable currency was Florence's.
- 752 De Roover (R) 1963: 53–68 (note p 60: the bank had money in wool and manufacturing businesses); Najemy 2008: 262–69. Serbian mines: Spufford 1988: 359. Medici decline starts: De Roover (R) 1966: 1963: 358–74. Collapse of silk firms: De Roover (R) 1966: 285; Spufford 1988: 360. For the political background, Najemy 2008: 269–306; 341–404.
- 753 De Roover (R) 1966: 275, 284–85; Najemy 2008: 352.
- 754 Goldthwaite 1980: 38–40, 44–47, 61–62.
- 755 Luzzatto 146–67, 151–55; Spufford 2002: 346, 347.
- 756 Spufford 1988: 287–88, 320; 350–52 (Venetian silver till early 1420s, then gold), 352–56.
- 757 Spufford 1988: 350–51.
- 758 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 7.131–32, 152–53.
- 759 See next paragraph.
- 760 *New Cambridge Medieval History*: 6.207.
- 761 Luzzatto 1961: 140–45, 230–31, 232, 234–35.
- 762 Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 23, 153; for the Ducal Palace, Howard 2002: 123, 124–28; Lerner 2005: 60–62.
- 763 Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 147.
- 764 *Ibid*: 174–78.

- 765 Ibid: 23–24, 142–43, 153.
 766 Howard 2002: 110–15.
 767 Luzzatto 1961: 231, 234; Crouzet-Pavan 2000: 29–32.
 768 Goy 2010: 102–06, 108–32, 227–37. Minor works such as glazing continued in 1434–38 (ibid: 238–39, 242).
 769 Howard 2002: 106–07, and for other palaces 109–10.
 770 Ibid: 123.
 771 Ibid: 77–78, 81–83.
 772 Ibid: 130–32, 133–35 and generally 128–41.
 773 Guglielmotti 2013: 4–5, 43, 45–46, 79–90.
 774 Guglielmotti 2013: 4–5.
 775 Grossi Bianchi, Poleggio 1980: 188–89.
 776 Ibid: 187.
 777 Poleggi, Cervini 2003: 80.
 778 Balchin 2008: 223; Grossi Bianchi, Poleggio 1980: 192–93, 200; Giuglielmotti 2013: 19–20; Poleggi, Cervini 2008: 68–82.
 779 Goldthwaite 1980: 5–6 for these and others.
 780 Luchinat 1994: 11, 51, 55–59; Goldthwaite 1980: 4.
 781 Gurrieri et al. 1994:91–120; Luchinat 1994: 12–16; 61–70. Note the enormous statues carved for the exterior, discussed by Goldthwaite 1980: 7. On the north and west door of the baptistery, Goldthwaite 1980: 8.
 782 Chiarelli 1989; Gaston, Waldman (eds) 2017: many relevant chapters; Rossi, Soderi (eds) 1993: articles on patronage, sculpture, minor arts.
 783 Meanwhile the Nasi family had gained rights over the [old] chapel in 1445, before the construction of the new church had begun (Burke 2004: 63). For the significance of this acquisition, see later.
 784 Berti 1992: 22–23, 89–142.
 785 Ibid: 205–80, 283–312. For another chapel, Burke 2004: 63.
 786 Goldthwaite 1980: 12; Najemy 2008: 315–16, 323, 325–35.
 787 Baldini (ed) 1981: 40, 75–78.
 788 Najemy 2008: 325–35; Lindow 2007: 46–51.
 789 Najemy 2008: 337; Lindow 2007: 45.
 790 Thiriet 1978: 43–46.
 791 Balard 1973: 687.
 792 Thiriet 1978: 46; Petech 1973: 170–71.
 793 Rossabi, in Tracy (ed): 357–61; Fletcher 1968: 207–9.
 794 Thiriet 1978: 46–49.
 795 Balard 1978: 2.721–22.
 796 Balard 1978: 2.726, silk at Caffa from Manzadiani (Mazandaran), Cannaruia (? the city of Karminiyya on the Zarafshan river between Bukhara and Samarkand; possibly Khurasan; Balard suggests the Karabagh plain); Camaria (Balard suggests Shamakhi, the silk-producing hinterland of the present Baku; one or other of Cannaruia and Camaria may be Jurjan); Leggia (?). See also ibid: 2.730 for silk from Afghanistan.
 797 Balard 1978: 2.154–56, cf 75–76. A fight in the city was the pretext for the expulsion.
 798 Ciocyltan 2012: 15, 220–22. On the galley convoys, Stöckly 1995: 109–10.
 799 Balard 1978: 2.205–10, *passim*. Various towers were added between 1352 and 1383. Between 1343 and 1346 there took place another Golden Horde siege of the city, perhaps with the intention of gaining control of the trade. The siege ended in new agreements with both Genoa and Venice. See Ciocyltan 2012: 204–14.
 800 Ibid: 2.207, 211–12.
 801 Ibid: 2.205–6, 208–14, *passim*.
 802 Ciocyltan 2012: 226–36; for subsequent hostilities, ibid: 237–39.
 803 Tafur, tr Letts: 132–34.
 804 Ciocyltan 2012: 113: reference to John of Sultaniyya.
 805 Thiriet 1978: 49–52; Laiou 2002: 2.793; for 1452 and 1455, Heers 1961: 367; see also 368, 369–70.
 806 EI², ‘Ürgenç’, 10.892–93 (C.E.Bosworth): 893; Golombek 2011: 138–54. On the attack, Masson, Pugachenkova 1977–78: 30.

- 807 Pp 64, 104, 105.
- 808 EI², 'Astrakhān', 1.721–22 (B.Spuler): 721.
- 809 EI², 'Saray', 9.41–44 (T.T.Allsen): 43.
- 810 Richard 1977: 245, 246.
- 811 Stöckly 1995: 110, 112; Berindei, Veinstein 1976: 124–26; blockade, p 120.
- 812 See Spuler 1965: 398; Thiriet 1975: 428, 434; Stöckly 1995:113–14. Berindei, Veinstein 1976: 126–27 for other difficulties.
- 813 Doumerc 1989: 253, 254, 257–59; Heyd 1923: 2.379. The first Latin bishop of Tana is known only in 1422; the last was appointed in 1464 (Loenertz 1937: 124, 125).
- 814 Doumerc 1989: 279.
- 815 Discussed by; Heyd 1923: 2.506; Barthold 1984: 278.
- 816 Jackson (2005: 301–04) puts down several other reasons for the decline of the Inner Asian steppe trade.
- 817 Inalcik 1978: 87–88. Non-Ottoman subjects gradually disappeared from Black Sea trade (ibid: 91–110), but it is not obvious that they were excluded as a matter of policy.
- 818 On Hormuz, Ashtor 1976: 276.
- 819 See nn 820, 821 on p 159 for the evidence concerning Tabriz–Trebizond. Balard 1978: 1.137 for silk and spices coming through Trebizond in 1396 and 1400; ibid: 2.733 for a shipment of silk from Trebizond and for another from Ghilan which an Armenian attempted to export from Batum, both in 1402. Cf ibid: 1.131–32; Fleet 1999: 117–18; Inalcik, Quatert 1994: 316, including silk and pearls from the Gulf.
- 820 Thiriet 1975: 348.
- 821 Ibid: 348; cf 172, 421, n 4.
- 822 Fleet 1999: 23, 33–34, 75–76, 101–2, 104, 107.
- 823 Pp 119–20, 125.
- 824 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 203.
- 825 Thiriet 1975: 347–48.
- 826 Papacostea 2006: 4; Bryer, Winfield 1985: 72 (monastery).
- 827 Balard 1978: 1.131, 133.
- 828 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 93–95, with many sources; EI², 'Samsun', 8.1052–54 (S. Faruqi): 1052; Papacostea 2006: 4–5 (probable reconstruction soon after 1424).
- 829 Clavijo (ed Lestrada: 113) saw merchants from Caffa as well as from Trebizond in Sultaniyya in 1406. Fleet 1999: 98 for a merchant from Caffa laying claim to bales of silk in Trebizond.
- 830 Balard 1978: 1.141–42, incl n 83; 2.733, 857.
- 831 Karpov 1982: 201–05.
- 832 Balard 1978: 2.828 n 100, 857; Fleet 1999: 39. On the slaves, Karpov 1986: 142–43. In 1384 Genoese seamen stopped a Venetian ship carrying slaves to Asia Minor (which suggests that other ships, Genoese and Venetian, actually brought slaves to Sinop or Samsun): see Thiriet 1958–61: 1.166, no 683; discussed by Turan (Ş) 2000: 144. For other southern Black Sea ports trading with Caffa, Fleet 1999: 75–76, 98–99.
- 833 Fleet 1999: 23–26, 96–98; Balard 1978: 2.858. On Bursa, pp 119–20, 125.
- 834 Koder 1973: 53–55. The occupation of the middle fief was sanctioned in 1390: it was willed to Venice by its last lord, Giorgio Ghisi, who died in that year. See also Jacoby 2002: 181.
- 835 On the occupation of these places, O'Connell 2009: 21–22, 24–25, 33–34; Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 77. O'Connell puts down the series of annexations more to the weakened position of various European rivals: the kingdom of Hungary, the Austrian empire, the Papacy. In reality, Ottoman forces were already in the region, and threatening Athens and the Peloponnese, by the end of the fourteenth century. Nerio Acciaiuoli, Florentine duke of Athens, was already paying tribute to the Turkish war leader Evrenos by the time Venice took over the city in 1395 (Setton 1948: 193–94, 199–203). Turkish troops temporarily took the city, as opposed to the Acropolis, of Athens in 1397 (ibid: 189). The administration of Thessaloniki was accepted by Venice in 1423, but the city was lost to the Ottomans in 1430: on the Venetian occupation, Necipoğlu 2011: 103–18, and see also Ch 4 and pp 84–102. On Venice's role generally, Thiriet 1975: 172, 243–56, 328–49, 362, 368, 372–80, 383–84. Cf 177, 360.
- 836 O'Connell 2009: 42, 89, 114–15.
- 837 O'Connell 2009: 34–35; on Athens, which remained in the hands of the Acciaiuoli family after 1403, Setton 1948: 210.

- 838 Saint-Guillain 2000: 371–84.
- 839 Fleet 1999: 23–26, 96–98; Balard 1978: 2.858. On the Aegean, pp 130, 131, 115, 116–17.
- 840 Heers 1961: 392–97; Fleet 1999: 26, 39–44, 47–51, 62–70, 77, 81–84, 86–94, 96, 99–101, 121.
- 841 Wright 2014: 174–76, 178–83, 205, 214–15.
- 842 Ibid: 215–16, 217–18.
- 843 Heers 1961: 392–97; Fleet 1999: 26, 39–44, 47–51, 62–70, 77, 81–84, 86–94, 96, 99–101, 121.
- 844 Fleet 1999: 23–26, 105, 114, 120; Wright 2014: 212, 213, 218–34.
- 845 On Chios and Phokaia, next paragraph; on previous period, p 68.
- 846 Wright 2014: 39–40, 78–95. On independence from Genoa, 135–62, cf 162–68.
- 847 Ibid: 135–36, 189–94.
- 848 Ibid: 261–79.
- 849 Ibid: 178, 181, 182–3.
- 850 Ibid: 65.
- 851 Ibid: 74–75, cf 70–72; TDVİA ‘Midilli’, 30.11–14 (M.Kiel): 11.
- 852 Wright 2014: 37–38.
- 853 Epstein 1996: 210–11, 223–24. Epstein describes the contract as a loan by the Maona to the Genoese government to pay for the expense of undertaking the reconquest in 1348. But it seems more like an exchange of the burden and costs of administering the island in return for the tax income, and has elements in common with tax farming. Strangely there was, to begin with, an element of Byzantine sovereignty and obligation: the emperor accepted the Genoese takeover of Chios by Genoa on condition of a relatively small payment. (Wright 2014: 89.)
- 854 Balard 1978: 1.69–72, 77, 123–24; on the Genoese installations, *ibid*: 2.215–17. Note that several contracts for the loading of alum in Lesbian ports were drawn up in Chios: Wright 2014: 174–75.
- 855 TDVİA ‘Sakız Adası’, 36.6–10 (A.Fuat Örenç).
- 856 O’Connell 2009: 69–74, 81–84, 88, 94–95, 126–27, cf 102–3, 104–7.
- 857 Jacoby 1997: 83, 92–93, 100.
- 858 Ibid: 100.
- 859 Ibid: 100–01; Crouzet-Pavan 2002: 88.
- 860 Yücel 1970: esp 33–34, 39–41, 41–43, 45–50, 156–60; see also Göde 1994: 85–126; Yücel 1991. From 1348 an Ahî Ayna is known as amir, acknowledging, at least in form, Eretna and Muhammad, in Erzincan, Erzurum and Bayburt. In 1362 Ayna died and Pir Husayn took his place. See Yücel 1971: 666–68, 669–70.
- 861 Sümer 1967; İA, ‘Kara Koyunlular’, 6.292–305 (F.Sümer); *Cambridge History of Iran*: 5.153–54, 158–68, 173–74.
- 862 Imber 1990: 26–28, 37–42.
- 863 Woods 1999: *passim*.
- 864 In Trebizond, further privileges were given to Venice in 1364 and 1367: grants of land, a drop in customs charges and the promise of a defensive wall to protect the land (Lymperopoulos 1999: 224–26). In the chrysobull of 1364 imports of gold and silver, among other goods, are again untaxed, which suggests an inflow. See Zakythinos 1932: 33. The carriage of goods over the passes between Erzurum and Trebizond was not easy, and in particular was vulnerable to attacks by robbers. Venice claimed compensation from the Emperor of Trebizond for losses, in part from robbers, on the road: disputes over this compensation continued. (Lymperopoulos 1999: 228–33; Thiriet 1978: 47; Heyd 1923: 2.128–31.) But such disputes prove the continued movement of commercial traffic.
- 865 A trading manual apparently compiled in the 1380s which does discuss goods available in Tabriz, weight conversions between Tabriz and Genoa, etc., makes no mention of Ayas. See *Pratica della mercatura*, ed Ciano: 73, 85, and for the date 12, 13.
- 866 Ayas was counted as a *madina* (city) with a *qal’a* or walled area by al-Zahiri in his mid-fifteenth-century survey of the Mamluk dominions (al-Zahiri, *Zubda Kashf al-Malik*, ed Ravaisse: 50). But this means merely that the Mamluk sultanate maintained Ayas as an administrative and military base. Nevertheless trade may well have continued between Ayas and the Syrian ports, even with Cyprus. The first Ottoman tax registers of the Adana sanjak and the littoral of the Gulf of Iskenderun, dated Muharram 928/December 1521, may reflect accurately enough the situation under the Mamluks. One mentions Ayas as a town of nine *mahalles* (wards), one of which was the Armenian. Three of the town’s households were those of European merchants from Cyprus. But

- the total number of households was 235. (TD 110; 93–97.) My thanks to Margaret Venzke, who kindly communicated to me the results of her work on this document and on TD 109. For other cities in Cilicia, p 130.
- 867 On the Malatya–Aleppo alignment, Sinclair 2017: 186, 190. For Besni see also *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Lugal, Sümer: 1.100; Evliya, ed Kurşun : 3.102; Zeyrek et al. 2009.
- 868 Schiltberger, tr Telfer: 34. On growth of city and consumption by the local industry, EI², ‘Bursa’, 1.1333–36 (H.Inalcik): 1334, 1335. The late fourteenth-century phenomenon, including an expansion of the city itself and overland imports from Tabriz, took place rapidly and suddenly, and does not seem to be a continuation of any mid-14th century activity at Bursa, as perhaps implied by Inalcik, Quataert 1994: 219–23.
- 869 On the blockade, Imber 1990: 44, 51–52, 55. On its effects, Necipoğlu 1995. On the Bursa mosque, conveniently Goodwin 1987: 51–55.
- 870 Imber 1990: 55, 62–73; İA, ‘Mehmed I’, 7.496–506 (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı); İA, ‘Süleyman Çelebi’, 11.179–82 (M. T. Gökbilgin); note also the book by Kastiris (1996) on the civil war.
- 871 See, for example, Heers 1961:380–1.
- 872 De La Brocquière, ed Schefer: 135.
- 873 EI², ‘Bursa’, 1.1333–36 (H.Inalcik): 1334.
- 874 Goodwin 1987: 59–70.
- 875 De La Brocquière, ed Schefer: 134, 135.
- 876 Pp 113–14; EI², ‘Harir’, 3.209–21, sect. ii (H.Inalcik): 213; Faroqhi 1995: 119–20, 124.
- 877 P 120.
- 878 Mosques and masjids: Öney 1971: 25–55, 94–95, 136–37, 149–52. Note that the number of buildings dated by inscription is small: the others are dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century by stylistic resemblance. Hamams: Bakırer, Madran 1971: 107–30.
- 879 Borie et al. 1991: 240–42, 244–45.
- 880 Açıkel 2001: *passim* from p 233.
- 881 Astarabadi, *Bazm u Razm*, ed Köprülü: 342; Turan 1947: 214–15.
- 882 EI², ‘Sīwās’, 9.689–91 (S.Faroqhi): 690. In the first tax census of 1455, there were found to be 560 taxpaying households, while by 1574–75 the number had risen to 3,386.
- 883 Gökbilgin 1965: 52–53.
- 884 EI², ‘Harir’, 3.209–21, sect II (H.Inalcik): 212. On this account the city was attacked by Uzun Hasan the Ak Koyunlu in 877/1473.
- 885 Pp 115, 120.
- 886 TDVİA, ‘Taceddinoğulları’, 39.343–45 (S.Kofoğlu).
- 887 Woods 1999: 68.
- 888 For Mamluk decrees in inscriptions at Divriği, Van Berchem, Eldem 1917: 69–70, 92–94, 95–96. The earliest date is 854/1450, the latest apparently 894/1489. For a republication of one inscription, Sauvaget 1947–48: 52–55.
- 889 On this line, pp 53–54, 97, 216, 222–23.
- 890 See pp 80, 97. For the dynasty etc., p 129.
- 891 Clavijo, ed Lestrada: 89–90.
- 892 This was the *TabPeut*’s route: Miller 1916: 674–75.
- 893 Hinz 1950: 190, 197–98.
- 894 P 115, and see n 290.
- 895 See esp Clavijo’s remark that the city was sadly depopulated (ed Estrada: 96). Otherwise, pp 252–53.
- 896 On these matters, pp 000 and 000.
- 897 Barbaro: 84.
- 898 On this alternative and other routes, pp 000–00.
- 899 Capture in 1394: p 263. Ladies: Khandamir, *Habib us-Siyar*, ed Husayni: 1.505–6, 515. Compare the visit of Mutahharten and the Ak Koyunlu Kara Osman to Timur at Avnik in 1402: *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Lugal, Sümer: 47–48.
- 900 For examples, Sümer 1969: 82, 102–3.
- 901 See Sinclair 2010b: 187–1.
- 902 Pp 271–74.
- 903 For Ani, other settlements and the route, Sinclair 2010b: 190–95. On Julfa, Ayvazian 1990: 61–66. For a commercial privilege granted to Julfa in 857/1453 by Jahan Shah the Kara Koyunlu sultan,

- Busse 1959: 149–50. Variants on the course between Erzurum and Julfa just delineated were possible, of course. In 1404, Clavijo, instead of turning northeast to Kars and Ani, followed the winding, enclosed and insecure Aras valley from the east end of the Basean plain to the wider vale of Surmari (Clavijo, ed Lestrada: 97–98 and the continuation, 99–103). From Ani, the way past the two caravansarays in the plain of Erevan to the now growing city of Erevan was still available. On Bayazid, Sinclair 2003: 155–58, 160–73; see reference to Edwards, *ibid* 155, n 56. On Maku, EI², ‘Maku’, 6.200–203 (V.Minorsky): 202.
- 904 Pp 83–89, 91.
- 905 P 117.
- 906 See Appendix II: 363.
- 907 Inalcık 1993: 186, cf 185; EI², ‘Harir’, 3.209–21, sect ii (H. Inalcık): 215.
- 908 Lapidus 1967: 22. In the second period, Aleppo outpaced Damascus and attracted more investment in religious and commercial establishments than the other city.
- 909 Ashtor 1983: 184, 198–9, 253.
- 910 P 000.
- 911 On these, Janabi 1982: 113–46, 149–59; Blair 1996: 59.
- 912 Blair, Bloom 1995: 31–34; *Cambridge History of Iran*: 6.68, 69.
- 913 *Cambridge History of Iran*: 6.67, 68.
- 914 Sinclair 1989a: 203–206, with references; for other buildings, *ibid*: 208–14, *passim*.
- 915 Ashtor 1983: 323–24, 397. Ashtor 1976: 276 for an Italian residing in Basra. On the coastal cities, p 126.
- 916 Barbaro: 31.
- 917 Clavijo, ed Lestrada: 112, 114. The silk came from Gilan and Shamakhi, respectively on the south and southwest coasts of the Caspian Sea, and woven silk from centres near Shiraz.
- 918 Sauvaget 1941: 164–65.
- 919 Ashtor 1983: 326–27, 397, 427, 428, 461–2, cf 325.
- 920 Jacoby 1996: 423–24, 431–37, 439–40, 442, 443. Note an increased interest in Cyprus on the part of Venice in the decades before the republic’s seizure of the island in 1492. Cypriot products themselves continued to be exported to the west: *ibid*: 443, 446–48, 449–51, 452–53.
- 921 Lapidus 1967: 25–27, cf 29, 30 and Ashtor 1983: 251.
- 922 Lapidus 1967: 37–38; Sauvaget 1941: 166–8, 175.
- 923 Sauvaget 1941: 164–5; Ashtor 1983: 323–4.
- 924 Ashtor 1978: 323, 324, 397, 461. The Venetian fort at Payas, to the northwest and the other side of the Amanus range from Aleppo, betrays the inception at some point of commercial activity at the harbour here, but possibly not before 1500. On the fort, Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 106; Sinclair 1990: 276.
- 925 Sinclair 1990: 103–6; for the date, Von Oppenheim 1913: 107–8.
- 926 Great Mosque: Von Oppenheim 1913: 106; Durukan 1998: 40–55. Smaller mosque: *ibid*: 56–63.
- 927 On the citadel, Sinclair 1990: 10–12. Mosque: Gabriel 1940: 1.355; Sözen 1981: 57–59.
- 928 Sinclair 1989a: 203–06; Meinecke 1992: 2.143–49. It is thought that the Kasım Paşa Medresesi was started simultaneously or somewhat later than the other, and that its construction was interrupted by the siege of the city in 1394 by Timur’s troops and left unfinished thereafter.
- 929 Kara Koyunlu capture: Sümer 1967: 79–80. On the Ak Koyunlu, Woods 1999: 52, 59, 64, 80, 82, 157, 163–64.
- 930 Artuk 1993: 123–28. Note the paucity of the silver issues and the paucity of examples known in each issue.
- 931 From the Tübingen collection: the Kara Koyunlu Kara Yusuf and his son Pir Budaq, or the latter alone (c 813–14/1410–12): HE5 C2, HF1 C5, C6. Iskender (823–41/1420–38): HE7 F4–F6; HF7 F3, F4; HE8 A1–A5. The Ak Koyunlu Hamza (in Mardin 1432–44): HF2 C1, B5, B6, C2; 90–38–29, 92–28–110, 97–30–36, –37, 2002–20–1621. Jahangir: HF2 C6; 90–25–55, 91–2–22, 92–11–126, 92–22–127, 2002–20–1625 to –27. Ya‘qub (sultan of Ak Koyunlu empire as a whole, 883–96/1478–90): HF7 D1–D5; 93–38–150. Rustam (sultan of Ak Koyunlu empire as a whole, 898–902/1493–97): HG2 A3–B5; 92–11–145. Kasım (in Mardin 903–8/1497–1502): HG8 A6, 96–3–3. And sundry coins in the names of Jahan Shah Kara Koyunlu, Shah Rukh the Timurid, Uzun Hasan, Nur ‘Ali.
- 932 Barbaro: 48.
- 933 Honigmann 1954: 167, no 17. Fortified: Sümer 1967: 90.

- 934 Woods 1999: 88. See also Ibn 'Arabshah, *'Aja'ib al-maqdur*, ed Kabir: 245, an account of the return of a detachment of Timur's army from Mardin to Samarkand in 1394. They return via Savur, and no mention is made of any city thereafter until Ahlat.
- 935 Great Mosque: Gabriel 1940: 61. The restoration was continued afterwards, as is shown by an anonymous inscription of 798/1396: *ibid*: 61, no 25. Second mosque: *ibid*: 69, 308–9, no 34. The date lies within Sulayman's reign (780–836/1378–1433) but cannot be pinned down more exactly. For other projects, Schneider 2012: 128.
- 936 The Jami' al-Rizq. Gabriel 1940: 65–66; 306–7, no 27. For the preceding reconstructions, Schneider 2012: 128–29.
- 937 Gabriel 1940: 68–69. During the Ak Koyunlu occupation of the city and the upper Tigris basin generally, what appears to be a shaykh's tomb was repaired in 878/1474: see Gabriel 1940: 79–80; 309, no 35. The inscription says it was repaired by Khalil, son of Hasan, [son of] 'Ali, son of 'Uthman: the restorer was therefore Khalil, son of Uzun Hasan. Gabriel (1940: 80) puts the restoration down to 'Ali, son of 'Uthman, and puts the date at 883, which on the other hand he equates also with 1474. An economic as well as stylistic connection with Iran is betokened by the construction of the tomb of Zaynal, son of Uzun Hasan, in the late 1470s, in a shape and style directly imported from Iran. (Gabriel 1940: 80–81; 309, no 36.)
- 938 Barbaro: 49.
- 939 Barbaro: 49–50.
- 940 Siirt was also the point of departure for another, more direct way which ploughed up through the Taurus foothills and buttresses to join the track in the Bitlis valley at Dukhan.
- 941 The coins: mainly in Tübingen, ANS, Tabataba'i. A full list will be published in a monograph on Ahlat and Bitlis.
- 942 Both mosques and monasteries in Sinclair 2001: 106–7. Monasteries: Thomson 2001: 109.
- 943 T'ovma Mecobec'i, ed Şahnazarean: 49.
- 944 *Ibid*: 58–59; cf 69. For the date, see discussion in Sinclair 2010.
- 945 Minor Chronicles, ed Hakobyan: I.143 (Anon. Chron.).
- 946 Sinclair 2010: 799–80, in which the aforementioned reconstruction work on churches is also discussed; see there also for the building of a *zawiya* by Kara Yusuf.
- 947 Sözen 1971: 43–47, 48–51, 52–54, 117–19.
- 948 Hinz 1950: 190.
- 949 Çemişgezek: see the coins in the name of the Eretnid 'Ala al-Din 'Ali: Appendix II: 364. Mosque: Sinclair 1989a: 70–72, 91. Further north the way passed through the village of Kismisor, now officially Günbağ. In the sixteenth century the village was a stopping-place (*menzilgâh*) for soldiers and travellers coming from the Diyar Bakr. Here was a bridge called Başköprü ("Head-Bridge"). See Miroğlu 1990: 119. The Erzincan bridge: p 188. For a fort between Erzincan and Çemişgezek, *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Lugal, Sümer: 1.94. Mamluk attack of 1438: Woods 1999: 68. This route is discussed in Sinclair 2017: 190–91.
- 950 Conveniently Sinclair 1989a: 56–58, 60–61, 68–61.
- 951 Hinz 1950: 197–8.
- 952 Özergin 1965: 157, no 83.
- 953 Barbaro (84) seems to have passed through Arapkir in 1478 on his journey between Erzincan and Harput, but it is mysterious why he also mentions Çemişgezek. But it was possible to pass between Çemişgezek and Arapkir, crossing the Upper Euphrates by a bridge: see Kamaxec'i, ed Nşanean: 359, and cf 161, 162; Sinclair 2017: 186–87.
- 954 Miroğlu 1990: 151–53. The buildings are named after rulers known from the period, whose authority was limited to Kemah or else extended to a somewhat wider area, for example, Mutahharten.
- 955 Heers, 1961: 379–80, 382; Inalcik 1960: 132–7, 141–2 (1479–81).
- 956 Heers 1961: 382–4 (both routes); Inalcik 1960: 139–40 (Lvov).
- 957 Discussed by Inalcik 1960: 142, on the basis of De La Brocquière.
- 958 Al-Zahiri, *Zubda Kashf al-Malik*, ed Ravaisse: 50–51 (Tarsus, *sur* and *qal'a*; Adana); Barbaro: 46–47; see also EI², 'Adana', 1.182–84 (Fr.Taeschner): 183..
- 959 Alişan 1885: 393–94. Note the capture of Ayas in 1470 by the Dulğadır and in 1473 by Venice. Yinanç 1989: 69; Alişan 1885: 394. Nevertheless it is hard to disentangle the effects of the inter-regional trade (Aleppo to Bursa) from the more local trade with Cyprus which was still carried on: see n 866 on p 160.
- 960 Heers 1961: 370–71, 373–74; Verlinden 1973: 740–44.

- 961 The Piloti manual, discussed by Verlinden 1973: 745.
962 Piloti, *Traité*, ed Dopp: 60, 62; Fleet 1999: 35, 97, 100.
963 Inalcik 1960: 143–47.
964 Piloti, *Traité*, ed Dopp: 60, 63; Fleet 1999: 98. In the post-Mongol period, Antalya continued to be held by the Hamidoğlu, after which for a short period before the Ottoman conquest of 1400 it was in the hands of the Teke dynasty: Flemming 1964: 83–92, 101–22.
965 Ashtor 1983: 66–68, 73–88. Note the additional Papal licences granted after 1370: *ibid*: 103–14.
966 *Ibid*: 164–73.
967 *Ibid*: 136–51, 216–36.
968 *Ibid*: 164–80; 268–69, 462–66. See also Jacoby 1996: 424–25, 427, 440, 445–46 for the export of Cypriot products which successfully competed with the equivalent Egyptian goods.
969 *Ibid*: 114–30, 216–36. See 364–65 for role of Crete and Rhodes.
970 Lopez et al. 1970: 116–17.
971 Ashtor 1976: 305; Lopez et al. 1970: 124–26.
972 Ashtor 1976: 306–10; Lopez et al.: 116–17, 122, 123, 126–28.
973 Ashtor 1976: 323–25.
974 Lopez et al. 1970: 124–25; Ashtor 1976: 323–24.
975 Lopez et al. 1970: 116–17.
976 Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 57–63.
977 Degeorge 1997: 284–85, 286, 325–26, 334–36.
978 Ashtor 1983: 396–97 among others.
979 Degeorge 1997: 326–31, 343–49.
980 Degeorge 1997: 271–83, 291–94, 313–16.
981 Ashtor 1983: 253–54.
982 *Ibid*: 253, 461.
983 *Ibid*: 114–30; 216–36; 311–31, 331–36; 461–512.

Part B

THE Ayas-Tabriz Itinerary



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3 Ayas to Sivas

Stations on the itinerary:

Laiazza

Colidara: diritto (transit tax), 41 aspers [dirhams] per load carried by an animal¹

Gandon: diritto, 20 aspers per load; 3 aspers per load for the guarding of merchandise

Casena: diritto, 7 aspers per load

gavazera dell'amiraglio: diritto, 2 aspers per load

gavazera del soldano: diritto, 2 aspers per load

Gadue: diritto, 3 aspers per load

gavazera di casa Giacomo: diritto, 3 aspers per load

Salvastro (Sivas): diritto, 1 asper per load at entry into the city, 7 aspers per load at exit.

A. Famagusta and Ayas

Famagusta lay on the east coast of Cyprus, not far north of the island's southeast corner. Before the capture of the Crusader ports, especially Acre, by the Mamluks, the chief trading port in Cyprus had been Limassol; Limassol's geographical position was well suited to the continuation of journeys towards the Levant ports. Famagusta's position was owed to the capture of these ports and to the consequent orientation of trade towards Ayas on the Cilician coast. The two ports of Famagusta and Ayas should be considered together, which is not to say that every ship which called at Ayas had previously docked at Famagusta. The links between the two were mainly commercial, but other factors, mainly of a personal nature, bound the two cities together.²

1. Famagusta

Famagusta appears to have overtaken Limassol as the pre-eminent trading city of Cyprus around 1300.³ Even in the first decades of the fourteenth century the Italian trading cities still had communities in Limassol and Nicosia, and in Paphos or nearby.⁴ Nevertheless in the 1320s and 1330s, Famagusta undoubtedly handled the lion's share of Cyprus' foreign trade; it was here that the foreign merchant communities were far the most populous and various; here also the Italian and other foreign cities invested much the most heavily in churches, monasteries, communal houses, warehouses, etc.

In 1310 new walls, a citadel and a royal palace were finished,⁵ and the city took, in essence, its final form. At the exact point where the city was founded, the coast ran from southwest to northeast. The new walls, taking very roughly the form of a rectangle lying

along the coast, were built on naked rock. Immediately in front of the wall and its round-fronted towers was dug a deep ditch.⁶ Of the sides of the city wall enceinte, the southwest one travelled inwards from the coast for about a kilometre. The walls on the northeast were somewhat shorter, which meant that the basic rectangle of the city's walls was somewhat funnelled out from the northeast towards the southwest. The citadel was a small square enclosure on a bluff at the city's east corner, exactly where the northeast wall made contact with the coast. The walls continued along the sea front, fronting the harbour and, further to the southwest, enclosing the dock.⁷ There were settlements outside the walls, especially outside the Limassol gate to the southwest; in at least one of these was a church, that of St. Michael, in which artisans, widows and others were buried, but these extramural settlements appear to have been small.⁸

Within the city, the principal points of reference, in the centre of the walled area, were the king's palace, the square in front of it and the cathedral to one side of the square. The square stretched from the palace's southeast side, i.e., towards the sea; the magnificently decorated cathedral lay near the square's northeast side; from the cathedral's west front opened a small subsidiary square.⁹ The palace and its square appear to have determined the layout of the main streets. One street led southeast towards the dock; another, on which lay the foreign merchant communities' houses and *loggias* (community houses, in which courts etc. sat and other public business was done), warehouses and private houses, northwards towards the city wall's northerly angle. However, the palace would appear to have replaced some other building or complex (possibly a citadel or free-standing castle) which, earlier, had at least played a role in the positioning of the city's principal streets.

Palace and principal streets apart, the city within the walls was composed, essentially, of a honeycomb of wards, each clustered round a church and sometimes also round a concentration of shops, which might share a specialism (knifemakers or butchers, for example). The wards were separated from one another by gardens.¹⁰

In the immediate vicinity of the palace, cathedral and square were built a number of churches and monasteries, mostly belonging to the church of Rome or to one of the Catholic orders. Just north of the palace stood the church and monastery of the Franciscans. The monastery and church of SS. Peter and Paul stood west of the palace. Of this central group of churches, only that to the south of the square, the metropolitan church of St. George, belonged to the Orthodox church. A royal hospital is known, and this was perhaps built near the palace and central square. A monastery of the Dominican order was built somewhere towards the northerly end (i.e. towards the walls) of the street leading northwards from the square.¹¹ Several other churches and monasteries are known, but their positions are not. The two principal knightly orders, the Hospitallers and Templars, each had a house and presumably a church.¹²

The shallow harbour, closed off by a chain, was in fact accessible only to small boats, and it was these which drew up at the quay. At the southwestern end of the harbour was a dockyard. Behind the sea gate, which allowed access to the sea from within the city walls, were the customs office and the hospital of St. Anthony, different from the royal hospital and belonging to the Genoese.¹³

On the long street leading northwards from the central square, the Genoese, Venetians and Pisans each had their community house and *loggia*. A chapel of the Genoese, attached to their *loggia*, is known. The Genoese also had, somewhere, a 'fondicus' (Ital. *fondaco*) or lockable building containing individual warehouses, and there were many warehouses along the covered street.¹⁴ More than 100 private houses of Genoese families are known, let alone the merchants of other cities. The two great Florentine banking houses, the Bardi and

Peruzzi, and others such as the Mozzi, had at least a permanent representation in the city. The banking houses' activities were not confined to banking: they engaged also in the transport of goods, such as wheat, from western ports, and of other goods in the opposite direction. Despite the Florentine banking firms' trading privileges (the principal one of which was a partial exemption from customs duties) it is worth noting that no evidence of their physical location in the city, or for their ownership of houses, warehouses, etc., is known.¹⁵

That the foreign merchants' public and private property, including warehouses, lay along a street at some distance from the harbour and customs houses is hardly a coincidence. The foreign communities were allowed to buy property here just because the street lay at a distance from the harbour. To go from the harbour to one of the *loggias*, warehouses or private houses, the foreign merchants had to pass in front of the palace, through the central square. At the same time, the foreign communities were precluded from forming a base adjacent to the harbour, which might then become inaccessible to and beyond the control of the kingdom's authorities.

Up to the mid-1340s, Famagusta maintained its remarkable commercial vitality. The need for an intermediate point such as Cyprus on the way between one of the western mercantile cities and the Levant ports still existed. And the closure of Ayas as an international port and of the first leg of the Ayas–Tabriz route augmented the value of the more direct avenue to the Levant ports and therefore of Cyprus as an intermediate stop.¹⁶

It was after the mid-1340s that Famagusta declined. The decline was due in part to a relaxation of the Vatican's attitude towards direct commerce with the Mamluk sultanate, which made it easier for ships to sail to Levant ports without stopping at Famagusta.¹⁷ But the loss of business was also due to the Genoese' treatment of merchants from other states: for example, damages and other debts owing were not paid; merchants complained of the corruption of Genoese officials.¹⁸ Genoa was granted the administration of the city in 1374 (though at this stage sovereignty was retained by the kingdom of Cyprus) and full sovereignty over it in 1382.¹⁹ The non-Genoese merchants simply chose other destinations and courses, principally the line between Rhodes and Alexandria. On the other hand, the city of Genoa made Famagusta a compulsory stop for its own merchants en route for Syria, and after 1383 forbade trade through the other Cypriot ports.²⁰ Because of Genoa's maltreatment of other merchants, and despite its own insistence that Genoese merchants call here on the way to Syria, Famagusta declined catastrophically after 1383 and by the time of the Venetian takeover in 1489 the city was ruined and empty.²¹

2. *Ayas*

The port and associated settlement lay on the east side of the Cilician coast, which as a general direction runs roughly northeast to southwest. The coast here, however, forms a corner, one side of which comes southwards and the other, after a right angle, returns in a westerly direction. The city's limited walled area lay in the southeast angle of the corner. To the east of the walled area extended the harbour, protected by a mole; to the west, on an uneven shelf of land, spread the houses, warehouses, *loggias*, churches, etc. of the foreign merchant communities.

The broad shelf inhabited by the foreign merchants in fact lay at the southerly end of an elevated plateau, the site of Aigaiai, a city of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The plateau is cut off by the coast in an east–west line. Running against the plateau's east side is a ribbon of flat land. Northwards from the walled area stretched a beach which was occasionally used for landing cargo. A river flowing alongside the walls separated the walled area from

the unwallled residential and commercial district on its elevated shelf. Further west again, the land takes the form of an uneven coastal plain.

From the walled area's southeast corner a mole extended eastwards, then curved round to progress northwards. The harbour, which included repair docks for ships, was thus protected from winds and waves coming from the south and east generally. At the mole's northern tip, protecting the entrance to the basin created by the mole, lay a small fort on an island.²²

If the land enclosed within the walls was slight in extent, the walls themselves were powerfully designed. The history of attacks on the city, including the Mamluk assault of 1322, shows both the need for strong defences and the effectiveness of those actually built. The exact line followed by the walls, which were defended by the horseshoe-shaped towers typical of Cilician Armenia, effected the enclosure of the largest possible area within them; their southerly and easterly stretches followed the angle of the coast, while inland the walls' course was bowed outwards.²³

Within the walls, certainly, were the court and residence of the king. It has been surmised that these lay towards the west, i.e. towards the quarter outside the walls where all the foreign merchants lived and did business.²⁴ Probably, too, part of the bureaucracy, which collected taxes and was otherwise concerned with the international transit trade, worked within the court and the king's residence. Among the officials were a treasurer ('*Canzelarius*') and a '*Dragomanus Curie*', presumably the court's interpreter. We know of a customs house, but not its position within the whole settlement, and of a customs director; there was also a royal warehouse. In the '*Consules de Mer*', the court possessed an intermediary with the foreign merchants and with sailors.²⁵ Besides the accommodation for these officers and other personnel the walled area must have included ordinary civilian housing, shops, churches, etc. The whole walled area was administered by a governor.²⁶ The city's Armenian population and the presence of the royal court were the rationale for the Armenian bishopric of Ayas that is known from the mid-thirteenth century at least up to the year 1331.²⁷

On the shelf of land adjacent to the walled area, and connected to it by bridges over the river, lay the unwallled commercial district. On this land stood the houses and warehouses, markets, inns, churches and *loggias* of the foreign merchant communities.²⁸

Of these, at least judging by commercial documents drawn up in the 1270s, the Genoese and others from the same district, that of Liguria, were by far the biggest community, accounting for around half the foreigners. Trading privileges in the kingdom had been granted to Genoa in 1201.²⁹ The Genoese, represented by consuls, possessed a church and a *loggia* or community house. Some owned their own houses.³⁰ Further privileges were given to Genoa, and adjustments made to the taxes its merchants paid, in 1288.³¹ At least in the 1270s, the second largest community seems to have been that of the Piacenzans. They possessed a *loggia*; a consul is known only in 1295. Two Piacenzan mercantile companies were established here.³²

By contrast, in the same period only six Venetians are encountered in the documents of the period.³³ As far back as 1201 Venice had been given general rights within the kingdom such as security of persons and, more particularly, rights in Mamistra, Classical Mopsouestia.³⁴ With slight differences, the privileges were granted again in 1261, this time with specific reference to Ayas, and renewed in 1270 or 1271.³⁵ Among the Venetians, despite the community's small size, were a *bailli* or representative of the Republic, first known from the treaty of 1271, and a consul. After 1271 the Venetians had a church and cemetery.³⁶ Developments subsequent to the 1270s give the impression that the Venetian element grew, both with the general increase in trade and with the inception of the state galley runs ending at Ayas. The Venetian merchants' privileges were renewed in 1307, and another privilege was granted in

1321.³⁷ Venetian *baillis* seem to have been appointed regularly until 1334, in other words almost until the year when Ayas was lost to the Armenian kingdom.³⁸ In 1316 no less than seven churches are known, probably all of which were Venetian.³⁹ An extension to a cemetery into a neighbouring field was requested in 1320.⁴⁰

Relations between the large merchant communities were not uniformly harmonious. In 1287 a conflict arose between the Venetians and Genoese of Ayas, which led to widespread material damage being sustained by the Genoese. Venetians even attacked the walled area, inflicting damage, too, on property belonging to members of the rather smaller Pisan community. As a result, in 1304, Venice had to pay indemnities.⁴¹

There were merchants from other Italian cities and from southern France and Catalonia, and also from Syria and the Holy Land.⁴² The Crusading Order of the Templars possessed a landing position in the harbour.⁴³ A community of merchants from Baghdad is known in 1335; whatever their religion and denomination, they had perhaps moved here during the Mongol attacks on Mesopotamia (1252 onwards) or as a result of the Mongol attack on Baghdad itself (1258).⁴⁴ In general we know of several professions practised among the foreign communities; in the 1270s a doctor is known, but only one.⁴⁵

The entrance to the harbour was controlled by the sea castle, which was administered by a castellan separate from that of the walled royal enclosure on land. The sea castle was a narrow enclosure around 150 metres long, running north to south and built on a small island whose delineation and topography the castle exactly fits. The castle's walls occupy all the flat top of the island; outside them the rocks descend into the sea. At the island's north tip is a round building whose ground storey appears to have been covered by a dome. This was perhaps a storeroom and residence for guards; what was above it we do not know, but the uppermost storey may have been a terrace from which ships in the harbour and approaching from a distance could be observed. Further south, on the east side, where the wall turns outwards, vaulted rooms, entered from the court, are contrived within the wall, which here broadens to a width of more than 15 metres. On the terrace storey above, a platform for stone-throwing machines may be surmised. The wall to the west is thin and not protected by towers or other devices, and it can be concluded that the sea fort's purpose was to observe, control and possibly bombard ships approaching the harbour, but not to withstand a serious assault from the sea.⁴⁶

B. The road from Ayas to Sivas

1. *From Ayas to the crossing of the Taurus*

From the port of Ayas, the route must cross the Cilician plain, climb through the Taurus mountains and emerge on to the Anatolian plateau. As the pass over which the Taurus would be crossed, it would be natural to propose the Gülek Boğaz or Cilician Gates, a well-known corridor from Anatolia to Cilicia connecting the Cilician cities of Adana and Tarsus with Kayseri. To the Gülek Boğaz it has been objected that during the thirteenth century the Seljuk sultanate controlled that part of the Anatolian plateau just north of the Cilician Gates.⁴⁷ The objection does not hold. By the early 1250s, when the whole Ayas–Sivas–Erzincan–Erzurum route we are describing began to carry traffic, the Seljuk sultans were already vassals of the Il-Khans, through whose territory, *ex hypothesi*, the route runs. Marco Polo makes it clear that after Cilicia he rides through Seljuk territory, and the route that we shall posit as Pegolotti's equally traverses what was Seljuk territory in the thirteenth century. By the reign of Abu Sa'id, in any case, the Seljuk sultanate no longer existed.

But, more fundamentally, the choice of the Gülek Boğaz would defeat the primary logic of the Pegolotti route and of the geographical location of its starting-point, Ayas. Formerly traffic had come from Aleppo, crossed the Cilician plain to Adana and then Tarsus, then turned sharply north and through the Cilician Gates. Once the Anatolian plain was reached, the first destination would normally be the Rum Seljuk capital of Konya. Equally the ports of Adana and Tarsus would have served the Cilician Gates–Konya route well, while traffic whose destination was Aleppo would naturally make for the port of St. Siméon at the mouth of the Orontes river and go inland via Antioch. Pegolotti's route, however, represents a new alignment and a new destination. The first major destination of the traffic following the Tabriz route was Sivas, for which the Cilician Gates alignment was fundamentally wrong, though after rising out of the Cilician plain and through the Cilician Gates, a long and perhaps purposeless detour through Kayseri could be made. A preliminary look at possible sites for Pegolotti's Colidara, first station after Ayas, on the putative Cilician Gates–Kayseri route does not reveal any remotely similar name: Adana, Tarsus, Pozantı (Gr. 'Podandos'), Kemerhisar (Tyana), Niğde (Nakida)?⁴⁸ Especially given the geographical position of Ayas on the east Cilician shoreline, a more northerly or perhaps easterly way out of the plain should be sought. It was not that no commercial journeys were made from Ayas to Konya via Adana, Tarsus and the Cilician Gates.⁴⁹ But the latter was a secondary line of movement in the period of the Tabriz itinerary. Aleppo after 1260 was no longer a wealthy emporium from which goods could be sent westwards or to which goods from Cilicia could be directed.⁵⁰

The geographical position of Ayas on the east shore of Cilicia indicates very strongly by itself that the Cilician Gates was not the intended line of travel for goods disembarked there. A port on Cilicia's southern shore near Tarsus or Adana would have been far more suitable. Ayas was evidently sited so as to connect with the eastern stretches of the Cilician plain. The geographer and historian Abu'l-Fida puts Ayas at one day's journey from Til Hamdun/Toprakkale, the fortress and town in the eastern lobe of the Cilician plain at which roads from Adana, from the Amanus pass and from Antioch meet.⁵¹ He clearly sees Ayas as connected to the east side of the Cilician plain rather than to Adana and Tarsus.

The second trading route to lead through the Taurus mountains out of Cilicia was that through the broad, flat-floored valley of Geben in the northeast corner of the Cilician kingdom. This is known as an avenue of trade as early as 1201. In that year the Cilician kingdom and the Republic of Genoa made an agreement whereby Genoese merchants had to pay a special toll in order to pass through the territory of the lord of Geben.⁵² This route seems the most logical to posit as that by which Pegolotti's merchants cross the Taurus. Its advantage was that once the plain of Göksün, to which the vale of Geben leads, had been reached, the traffic could turn west along the line of a Roman road towards the Kayseri–Sivas road or else east to Malatya. We shall see, too, that Pegolotti's second station, Gandon, is most logically identified with Şar, the Classical *Comana Cappadociae*, which lies in the Taurus mountains on the Roman road leading westwards from Göksün.

Given that the Geben route is the most likely corridor of movement for the Pegolotti route to take through the Taurus, and that Pegolotti's second station, Gandon/Şar, comes soon after Geben, it is cogent to look for Pegolotti's first toll station, Colidara, somewhere between Ayas and Geben. Since Geben lies at the top of the whole rise through the outliers and steeper gradients of the Taurus or Amanus, it makes sense to look at the eastern edges of the Cilician plain, where the ascent would necessarily start.

Colidara has been identified with the Kopitar of the Armenian kingdom's baronial lists; the two names are not far apart, though phonetically the only mismatch (between the -l- of "Colidara" and the -p- of "Kopitar") is nevertheless hard to account for. Kopitar in turn has

been identified with Bodrum Kale, a castle at the end of a spur pushing into the Cilician plain from the east, just above the remains of the Classical city of Hierapolis; the latter had been deserted since Late Antiquity. Here again the consonants of the two names (Kopitař and Bodrum) very loosely fit one another, with the exception of the -k- of “Kopitař”.⁵³

Bodrum Kale as a candidate for Kopitař has its attractions. It answers, at least in certain respects, to the most conspicuous of the historical and topographical information we possess about the castle of Kopitař. This information concerns the imprisonment in Kopitař, and attempted escape from the castle, of the Katholikos Grigor V towards the end of the twelfth century. The sources explicitly state that the castle stood on a high rock. However, the other information we have suggests a location near the Cilician capital of Sis, at the northern edge of the plain.

The castle of Kopitař is known over a period of more than three centuries, from the second generation of Armenian lords in Cilicia (early twelfth century) to the mid-fifteenth century. A Konstantinos was lord of Kopitař in the early twelfth century; he was son of Rupen,⁵⁴ founder of one of the two dynasties under whom Armenian society in Cilicia first coagulated. In 1307 there attended the council of Sis an Ōšin (pron. “Oshin”), lord of Kopitař.⁵⁵

We know some details of the castle’s site from the story, referred to earlier, of Grigor V, Armenian katholikos in the years to 1194–95. From 1154 to 1292 the catholical seat was at Hromkla (then pron. “Hromgla”), now known as Rum Kale.⁵⁶ The latter castle stands above cliffs in a bend of the Euphrates, well to the east of the Amanus mountains, which naturally form the eastern frontier of the plain of Cilicia. When the katholikos Grigor was arrested in 1194/95, he was taken to Kopitař and imprisoned there. The lord of the castle was another Konstantinos, presumably a grandson or great-grandson of that known in the early twelfth century. Grigor was advised to escape, and one night let himself down from a window in the castle by means of a cloth. The cloth tore, and since the castle was on a high rock, the katholikos died from the fall.⁵⁷ The high rock of the story would certainly fit Bodrum Kale, which rises not far from the edge of a cliff above the river Ceyhan. Yet the sense of the story requires that the castle be right on the edge of a cliff or other steep rock face, otherwise the rock, rather than the height of the castle’s wall above its seat on the rock, would play no part in the katholikos’ fall to his unfortunate death.

The story contains a second geographical clue. This is that the castle lay in the district of Marpa (pron. “Marba” in the twelfth century). Of course by itself the information is useless: geographical clues as to the location of Marpa itself are required. However, the geographical extent of Marpa is to some extent indicated by the description of an early twelfth-century Turkish raid on the district of Anavarza, a city which lay in the centre of the Cilician plain. The whole district of Anavarza, which seems to have included that of Marpa, was pillaged.⁵⁸ The story at least argues that the district of Marpa was not far from the city of Anavarza. The information given later, which points to a location for Kopitař in the outliers of the Taurus a short way east of Sis, suggests that Marpa stretched northwards from Anavarza to encompass Sis/Kozan and the lowest spurs of the Taurus to east and west of that city.

Alichan reports another clue to the geographical location, as opposed to the immediate topography, of Kopitař. The eighteenth-century writer Awetik’ of Diarbekir tells us that Kopitař lay due east of Sis/Kozan, the seat of the kings of Cilicia and from 1292 of the katholikos too. The Turks call the place Gök Dere (“Blue Valley”).⁵⁹ And it seems that the name Gök Dere of the eighteenth century derives from *Küpdere Kalesi*, the name for a castle, centre of a *nahiye* or rural district, in the sanjak of Sis in the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Its inclusion in the sanjak of Sis would require that Küpdere Kalesi be somewhere near Sis: other sanjaks, such as those of Tarsus and Kars-ı Dulkadiye/Kadirli, accounted for districts further

south. The name *Küpdere* could without difficulty be phonetically derived from *Kopitař* (k-p-t-i/k-p-d-r). The location to the east of Sis/Kozan, or at least somewhere near Sis in the lowest outliers of the Taurus, is supported by the information that the first lord of Kopitař, Konstantinos, ‘held the mountain of Taurus in the territory of Kopitař’.⁶¹ Circumstantial indication, too, is provided by the earlier story of Grigor V’s imprisonment at Kopitař. Arrested at Hřomkla, he was first taken to the king, presumably at Sis; the king then placed him under guard in the castle of Kopitař. Most naturally, the place of incarceration would be near Sis.⁶²

Another powerful geographical clue lies in the account of the capture of Sis in 1468 by the Dulgađır, a Turkish dynasty which held the Elbistan district, northeast of Cilicia, from the Mamluks in the late Middle Ages. According to this account, Shah Suvar, the Dulgađır leader, came to the environs of Sis; the citizens resisted the attack of his lieutenant. The city possessed a treasure consisting of four Right Hands (probably of St. Gregory the Illuminator); they entrusted this treasure to a priest, who took it to a bishop ensconced in Kopitař. Later the mayor of Sis had a man sent from Kopitař to demand the collection of a certain sum, apparently to buy off the Dulgađır, so that the treasure, and whichever inhabitants had fled, could return to the city. The whole sense of the story requires that Kopitař be near Sis.⁶³

If we take all the clues together, Kopitař must have been not far from Sis, and in the outliers of the Taurus mountains. If we look on the Turkish 1: 200,000 map, we find a Peri Kalesi (“Fairy Castle”) marked, not as a site, but more as a district centred about 5 kilometres east of Sis/Kozan. No castle is marked by means of the appropriate symbol, but the name “Peri” would reflect very adequately two of the consonants of “Kopitař” (p-t/p-r). A location around 5 kilometres east of Sis therefore seems to be right. Probably if we were to search in such a location we would find the ruins of a medieval castle on a rock among the lowest spurs of the Taurus, overlooking the Cilician plain.

So far we have located Kopitař and proved that Kopitař is not Bodrum Kale. But we have yet to locate Colidara, whether at Kopitař/Peri Kalesi, at Bodrum Kale or anywhere else. Peri Kalesi east of Kozan can in fact be ruled out (as not being on a road). Bodrum Kale could be proposed as a candidate for Colidara on purely geographical grounds. A direct path leading up natural passages (valleys, passes, etc.) in the Amanus exists which would take travellers to Geben. It rises past the *petite* castle of Kum Kale, which looks out over the Cilician plain from the very first slopes of the Amanus, in a direction a little east of north, and to Andırın (for which there is a late medieval attestation).⁶⁴ From here the route of the modern road would be followed to Geben and Kokousos/Göksün.

There are certain difficulties, however. Toll stations were normally sited at stopping-places for caravans, in other words cities, towns or caravansarays, where there were facilities for travellers. Castles at a distance from the road were highly unusual.⁶⁵ We mentioned earlier Abu’l-Fida’s assertion that that Til Hamdun, the castle now called Toprakkale, was a day’s journey away from Ayas. This implies that Til Hamdun is being considered as a staging-post. Certainly Til Hamdun, a town as well as castle in the late Middle Ages, would have been a natural stopping-point for caravans. Pegolotti’s route from Ayas would have crossed the line followed from Aleppo to the principal Cilician cities (Adana, Tarsus, Sis). However, from Til Hamdun to Bodrum Kale was a matter of only 10 kilometres: an easy walk across the plain, which admittedly required the fording of the Ceyhan. Bodrum Kale, while it could help in guarding a track, was unsuitable as a night’s stop from the point of view of the staging of the route.

Moreover, for the last toll station in the Cilician kingdom before entering the territory directly administered by the Il-Khanid empire, and conversely the first and last station in the Cilician kingdom, something more than a fort on a rock might be expected. The very high

rate of transit tax collected at Colidara suggests, circumstantially but forcefully, that Colidara was a town of sorts, not just a village or castle. But at Bodrum Kale there is no evidence for a town in the late Middle Ages. Admittedly the extensive city site of Hierapolis lay beneath it, but this had been completely abandoned since Late Antiquity.

The name *Colidara* itself seems to rule out Bodrum Kale. The name *Bodrum* appears to have been current in 1338, just after the period for which the information in the Pegolotti itinerary is valid. A colophon of 1338 mentions a village of Bodrum “at the foot of the mountain”.⁶⁶ This would seem to fit the location of Bodrum Kale, situated above a cliff overlooking the river, but immediately beneath the first slopes of the Amanus.⁶⁷ Consequently the name *Colidara* is most unlikely to have denoted Bodrum Kale in the early fourteenth century.

It therefore makes sense to look at alternative identifications for Colidara. The neighbouring site of Kadirli, ancient Phlabias (pron. “Flavias”) or Phlabiupolis, claims a better fit of consonants (k-l-d-r with k-d-r-l as opposed to k-p-t-r̄). In the Ottoman period the place was known as Kars Bazar. However, *Kars* by itself was more truly the name of a group of villages, whereas *Kars Bazar* was the name of the single village which lay among the ruins of ancient Phlabias.⁶⁸ If the identification of Colidara with Kadirli is correct, then “Kars” must be a corruption of the late medieval name which is rendered by Pegolotti as “Colidara”. The formation of the Ottoman name *Kars* would appear to have been affected by the name of the much better known Kars in Greater Armenia.⁶⁹ A version of the late medieval name then resurfaced in the Republican period: more truly, it had been current on the lips of the local population all along, but never seen on the pages of the sources we have at our disposal for the Ottoman period (travellers, tax documents, censuses, etc.).

There is much better evidence for the existence of a town here in the late Middle Ages than at Bodrum Kale. Some continuity of Roman Phlabias with Late Antiquity is attested. Phlabias is known as a bishopric of the Chalcedonian church in the late Middle Ages. The town was a sanjak capital in the early Ottoman occupation.⁷⁰ The rectangular city walls survived at least until the mid-seventeenth century, when not merely was the walled area inhabited but there was also a suburb outside the walls. The place was still the seat of a sanjak bey.⁷¹ The city wall, then, was certainly upright in the late Middle Ages; it is probable that the walled area was continuously inhabited until the mid-seventeenth century at least. Inside the former walled area there still survive three of the outer walls of a Late Antique basilica. Inside these walls, at some point during the Middle Ages, was built a smaller church. The smaller church was then converted into a mosque, whose minaret is dated 895/1489–90. The small church is difficult to date, but the sequence of building work tells a very clear story.⁷² We can conclude that there was a small city or large town within the walls here, and perhaps a suburb, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Kadirli, then, is a strong candidate for Pegolotti’s Colidara, and given the very precise correspondence of the consonants in the two names, it seems sensible to adopt Kadirli as Colidara and see where Pegolotti’s route goes.

In the first place, between Til Hamdun and Colidara/Kadirli it probably took a direct line over the plain, crossing the river Ceyhan at a ford roughly at the point where the present road crosses by a bridge. The track would have stayed well west of the abandoned Hierapolis and even further west of Bodrum Kale on its rocky spur. Ease of passage apparently recommended the journey over the plain in preference to any track over the higher and more broken ground to the east of the river. The latter nevertheless had the advantage of better drainage and a shorter line for the track.⁷³

Secondly, to reach Geben, Koukousos and Gandon/Comana/Şar, Pegolotti’s route may follow one of two alternative tracks. The first and most likely is that which traverses eastwards,

crossing one valley, to the upland plain of Andırın, and, rising over a gentle watershed, reaches the wide, level floor of a tributary valley of the Ceyhan. This valley, by a series of gentle gradients, leads the route past the castles of Azgit and Geben itself to Koukousos/Göksün.⁷⁴ Apart from its general ease of passage, the route was protected by three medieval castles, each of them small, but nevertheless all on strong, rocky sites. Moreover, two of these castles, Azgit and Geben, are attested in literary sources in the second half of the Middle Ages.

The second track is that which used to be known to archaeologists as the Ak Yol or White Route. This is somewhat more direct than the first route, since it starts northwards straightaway rather than traversing eastwards first. However, the climb is, as a whole, more difficult, since it leads over two passes, the Bağdaşbeli and the Mazgaç Bel, before reaching the Meryemçil Beli, and the track either rises or descends in a narrow valley (where laden caravans would be vulnerable to robbers) rather than along a wide floor. Although the track is guarded by three medieval castles (Esenlikale, Akoluk Kalesi and Çirişkale), these are small and their date is unclear. Strictly, travellers would have to turn off this route in order to reach Geben: the latter castle does not lie exactly at the junction of the two valleys, but some way down the valley of the easterly route.⁷⁵ We may therefore opt for the easterly route between Colidara/Kadirli and Koukousos/Göksün.

But this conclusion in turn helps us to solve questions arising out of the ancient itineraries. The *Itinerarium Antoninum* records a road between Koukousos (“Cocuso”) and Phlabbias (“Flaviada”) via three intermediate stations: Laranda, Badimo and Praetorio.⁷⁶ In the first place the route signalled by the *Itinerarium* probably ran along the Andırın route rather than the Ak Yol. Secondly, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the three medieval castles along the Andırın route identify approximately the three stations of the *Itinerarium*. The three settlements identified as the stations by the *Itinerarium* would not be the castles themselves, but the castles would protect each of the respective settlements, or their medieval successors to the extent that in Antiquity and Late Antiquity no castles existed on the relevant sites.

There may be some correspondence of names, too. “Praetorio”, the name of the most southerly station, may have a common origin (allowing for some corruption in the *ItAnt*) with “Haçtırın,” the name of a village and castle by the road. “Badimo”, the name of the middle station, does not find a sufficiently similar name on the road itself, but to the east of Azgit lay a village called “Bonduqāh” (in Syriac) in the early eleventh century, when it was a Syrian Orthodox bishopric, and later “Bentux” (Armn., pron. “Pendukh” or possibly “Bendukh” at the time) in the nineteenth century and “Bunduk” in the twentieth.⁷⁷ For “Bonduqāh” to explain “Badimo,” the settlement which in the Middle Ages lay on the same site near the castle of Azgit under the name *Şolakan* (pron. “Shoghakan”), would have had to bear the name underlying “Badimo” in the *Itinerarium*, and this name would later have migrated to the settlement at eleventh-century Bonduqāh/Bentux/Bunduk.

The most northerly name on the *Itinerarium*’s list, “Laranda”, is frequently found in the ancient itineraries, and could have been included here by transference from elsewhere in the text of the *Itinerarium* or in a possible predecessor map. But it could equally well have a common origin with “Andırın”. The settlement identified as “Laranda” could have been at present-day Andırın or at the nearby castle of Ak Kale. Here, however, a discrepancy arises. On the ground Andırın is the middle of the three castles, whereas “Laranda” is the most northerly of the *Itinerarium*’s three names. If the three names are to fit the three castles and their associated settlements, then we must posit a misplacement whereby “Badimo”

and “Laranda” swapped positions. Alternatively, “Badimo” belongs to a settlement further north, perhaps Geben, with its naturally strong castle site, itself.

We can display our suggestions as follows:

Itinerarium	Late medieval name	Geographical position
Praetorio		Haçtırın
Badimo	Şolakan	Near Azgıt
Laranda		Andirin

The next toll station on Pegolotti’s itinerary is Gandon. This cannot be Geben, which from the point of view of its name and position on the road would be an attractive suggestion.⁷⁸ Pegolotti makes it clear that Gandon was the first toll station within the directly administered dominions of the Il-Khan. On the other hand all the information we have on the role of Geben during the Il-Khanid period shows that, although on the very frontiers of the kingdom, it was always the seat of a baron subject to the Armenian king.⁷⁹ In fact, Geben was positively the last castle in the Cilician kingdom to fall to the Mamluks. The position of Koukousos/Göksün, at the head of an extensive mountain-locked plain and at the crossing of three tracks (from Kaisareia/Kayseri, from Germanikeia/Marash and from Melitene/Malatya) would make it a highly plausible candidate. The place was a town at the time of the First Crusade (end of the eleventh century), and remained the seat of a bishopric until the thirteenth century.⁸⁰ It was still a town in the late thirteenth century.⁸¹ But the settlement’s name, “Koukousos”, and the name’s medieval variants militate against the identification with Gandon.

The site of the Classical and Late Classical city of Comana (now called “Şar”, “City”), further northwest from Koukousos/Göksün, answers phonetically much better to “Gandon” (Gr. “Komana”: k-m-n/g-n-n; epenthetic -d-).⁸² Comana too remained a Chalcedonian bishopric until the thirteenth century,⁸³ and was at the time known under versions of the name similar to Classical “Κόμανα”, for example, “Κρομανῶν”. The site was protected by a small castle. Elements of the city’s three churches, created respectively out of a first-century AD temple, a fourth-century AD mausoleum and the blocks of a first-century AD theatre, still survive, which may indicate that some of the churches were in use until the late Middle Ages and perhaps after.⁸⁴ An impressive stretch of the city’s first-century AD walls still stands, which again may indicate that the walls, or some adaptation of them enclosing a more limited area, were still in use in the Middle Ages.

Here, then, was Gandon, the first toll station within the Il-Khan’s realm.

2. *Gandon to Salvastro*

After Gandon the remaining stations to Salvastro/Sebasteia/Sivas are Casena, gavazera dell’amiraglio, gavazera del soldano, Gadue and gavazera di casa Giacomo.

It is helpful to start with those whose identification is easiest. The *gavazera del soldano* cannot fail to be the well-known Sultan Han, 47 kilometres from Kayseri on the Kayseri–Sivas road. This is a construction of Ala al-Din Kaykubad I (1219–36), the sultan with whom above all the Rum Seljuk state is associated, and who presided over a period of great prosperity and territorial expansion.⁸⁵

Pegolotti’s next station, *Gadue*, would appear from the name alone not to be a caravan-saray, but it is a reasonable assumption that its name is associated phonetically with that

of the Gedik Han (“Gap Caravansaray”), an Ottoman caravansaray known in the town of Şarkışla (“Town Barracks”, presumably with the meaning of a barracks within a town). Moreover, a *menzil* (night’s stop) of Gedük is known from the thirteenth century, as is a town called Gaduk in the period of the Pegolotti itinerary itself.⁸⁶ Since all the evidence for the caravansaray dates from the Ottoman period, it seems correct to conclude that there was no caravansaray here in Pegolotti’s time, but only a settlement, probably a small town, called *Gedük* rather than *Şarkışla*.

As for the last caravansaray before Sivas in Pegolotti’s itinerary, *gavazera di casa Jacomi*, only one known caravansaray will answer to it. This is a caravansaray at the village of Tatlıocak (“Sweet Hearth”) or Tatlıcak. The latter lies around 25 kilometres short of Sivas on the old and more direct road, which as we shall see represents the Roman alignment. At Tatlıocak, Erdmann found the ruins of an Ottoman caravansaray originally erected, he thought, on top of the ruins of a much larger caravansaray.⁸⁷ The larger caravansaray will be Pegolotti’s *gavazera di casa Jacomo*. Again a *Kārvānsarāy-i Laṭīf* (“Pleasing Caravansaray”) is known in the thirteenth century, not to mention a *Lâtif Han* in the Ottoman period; the implied position of both answers to the remains of Tatlıocak.⁸⁸

The Ottoman name for the caravansaray, *Lâtif Han*, “Pleasing Caravansaray”, is something of a semantic oddity. The lake that is passed by the Roman and medieval road, around 15 kilometres before the caravansaray as one came from Kayseri, is the Lâtif Gölü. Since the name, though always possible, is unlikely as the appellation both for a caravansaray and for a lake,⁸⁹ it probably conceals some local name which was then rationalised to “Lâtif”. The name could well be “Apardı”,⁹⁰ that of a village about 8 kilometres back along the track towards Kayseri, and just on the south side of a low pass leading out of the valley in which the road until now has run.⁹¹ This apart, it is hard to know what to make of the *casa di Jacomo* which identifies the caravansaray in Pegolotti’s text. It is unlikely to be a monastery, since the word “santo” would be expected. Nor is it clear what name, Armenian or otherwise, would correspond to “Jacomo”. But a connection, phonetic if not semantic, between “Jacomo” and the “-ocak” (“hearth”) of “Tatlıocak” is likely, as is a semantic connection between *Tatlı* and *Laṭīf*.⁹²

All the three caravansarays just localised on the ground lie along a Roman road known from the ancient itineraries, the traces of which can be followed all the way from Sultan Han to Sivas.⁹³ Each of the caravansarays corresponds, moreover, to a station on that road. The Sultan Han was about 5 kilometres southeast of the station of Eulepa, later known as *Aipoloi*, which lay on the same site as the present-day village of Pallas (renamed “Gölova”). *Aipoloi* was a Chalcedonian bishopric until the thirteenth century. This would therefore suggest a town in the thirteenth and perhaps fourteenth centuries on the same site as Roman and Late Roman Eulepa/*Aipoloi*.⁹⁴ Şarkışla has been identified with the Roman station of Malandara or Marandara.⁹⁵ No convincing site has been proposed for the final Roman station of Scanatus, but the position of Pegolotti’s *gavazera di casa Jacomo*, the later Lâtif Han, is *a priori* the right place to look.⁹⁶

With the last three stations so securely identified, we have to locate Pegolotti’s first two stations after Gandon, those of Casena and the *gavazera dell’amiraglio*. The latter is certainly the Karatay Han at the village of Karaday near Elbaşı, roughly 40 kilometres east of Kayseri as the crow flies and in an open but hill-surrounded plain. The inscriptions on the caravansaray are in the name of the Seljuk sultan Ala al-Din Kaykubad (1219–39) referred to earlier as the founder of the Sultan Han. The date of H 638/AD 1240–41 on one of these, also in Kaykubad’s name, must be the completion date, despite that date’s falling after Kaykubad’s death. However, Jalal al-Din Karatay, who could certainly be characterised as one of the great *amirs* (‘amiraglio’) of the Rum Seljuk state, was the

donor of a *waqf* or pious foundation for the maintenance of the caravansaray (1247). He was the *atabeg*, or power behind the throne, of ‘Izz al-Din Kaykavus II, one of the first Seljuk sultans after the establishment of Mongol overlordship (‘Izz al-Din’s reign lasted from 647/1249 to 651 or 652/1253–54 or 1254–55), and was responsible above all for the unity of the Seljuk state in the troubled period after its military defeat by the Mongol empire in 1243. Karatay was also known as the founder of buildings in Konya and nearby Kayseri. It would be natural for the han to be attributed to him, and one thirteenth-century source actually does so.⁹⁷

In the attempt to locate Pegolotti’s *Casena*, it is advisable to start with the one relevant piece of information that we possess for certain. The Roman road from Koukousos/Göksün and Komana/Şar, as it progresses towards Caesarea/Kayseri, has been traced on the ground. On the way it passes Zerezek, a village 6 kilometres west of the Karatay Han/*gavazera dell’amiraglio*; Zerezek has been identified as Arasaxa, one of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*’s stations on this road. The course of the Roman road should give some guidance to the location of Casena.

From Comana the Roman road continues a few kilometres down the valley (that of the Sarız Su in its very uppermost reaches), then turns up a tributary valley in a generally northwards direction and comes to a pass, the Kuruçay Bel. From the pass it descends another valley, that of the Kuru Çay (“Dry Stream”), first north–northwest for around 5 kilometres, then west until it reaches an extensive plain. The latter is crossed by a tributary of the Saros/Ceyhan, the Zamantı Su.⁹⁸

The Roman road continues roughly westwards over the plain and crosses the river. It is then forced to turn north by a belt of hills swelling out of the plain’s surface; afterwards it turns westwards over a low outlier of the hills, and drops to a different part of the plain. Here it finds the village of Zerezek, descendant of the Roman road station of Arasaxa, before continuing to Kayseri.⁹⁹

Let us look at the relevant section of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP):

Arasaxa 10 Larissa 23 Incilissa 20 Comana.¹⁰⁰

The crossing of the Zamantı Su would be a natural location for the TP’s “Larissa”, though the distance along the course of the road is too long and no site of the Roman period has been found here or nearby. Working further eastwards along the road, the Kuruçay Bel, the pass between the Zamantı Su plain and Comana/Şar, would again commend itself as the location of the TP’s Incilissa: this time the distance along the road (around 32 kilometres) more or less fits the TP’s mileage. However, we still have not found a site, nor have we found a name comparable to “Casena”.

A clue is supplied by a site which in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century cannot have been more than a small town, but in that period nevertheless very likely lay on the Ayas–Sivas track. Hanköy (“Caravansaray-Village”) lies on or near the plain of the Zamantı Su around 4 kilometres north of the Roman road and 6 or 7 kilometres east of the Roman road’s river crossing. At Hanköy there stands what appears to be an Ottoman caravansaray created out of the shell of a probably fifth-century church. Certain parts of the church were destroyed in order to make the caravansaray, but some parts of the original structure remain. The Ottoman caravansaray originally had an extensive courtyard, which is now lost.¹⁰¹

Of course Hanköy does not lie on the Roman road, and caravans passing it would not cross the river at the point where the Roman road crosses. The settlement’s location more

suggests a northwestwards continuation from Hanköy, in which first the Zamantı Su would be crossed, then, at Ekrek, a tributary. Ekrek (Armn. “Agarak”, “Ruin”) is known in the Seljuk period.¹⁰² Its modern name, “Köprübaşı”, “Bridgehead”, is suggestive of the settlement’s *raison d’être*. After Ekrek, caravans would continue to Bünyan through a broad gap in the range of hills coasting the Halys/Kızıl Irmak valley at its southerly edge. From Bünyan the flat, extensive valley of the Kızıl Irmak would be crossed to the Sultan Han near Aipoloi/Pallas. Bünyan itself seems, in the period, to have been a settlement benefiting from the passage of mercantile traffic. Under the Seljuks, a mosque was founded here; a Seljuk coin minted at Bünyan in 674/1275–76 is known. Later a son of Eretna (who died in 1352) founded a *zawiya* (dervish lodge), often a sign of passing traffic, near the town.¹⁰³

At Ekrek there had been a settlement of some size in the Late Antique period.¹⁰⁴ By the thirteenth century, as indicated here, the settlement was still functioning, but it may have been more limited in size than in Late Antiquity, leaving areas of ruined buildings or perhaps a single conspicuous ruined building, hence the Armenian name *Agarak*. But there is reason to think that among Greeks of the vicinity, a name of the Classical period was current.

In Ptolemy a settlement called Seuagena or Seouagena (Σευάγεννα, Σεουάγεννα), but pronounced “Sevagenā” in the Middle Ages, is known.¹⁰⁵ This was identified by Ramsay with the village of Sıvgın around 14 kilometres northeast of Ekrek.¹⁰⁶ However, Sıvgın is a village lacking any ancient remains; it is much more likely that the name *Seuagena* (“Sevagenā”) was attached to the settlement at the river crossing. Armenian Agarak was Greek Seuagena and Pegolotti’s Casena. The name Seuagena travelled to the present village of Sıvgın at a point in time after the great period of commercial activity between Ayas and Sivas, when a part of the population would have moved to a nearby village since commercial traffic could no longer supply it with a livelihood.¹⁰⁷ In the “Casena” of Pegolotti’s text, might there be some influence from some Italian word such as *caserma*, “barracks”?

There was every reason for a toll station at Seuagena/Casena/Ekrek. The place lay by a river crossing, not only on the Ayas–Sivas–Tabriz road but also on the road from Kayseri to Malatya via Gürün and Darende (line of the present main road). A little further along the road was the site of the great fair, Yabanlu Pazar, at Pazarören. Trading activity at Yabanlu Pazar, however, seems to have faded out by the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸ But then why a toll station at the *gavazera dell’amiraglio*/Karatay Han? The two stations should be seen as alternatives. Those who chose the more direct way to Sivas would be taxed at the river crossing of Ekrek/Seuagena. Those who wished to go to Kayseri would follow the Roman road to the Karatay Han, being taxed there and then continuing. If they then travelled towards Sivas, they would be taxed again at the Sultan Han. The relative importance of Ekrek/Seuagena is suggested by the toll of 5 aspers per load extracted there as opposed to the 2 aspers charged at the Karatay Han. But the omission of Kayseri also points to the limits of Il-Khan-controlled territory at the time of Timur Tash’s revolt (early 720s/1320s). Kayseri was in Timur Tash’s hands.

From Gandon/Şar, then, the track of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, following the Roman trunk road between Melitene/Malatya and Caesarea/Kayseri, climbs to a pass in the Anti-Taurus, then drops to the plain of the Zamantı Su. Within that plain it soon diverges in a northerly direction from the Roman road. Passing the town or village, in the late Middle Ages probably lacking a caravansaray, at the present Hanköy, it crosses the tributary of the Zamantı Su at another such small settlement, Agarak/Seuagena/Casena. Here the Pegolotti track crosses another Roman road, that going from Caesarea/Kayseri to Melitene, this time via Gürün and Darende; in the mid-Byzantine period this road had replaced the Komana–Koukousos road as the chief means of communication between Kayseri and Malatya.¹⁰⁹ And at the cross-roads of Agarak/Casena tolls are extracted. The track continues northwards through a gap in

the outermost range of the Anti-Taurus and reaches the settlement of Bünyan, subsequently crossing the broad and flat Halys/Kızıl Irmak valley to Sultan Han near the settlement of Aipoloi. From here merchants followed the Roman road all the way to Sivas, with tolls extracted at the town of Gedük/Gadue and the large caravansaray at Tatlıocak, the *gavazera di casa Jacomo*.

Meanwhile those merchants wishing to trade in Kayseri have followed the grand Roman road as far as that city, being taxed at the Karatay Han/*gavazera dell'amiraglio*. It is even possible that some merchants came as far as the Karatay Han to trade with others there, and then turned eastwards a short distance, again up the present Malatya highway, as far as Agarak/Seuagena/Casena. But those who went as far as Kayseri would rejoin the Pegolotti itinerary at Sultan Han.

What accounts for the choice of locations for the toll stations between Komana/Şar and the Sultan Han, and why was no toll station situated at Koukousos/Göksün? Şar/Komana could catch traffic from many directions: certainly that between Cilicia and Sivas on the Pegolotti track, which Göksün could catch too, but also such traffic as emanated from the direction of Maraş (again this could have been taxed at Göksün) and from that of Malatya, whether through Göksün or by a more northerly road. The latter departed from the Malatya–Göksün track at Arabissos/Afşin near a large caravansaray/*zawiya* complex and described a wide U-shaped course, passing Aromane/Hurman Kale and Sarız before coming south to the the bridge at Kemer and so to Komana/Şar. So all traffic which could be taxed at Göksün would pass also the toll post at Komana/Şar, while at the same post, other traffic not passing through Koukousos could also be taxed.¹¹⁰

Traffic starting from Malatya and taking the diversion via Aromane/Hurman Kale could also turn north at Sarız; reaching the valley of the Zamantı Su, it would turn down that valley, pass beneath the great castle – formerly Byzantine but rebuilt by the Seljuks – at Tzamandos and through the trading fair at Pazarören.¹¹¹ This traffic would be taxed at Agarak/Casena: some of it would turn north towards Sultan Han and Sivas, and some would continue westwards to the Karatay Han and Kayseri. Agarak/Casena and the Karatay Han lay on yet another line of movement between Malatya and Kayseri, and in the period of the Ayas route (mid 1250s–1337) this may still have been the most important of the roads linking those two cities. This line is that of the modern road between Malatya and Kayseri past Darendе and Gürün.

The Mamluk tenure of Upper Mesopotamia from the 1250s onwards must have lessened traffic on all these east–west roads, and particularly that between Maraş and Göksün – another reason for the absence of a toll station at Göksün. And this loss of traffic must have been the principal reason for the cessation of activity at the Pazarören fair. Even more damaging to trade along the routes mentioned here would have been the Mamluk capture of Malatya in 1315. But the diminution of east–west traffic cannot have meant that the reasons for siting toll stations at Komana/Şar, Seuagena/Agarak/Casena and the Karatay Han rather than elsewhere were no longer valid.

3. Conclusions: Ayas to Sivas

So far we have established plausible identifications for each of Pegolotti's stations as far as Salvastro/Sivas. Let us summarise these identifications, and the general nature of the route, as follows.

Pegolotti
Colidara

Identification
Kadirli/Kars Bazar

Gandon
Casena
gavazera dell'amiraglio
gavazera del soldano
Gadue
gavazera di casa Jacomo

Şar (Gr. *Komana*)
Köprübaşı/Ekrek
Karatay Han
Sultan Han
Şarkışla/Gedük
Lâtif Han at Tatlıocak

From Ayas the track crosses the Cilician plain via Til Hamdun/Toprakkale, passes a short distance to the west of Bodrum Kale and arrives at Colidara/Kadirli. From there it climbs through the western slopes of the Amanus and the southern slopes of the Taurus, principally by following the wide, flat-floored valley of Azgıt (medieval Şolakan) and Geben. Crossing the Meryemçil Bel it descends into the plain of Göksün/Koukousos. From Colidara to Göksün it has followed a road in the *Itinerarium Antoninum* which starts at Phlabias/Kadirli and heads on past Koukousos/Göksün to Sirica (Kemer) and Comana (Şar).¹¹²

From Göksün the Pegolotti itinerary winds through a series of valleys to reach the town of Komana/Şar, the first toll station in the territory under direct Il-Khanid administration. It then emerges on to the plains east of Kayseri, continuing to follow the Caesarea–Melitene road of the two ancient itineraries. It then turns north up the plain of the Zamantı Su, passing Hanköy and crossing the tributary at Köprübaşı/Ekrek/Casena. Here tolls would be paid: the toll station was sited so as to catch also those merchants coming from more easterly locations. Meanwhile, those who aimed to go to the Karatay Han and perhaps Kayseri would have continued along the great Roman road, crossing the Zamantı Su further south.

From Köprübaşı/Ekrek/Casena the Pegolotti route then crosses the angle between the Caesarea–Melitene axis and the Caesarea–Sebasteia axis, joining the latter at Sultan Han. It does so by emerging through a gap in a low range of the Anti-Taurus into the broad, substantially flat, valley of the Kızıl Irmak. From the Sultan Han it proceeds, again over flat or slightly undulating country, up the line of the ancient itineraries' road as far as Sivas, stopping at Gadue/Şarkışla with its castle, and at the large Seljuk caravansaray of Tatlıocak.

C. Sivas

A principal city of the Seljuk sultanate, Sivas remained the capital of the governors of Rum once the Seljuk sultanate had disappeared. This large and commercially important city lay in the middle of a small plain with low hills on all sides. Over the plain came tracks from Ankara to the west and Sinop and Samsun to the north, as well as the track from the direction of Kayseri (southwest) and those towards Erzincan and Erzurum (east) taken by the Pegolotti route and towards Malatya (southeast).

The population was Muslim and Christian.¹¹³ In our period and a little before, the number of buildings with some specifically Muslim purpose grew at a great rate until around 1300. The Christians seem to have been mainly Armenians; they had churches and monasteries within the city, and one monastery, seat of the bishop, to the south of the town. There is evidence that in the late thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century the city's population included, besides the Armenians, a Chalcedonian (Greek Orthodox) element. The Genoese merchant community (both resident and travelling) was accompanied by monasteries of the different Catholic orders, and Sivas eventually (1318) became the seat of a Catholic bishopric attached to Sultaniyya.

The city walls described a rough circle.¹¹⁴ Within the walls, apart from the market area and the two citadels to be described here, the city possessed wide streets and a variety of fine buildings.¹¹⁵ To the southwest, overlooking the gate which opened on to the Kayseri road, rose

a prehistoric mound on which was built a citadel. The surface area of this citadel, particularly that of the horizontal surface at the top, was limited; besides the garrison's lodgings, the city governor's residence may have stood here. There also seems to have been a Chalcedonian church inside the citadel.¹¹⁶ The city's principal commercial area, with *khans*, Great Mosque, etc., lay right in the centre of the city, where roads from all the gates intersected. To the west of the commercial area, astride the road coming into the city from Ankara, was an enclave which may have been laid out as the sultans' garden early in the Seljuk period (perhaps under Kaykavus I, 1205–19). In this enclave stood a remarkable group of Muslim buildings: two Seljuk *madrasas*, a hospital and probably the *madrasa* and *khanqah* of the Danishmendid Yaghi Basan. Outside the city wall there were cemeteries to north and east. Further out, to the south, was the Armenian monastery of the Holy Sign, residence of the bishop.

Since the 1320s and 1330s are likely to have been a time of high population and population density, conditions can be imagined as similar to those obtaining at another time of high population, the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. We can take the situation in the latter period as a guide to that in the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the population had grown in response to the resumption of commercial and manufacturing activity, a situation which seems to parallel the expansion of trade in the thirteenth century. An Ottoman fiscal document of 1574 gives a total of around 3,380 households (perhaps about 17,000 people), of which about 2,090 (10,000 people) were non-Muslim and 1290 (6,600 people) were Muslim. There were 41 *mahalles* or neighbourhoods, of which only 6 were non-Muslim and 35 were Muslim. The non-Muslim *mahalles*, then, were vastly more populous than the Muslim; this immediately suggests that the city had grown by the incremental creation of small Muslim *mahalles*, and previous Ottoman fiscal surveys point in the same direction.¹¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi, after a visit in the mid-seventeenth century, described a city of around 5,000 households, or perhaps 25,000 people, and 40 *mahalles* or residential neighbourhoods, all *intra muros*. Even allowing for exaggeration, it is possible that the population had grown since the census of 1574, but if so the *mahalles* too must have grown in size. The houses lacked gardens. This does not presume at all that there was a significant further element which lived outside the walls. On the contrary, the cemeteries against the inner face of the wall as well as outside the wall and the gardenless houses suggest that nearly all the population lived within the walls.¹¹⁸

The central area of the city was composed of the complex of public and mainly religious buildings in the sultan's garden, somewhat west of the geometrical centre, and the principal commercial area, which precisely did occupy the geometrical centre. The royal garden seems to have had the shape of a rectangle lying north–south. Within this had been founded the *daru'l-shifa* (Arab., pron. “darush-shifa”, Turk. *darüşşifa*) or hospital of Kaykavus I (finished 1219).¹¹⁹ This lay towards the east side of the enclosure, but transversely to the enclosure's axis, with its entrance to the west. Facing it lay the large *madrasa* now called the Çifte Minare Medresesi (“The Double-Minaretted Madrasa”), founded in 670/1271 by the Il-Khan's *sahib-i divan*, the official charged with overseeing and clearing up the finances of the Seljuk sultanate. To the north of the hospital a second but smaller *madrasa*, now known as the Buruciye Medresesi, was erected. This, too, was finished in 1271. The founder originated from Barujird, a town in Iran.¹²⁰ South of the hospital there probably still stood the *madrasa* and *khanqah* of the Danishmendid Yaghi Basan.¹²¹ Otherwise the space south of the Çifte Minare Medresesi (to the west) and of the *khanqah* of Yaghi Basan (to the east) was no doubt empty.

Within the busy, crowded commercial district at the very centre of the walled area, commercial activities and industrial crafts were carried on. There were buildings housing the

various industrial crafts and others which housed shops of a given specialisation; workshops making a certain product tended to congregate in particular parts of the market area. Wool, cotton cloth and carpets were woven here. Marco Polo wrote that Sivas was among the three cities in Rum most famous for their carpets.¹²² In the market area were built a number of mosques, *madrasas* and, in the early fourteenth century, *zawiyas* (buildings or complexes which housed dervishes).

From the *waqfiya* or deed of endowment (dated 1218) of the Seljuk sultan Kaykavus I's hospital, we know of a *khan*, i.e. a lockable building containing a number of shops or workshops; it stood in the *çarşı*, or commercial district, of the cloth-sellers. The same *waqfiya* also tells us of two *funduqs* ("inns"), which in the case of Sivas, were perhaps khans exclusively for the use of travelling merchants, whose goods could be safely deposited there.¹²³ We know also of several mosques and other religious buildings which had been founded by 1218. These included the Great Mosque and two, possibly three, *masjids* (small mosques which served a limited district, normally a *mahalle* but in this case a limited district of the commercial area).¹²⁴ Besides the *masjids*, two *madrasas* were founded in the market area (not the Sultan's garden) somewhat after 1218: the Hokkabaz Medresesi (perhaps in the reign of Kaykubad I, 1219–36) and that of Najm al-Din (probably before the mid-1250s).¹²⁵

The *waqfiya*, dated 1280, of the Gök Medrese, to be mentioned later, specifies seven khans in the market area from which income to maintain the Gök Medrese was derived; however, it seems that one of these khans was in fact one of the *funduqs* of 1218. Moreover, it is in the 1270s that a Genoese presence, very likely in the market area, is known. Two contracts by the Genoese notary Federico di Pizzalunga were perhaps drawn up in the other of the two *funduqs*.¹²⁶ The Genoese merchants, presumably both resident and travelling through, had their own *funduq* (i.e. the third within the city), which contained a chapel.¹²⁷ They had also a *loggia* (where the consular tribunal sat) and a church (probably different from the chapel within the funduq).¹²⁸ Besides the commercial buildings, the Gök Medrese *waqfiya* tells us of three more *masjids* and another *madrasa*, all in the market area. It mentions also five other *madrasas*, of which each one either was or was not within the market area: there are not sufficient indications.¹²⁹ Besides the *madrasas* mentioned here, we know of yet another, which might be counted the tenth (after the three surviving ones, all completed in 1271, and the six in the Gök Medrese *waqfiya*). This *madrasa* was built by a rich official of the Seljuk administration, perhaps in the 1260s, perhaps later.¹³⁰ We also know of yet another (an eleventh) *madrasa*. This was an institution called a *dar al-siyada*, similar in purpose to a *madrasa*, founded by the Il-Khan Ghazan (1295–1304). Unfortunately we do not know the geographical location of these *madrasas* within the city. Ghazan's *dar al-siyada* attracted scholars from elsewhere.¹³¹

Coming forwards in time, another document, the *waqfiya* of the *zawiya* of Akhi Amir Ahmad, drawn up in 1333, tells us of more buildings in the market area: another *khan*, another *çarşı* and even a washing-house and hamam by the Buruciye Medresesi; a *masjid* and *imaret* (soup-kitchen) were included in the *waqf* of the *zawiya* itself, which stood on the southeastern periphery of the market area; and other *masjids* of the period are known.¹³² As we have mentioned, of those *madrasas* whose existence is first attested in the Gök Medrese *waqfiya* of 1280, some may have been built in the market area.

Apart from the central area (the sultan's garden and the market), Muslim foundations tended to be sited just inside the city's gates. Beneath the "upper" citadel (that on the mound) and by the southwest gate, which looked towards Kayseri, and where tolls were extracted from merchants travelling towards Ayas or coming into the city from Ayas, the Seljuk vizier Sahib Ata constructed a fine *madrasa*, excelling both in the stone decoration of its portal

and in its blue and white ceramic decoration (*gök*, “sky” or “turquoise”); the madrasa was finished in 1271. The same vizier had built madrasas in the Seljuk capital of Konya and in Kayseri. With the madrasa were built a *masjid*, a library and a *dar al-ziyafa* (Arab., pron. “dar az-ziyafa”) or kitchen to feed the poor and hungry.¹³³ By the madrasa the vizier built a khan, which evidently served merchants just arrived from the direction of Kayseri.¹³⁴ Near the Kayseri gate and the great madrasa and its associated buildings, but this time right between the city wall and the citadel on its mound, a *zawiya* including the *türbe* or mausoleum of the eponymous founder, was built, probably in the very late thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth century.¹³⁵ It seems that the area behind the gate and the citadel on its mound was an Armenian neighbourhood: on the road leading from the gate towards the market area stood an Armenian church, that of the Mother of God.¹³⁶

Some way inside the southeast gate, which gave on to the Malatya road, was a complex of buildings, evidently put up with the needs of travellers in mind. First of all a *ribat* (translit. “ribāt”) had been constructed here in 1229; it was known by the name of its founder, Kamal al-Din ibn Raha. The word *ribāt* is not self-explicit; given the context, however, the building must have been some kind of caravansaray or hostel for merchants. Near this were built, in 1320, a *zawiya* and *masjid*. Just as the *ribat* was built to house travelling merchants, so the *zawiya* housed travelling dervishes and perhaps others.¹³⁷ The *masjid* and *zawiya* together were known as the *dar al-raha* (“house of repose”). Some way outside the wall, and on the Malatya road, stood the *zawiya* of a Shaykh Erzurum (sic).¹³⁸

At the east gate itself, where merchants left for Erzincan or came in from Erzincan, a transit tax was extracted.¹³⁹ It is noticeable that no *zawiyas*, *ribats* or other institutions were founded inside this gate, in contrast to the southwest gate, where a lavish madrasa, *dar al-ziyafa* and khan were founded.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, around 2 kilometres outside the walls to the northeast stood two *zawiyas*: one, on a hill, was that of Abdu’l-Wahhab (Turk. “Abdülvehap”), which was probably built shortly before 1326, the date of the *waqfiya*,¹⁴¹ somewhat south of the Abdu’l-Wahhab *zawiya* was that of Hajji Abdu’l-Rahman Rahtî, whose *waqfiya* was drawn up in 1327.¹⁴² The two *zawiyas* seem to have been placed in such a way as to serve travellers both on the eastwards road and on that towards the north. In general it can be seen how the *zawiyas* were placed near the city gates, whether just inside or some way outside.

Let us turn our attention to the churches and monasteries of the Christian denominations. Sivas was the seat of a Chalcedonian bishopric at least until the late fourteenth century.¹⁴³ We know of a church of the Chalcedonian faith, that of St. Blaisios, which seems to have been in the upper citadel; it is not clear if it was the metropolitan seat or not.¹⁴⁴ Within the city there seems to have been a Chalcedonian monastery of Aghios Giorgios.¹⁴⁵ We have already mentioned the Armenian church of the Mother of God between the southwest gate and the commercial area. The monastery of the Holy Sign, just to the south of Sivas and seat of the archbishop, seems to have been the most active of the Armenian monasteries. It had been founded in the eleventh century by an Armenian king accepting estates in this region from the Byzantine empire in return for abandoning his own land.¹⁴⁶ Among the Latin foundations, a Franciscan monastery is known in the late 1270s and in 1292,¹⁴⁷ and that of the Dominicans at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁸ The appointment of a Latin bishop in 1318 implies a church (possibly the church of the Genoese?), either pre-existing or built for the purpose.¹⁴⁹ The bishopric appears to have lasted continuously until 1425, if not beyond.¹⁵⁰

We will now sum up, and view the city from the point of view of its development. The city seems to have been developed generally in accordance with the rhythms of international trade: the period when building picked up was that of the first half of the thirteenth century, when trade was rapidly expanding on the Antalya–Konya–Sivas line, while the most

dynamic period of growth, and the one decisive in the shaping of the city as a fabric of buildings and as an entity with commercial links up and down the Ayas–Tabriz track and towards Amasya and Sinop, was that of the 1260s and 1270s.

During the twelfth century the known public buildings were as follows: first, the Chalcedonian and Armenian churches, particularly the monastery of the Holy Sign outside the city to the south. Secondly, the Muslim buildings: the madrasa and *khanqah* of the Danishmendid Yaghi Basan in the royal garden, and the Great Mosque, presumably founded during the Danishmendid occupation of the city.

By 1219, Kaykavus' *daru'l-shifa* in the royal garden had been built. In the adjacent market area we find a khan, two *funduqs* and two masjids; we note that building is concentrated in the central area and that it has a partly commercial character. By the 1250s, two more madrasas have been constructed in the market area and the *ribat*, some form of hostel or caravansaray for merchants, of Kamal al-Din ibn Raha just inside the southeast gate.

We take now the period from the late 1250s to the late 1270s. In this period possibly the first monument to be put up was that founded by the wealthy Seljuk administrator, most likely in the 1260s. Soon after, three large madrasas were constructed, all being finished in 670/1271. Two of the madrasas were in reality merely the major element in a complex of buildings: with the Gök Medrese (near the southwest gate) were built a *masjid*, library and *dar al-ziyafa*; by the Buruciye Medresesi stood a library and another *masjid*. Of these foundations, the Çifte Minare Medresesi (built by the Il-Khan's *sahib-i divan*) and the Buruciye Medresesi, with associated library and *masjid*, were built respectively west and north of Kaykavus' hospital, thus intensifying dramatically the concentration of public buildings, with an emphasis on madrasas, within the royal garden. Within the market area immediately to the east of the royal garden two more khans had been put up by 1280, as had three more masjids and another madrasa.¹⁵¹ Five more madrasas had been founded, though their locations are unknown; possibly one or two of the five were in the market area too. Again within the market area in the city's centre, a Genoese consulate was established in the city before 1274, and the Genoese church and probably a chapel within the Genoese funduq were perhaps built at a similar date. The Franciscan monastery had been built certainly by the late 1270s. What was especially new in the period was the building of installations away from the central area, near one of the city gates and just inside the city walls. Such were the Gök Medrese and the associated library and *dar al-ziyafa* near the Kayseri gate.

The whole phenomenon of building in the 1260s and 1270s – the huge investment respectively by the Il-Khan's *sahib-i divan*, the Seljuk vizier and an Iranian merchant; the additional eight madrasas and three masjids; and the Genoese churches and commercial presence – constitute a rapid step away from the previous period of isolated and somewhat sporadic projects. At the same time, the construction of so many madrasas in a short space of time suggests also an increased Muslim presence in the city: whether the madrasas were founded partly with the object of encouraging such an increase, or whether their foundation was in part a response to such an increase, is hard to say. In any case, the political and commercial motives appear to be closely mingled with the religious.

That three *madrasas* of Sivas were completed in the same year, 670/1271, evidently has some significance and requires some explanation. Of these madrasas, the Çifte Minare Medresesi, founded by the Il-Khan's financial overseer, was built opposite the hospital which had been founded by a Seljuk sultan before the period of dependence on the Mongols (1243 onwards). Evidently a form of competition took place in the city: the Il-Khan's finance officer and the Seljuk sultan's vizier each took care to maintain a presence in the city by building a madrasa there. The construction of the fiscal officer's madrasa right opposite the

Seljuk sultan's hospital cannot fail to remind the onlooker of the Seljuk sultanate's dependence on the Il-Khanid empire, while the position of the Seljuk vizier's madrasa well away from the central complex of buildings and near the edge of the walled area seems to claim a certain *independence* from the Il-Khan. The position to the southwest, near the gate by which the Kayseri road entered the city, was probably meant to point towards the Seljuk capital of Konya. Equally the foundation of a third madrasa by a merchant from an Iranian city may signal the direct interest of the Il-Khan. Such competition within the city was the direct consequence of the city's commercial importance, the latter in turn of the Pegolotti route, established 15 years or so before the completion of the three madrasas.

By 1333, the date of the *waqfiya* of the Akhi Amir Ahmad zawiya, another wave of building had taken place. It may be said to have started at the end of the thirteenth century with the foundation of his *dar al-siyada* by the Il-Khan Ghazan (1295–1304). But, despite Ghazan's work, the period of the great madrasas was over. With the exception of an unlocalised masjid,¹⁵² the other known buildings were zawiya complexes put up mostly behind or in front of one or the other of the city gates. Near the Kayseri gate to the southwest was constructed the Shaykh Choban zawiya. Towards the southeast gate, a zawiya and masjid were built so as to include the *ribat* of Kamal al-Din ibn Raha; outside the same gate another zawiya was founded. Other zawiya complexes lay outside the town, serving the east and northeast gates: those of Abdu'l-Wahhab and the Abdu'l-Rahman Rahtî. To complete the picture of construction and community development, the Dominican monastery had been built certainly by the end of the thirteenth century, although there is no certainty that it had not been already built in the 1270s or 1280s.

The steady increase in the number of masjids from period to period cannot fail to leave a strong impression. Up to 1280, the new masjids known from the two waqfiyas (*daru'l-shifa* and Gök Medrese) were in the market area at the city's centre. This, however, was somewhat inevitable given that the waqfiyas were concerned with properties in the central area providing income for the relevant waqfs. Other masjids in more residential neighbourhoods must have been founded. In any case the continuous foundation of masjids leaves the impression of an incoming Muslim population which was accommodated in newly created or expanding Muslim *mahalles*. The purpose of the masjids attached to the new zawiya complexes of the 1320s and 1330s was certainly to provide a mosque for dervishes and zawiya guests, but they may also have played a role in the establishment or the colonisation, as it were, of new neighbourhoods.

By the time that Ghazan's *dar al-siyada* was founded, the city contained 12 madrasas. In a city of 5,000 houses, it would admittedly have been otiose to build more. But the stoppage in the foundation of more madrasas after Ghazan's *dar al-siyada* was due to other causes besides the mere accumulation of madrasas within the city. The different nature of the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century foundations (zawiyas and masjids) is presumably the outcome of a situation whereby the Seljuk state and its officers were so weak and indigent that they were no longer in a position to found large institutions such as madrasas. Resources were now in the hands of the Sufi orders and of brotherhoods with some affinity to the Sufis: the *akhi*, associations of mainly professional young men, founded for the purpose of maintaining correct behaviour and a correct religious stance. The Sufis appear to have been quite numerous and influential. At one *sama'a*, or mystic ritual, of the Mevlevi, taking place towards the end of the thirteenth century, the *akbar* (Arab.) or prominent men of the city were present.¹⁵³ In the same period, the *hakim* or governor of the city was himself a Mevlevi.¹⁵⁴ The *hakim*, the *akhis* and, again, the leading men of the city, all seem to have been thickly associated.¹⁵⁵ In 1332, as the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta approached Sivas, he was greeted by two groups

of *akhis*, one of which put him up in its zawiya. Eretna, the Il-Khanid governor of Rum from 1329 to 1343, and subsequently independent ruler of the same region, himself founded nothing in Sivas apart for a mausoleum for his son; on the other hand, as Ibn Battuta's visit revealed, he himself was closely associated with the dervishes.¹⁵⁶

Zawiyas were the vehicle of associations more informal than the organs of the state. They were outside state control, but when the effectiveness of the state broke down, they provided a certain measure of stability and of support for the local population. The zawiyas near the city gates to the north and northeast also reflect a preoccupation with helping travellers; the Sivas madrasas, on the other hand, were instruments of the state, and two of them were concentrated in a location away from the city's gates.

Notes

- 1 The text specifies the tax, in the first place, as 41 *taccolini*: the *taccolino*, the *takvorin* (Armn., "royal coin"), was a coin of Cilician Armenia. The text then goes on to say that the 41 *taccolini* are more or less equivalent to 41 Tabriz *aspers*, i.e. dirhams. This is based, continues the text, on the assumption that the *taccolino* is more or less equivalent to 1 *asper*. Still under Colidara, the itinerary asserts that one bezant is equivalent to 6 *aspers*. The weight of the asper would therefore be $9.56 \div 6 = 1.59$ g. The period at which the weight standard of the dirham was comparable to this weight was the year 739/1338–39 (reign of Sati Beg), when the standard was 12 *qirats* or 2.16 g. Under the Cilician kings the weight standard of the *takvorin* or *taccolino* does not seem to have fallen so low: for example under Levon IV (1320–41), the average weight of the surviving coins is 2.36 g, which implies a somewhat higher weight standard (see Bedoukian 1979: 111). It may be that a high arbitrage rate obtained between *takvorins* and dirhams at Colidara. The low dirham weight standard implied by the itinerary suggests a late addition to the itinerary's text, irrespective of the latter's date of composition and of its date of inclusion in the manual as a whole.
- 2 Among others: *Notai genovesi in Oltramare*, ed Balletto: esp no 6, pp 8–9; no 43, pp 56–57 (Sivas included among destinations); no 63, pp 78–79; no 109, pp 133–34 (consul in Ayas witnesses paper receipt from inhabitants of Famagusta); *Notai genovesi in Oltramare (Lamberto di Sambuceto)*, ed Balard: no 6, pp 8–9 (undertakes to go to Ayas); no 24, pp 33–34 (an inhabitant of Ayas requests to be buried in Famagusta); no 109, pp 133–34 (Pisan consul in Ayas acknowledges receipt of payment by inhabitant of Famagusta); Balard 2007: 143, 146–49; Jacoby 2014: 263, 267, 274.
- 3 Jacoby 1996: 396–98; 405.
- 4 The Genoese had a house and fort at Limassol, a house and *loggia* at Nicosia, and the same in Paphos or near it. Genoa maintained consuls in Limassol and perhaps Paphos, as well as in Famagusta (on which see p 168 (note *loggias*)). See Balard 1996: 261; id 1985: 256.
- 5 Balard 1995: 268–69.
- 6 Balard 1995: 266.
- 7 Citadel, sea walls, dock, *ibid*: 265–66.
- 8 Balard 1995: 266–67, 271; strictly the evidence dates from after the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary.
- 9 *Ibid*: 268, 270.
- 10 *Ibid*: 267–68.
- 11 *Ibid*: 270–72.
- 12 *Ibid*: 272–74.
- 13 *Ibid*: 274–75. It is not certain whether the building which survives between the sea gate and the Asylum of St. Anthony is the customs house or if the latter was on another nearby site.
- 14 *Ibid*: 272, 275–77.
- 15 On the Italian banks' representatives and activities, Tognetti 2008.
- 16 P 73.
- 17 *Ibid*.
- 18 Balard 1996: 264–65.
- 19 *Ibid*: 263.
- 20 *Ibid*: 323–25.
- 21 *Ibid*: 264–65.

- 22 On the general disposition of different parts of the settlement, Alichan 1899: 432–33. He claims that the civilian and commercial settlement to the west of the walls was itself walled, but the sources must be referring to the principal walled area. Hellenkemper (1976: 164) observed the remains of medieval houses in the commercial area. The present author is preparing an article which describes more thoroughly the history of Ayas as a settlement.
- 23 On the sea walls see Edwards 1987: 79; on the inland walls, Hellenkemper 1976: 161; Edwards 1987: 79–80. For photographs of those on the west side and along the sea front, and a Byzantine bath, Artun, Koz 2000: 190–93. Edwards argues that the present walls are an Ottoman rebuild: his reason, the similarity of the masonry here to that of an Ottoman tower well to the west of the settlement, is convincing. The walls were certainly rebuilt after the attack of 1322, because the treaty signed a year later expressly permitted only the rebuilding of the land walls and of the city, but not of the sea castle (Hellenkemper 1976: 157–58). But Edwards' assertion that the ground plans of the towers are similar to those at the mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman castle at Payas does not stand. Leaving aside the clear differences in ground plan and design, the two castles differ also in purpose. The Ottoman fort at Payas is designed to hold cannon and musket-bearing infantry, while the defences at Ayas, to judge by the ground plan, are designed for ballistic machines and archers.
- 24 Hellenkemper 1976: 163.
- 25 Ališan 1885: 363, 366–68.
- 26 Ališan 1885: 366, 367; for an overview, Hellenkemper 1976: 163. On the bureaucracy concerned with levying the customs taxes, Alichan 1899: 440–44, 461–64.
- 27 Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 160; Ališan 1885: 367; Fedalto 1973–78: 2.55–56.
- 28 Hellenkemper 1976: 164; Alichan 1899: 434–40. On warehouses, Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.94.
- 29 Langlois 1863: no I, pp 105–9; no X, pp 126–28; Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 1260–61. On the Ligurians, Velle 1983: 93, 95–96, 97–100.
- 30 Ališan 1885: 360, 362; Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 161; Otten-Froux 1988: 156–57; Velle 1983: 82–83, 98–99.
- 31 Langlois 1863: no XXVI, pp 154–58; no XXVII, pp 159–62; Heyd 1923: 2.75.
- 32 Racine 1972; Velle 1983: 100–02; Otten-Froux 1988: 156; Balard 1985: 253.
- 33 Otten-Froux 1988: 152–54. The notarial documents to which Otten-Froux refers, originally published by Desimoni in 1881, have been republished: *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, ed Balletto. See there: 1274/14, pp 20–21; 1277/38, pp 256–57; 1279/79, pp 309–11.
- 34 Langlois 1863: no II, pp 109–12; no XIX, pp 143–46. Sopracasa 2001: no 1, pp 26–30; no 2, pp 35–38.
- 35 Sopracasa 2001: nos 3, 4, pp 43–46, 53–56; for no 4, Langlois 1863: no XXV, pp 151–53. See Ališan 1885: 362; Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 161.
- 36 Otten-Froux 1988: 154; Heyd 1923: 2.80–83.
- 37 Langlois 1863, nos XXXI, XXXVI, pp 166–69, 182–84; Sopracasa 2001: nos 6, 7, pp 69–79; no 9, pp 89–93. Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 161.
- 38 Ališan 1885: 362 for a list.
- 39 Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 161: two Venetian wills.
- 40 Langlois 1863: no XXXV, pp 179–82: cf no XL, pp 193–94 (1333). Ališan 1885: 362.
- 41 Indemnities to Pisans: Langlois 1863: no XXX, 165–66; no XXXII, pp 169–70; no XXXIII, pp 170–75. Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 161.
- 42 Langlois 1863: no XXVIII, p 163 (Catalans); no XXIX, pp 164–65 (Marseilles); no XXIV, pp 178–79 (Montpellier); XXXVII, pp 185–86 (ditto); no XXXVIII, pp 186–90 (Sicilians). Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 161; Otten-Froux 1988: 85–88, 155; Velle 1983: 100, 103–05.
- 43 *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, ed Balletto: 1277/4 (see Jacoby 2014: 270); 1279/64, pp 292–92.
- 44 Ashtor 1976: 265.
- 45 Otten-Froux 1988: 106–14 and for doctor, 108. On the communities in general, Otten-Froux: 152–57.
- 46 Edwards 1987: 81 for an accurate description of the fort. The masonry, from the details supplied by him, appears not to be Ottoman; on the other hand the fort had been destroyed, wholly or partly, in the Mamluk capture of 1322, and the treaty of 1323 permitted the Armenian king to rebuild only the city and land walls, not the sea castle. On the castellan, Ališan 1885: 367.
- 47 Edwards 1987: 41.
- 48 On the last three, Hild, Restle 1981: 261–62, 298–99, 245–46.
- 49 Pp 50, 57.

- 50 Pp 70, 71.
- 51 Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim al-Buldan*, ed Reinaud, MacGuckin de Slane: 248–49. See Tomaschek 1891: 70–71. Relevant also is the transfer to Ayas in c 1320 of the seat of the Latin bishopric of Mamistra/Misis, on the way to Adana, Tarsus and the Gülek Boğaz (Loenertz 1937: 187).
- 52 Heyd 1923: 2.113; Manandian 1965: 191; Edwards 1987: 41. Kiepert (1881: 901) ingeniously proposed the Taurus crossing which starts from Sis/Kozan.
- 53 Otherwise p/b; t/d; i/r.
- 54 The name was then pron. “Ruben”.
- 55 On both, Alichan 1899: 167.
- 56 “Rum Kale” (Turk.), “Castle of the Romans”, i.e. the Byzantines. The Armenian name is apparently an adaptation of the same. It is strange that Turkish word order rather than Arabic (which would have said “Qal‘at al-Rum”) is followed here.
- 57 On the incident, Ališan 1885: 157–58; Alichan 1899: 167; and for other sources Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 309–10. (The latter authors identify Kopitaṛ with Bostan Kale, on a road leading over the Taurus mountains from Sis/Kozan.)
- 58 Ališan 1885: 62; Alichan 1899: 167.
- 59 Alichan 1899: 167. It seems unlikely that the name Gök Dere is a Turkification, at however long a remove, of “Kopitaṛ”.
- 60 Halaçoğlu 1979: 833–34.
- 61 Alichan 1899: 167.
- 62 *Chronique Smbat*, tr Dédéyan: 71.
- 63 Colophons, fifteenth century: vol 2, no 2349, p 274; Yinanç 1989: 66, 69. See also Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 310; Ališan 1885: 535; Alichan 1899: 167. Sis was normally under direct Mamluk administration. After the Dulğadır seizure in 1468 it was taken in 1469 by the Ramazanoğulları, the Turkish tribal grouping which held Cilicia from the Mamluks. However, Shah Suvar the Dulğadır took it back, capturing at the same time Ayas, Adana and Tarsus, in 1470 before being forced to hand it back to the Mamluk sultan in 1471. See Yinanç 1989: 69, 71, 73.
- 64 On Kum Kale, Andırın and Azgıt, Edwards 1987: 170–73, 55–56, 83–84.
- 65 But on Kağdاریç, a castle, and on the *ponte a Cantieri*, pp 241–44.
- 66 Alichan 1899: 167.
- 67 Alichan (1899: 229–30) mentions that the village, not castle, of Bodrum, was ruined at the time he wrote. It was near the monastery of St Ramanus; but since the latter’s location is not fixed, the information does not furnish any geographical clues for the position of the village.
- 68 Davis 1879: 124.
- 69 But there is no evidence for a migration from the Kars in Greater Armenia, as assumed by Hild and Hellenkemper (1990: 379). *Bazar* is perhaps a corruption and assimilation of ‘Phlabias’, an assimilation with which the small town’s commercial role had a certain connection. See n 70 on p 000.
- 70 Concerning the sanjak, there are numerous *tahrir defters* (fiscal registers) in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul, and cf MD 8, no 844, p 76 and no 1043, p 94, both of 978/1570–71.
- 71 Evliya, ed Kurşun: 3.104. Traces of the ancient city wall were noticed in the late nineteenth century: Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896: 32; quoted Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 379. For other antiquities, Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896: 33; Davis 1879: 124–26 (including bridge); Alichan 1899: 226 (bridge).
- 72 On the building as a whole, Sinclair 1990: 329–30, but without reference to the minaret’s inscription.
- 73 Davis (1879: 127–28), at the end of the Ottoman period, followed the track over the plain. Talbert 2000: sheet 69 marks a road connecting Toprakkale, which is nameless in the ancient itineraries, with Hierapolis and again connecting Hierapolis with Phlabias. This alignment could not have been followed in the Il-Khanid period, of course. But the two itineraries seem not to contain any such roads, and the gazetteer of Talbert 2000 (2.1036) offers no support either.
- 74 On the terrain through which the track passes, and Geben, Sinclair 1990: 332–35.
- 75 Since in the early thirteenth century tolls are known to have been extracted at Geben (see p 172), its position off the second track tells against that track as the recognised route in late Il-Khanid times.
- 76 Miller 1916: 211–12.
- 77 Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 216–17.
- 78 Argued by Edwards (1987: 41).
- 79 For lords of Geben known in 1297 and 1307 respectively, (1) Samuel of Ani in RHC Docs. Arm.: I.465; Smbat the Constable, *ibid*: 1.656; (2) *ibid*: 1.lxxxv, cxiv. On both, Edwards 1987: 125 n 16. On Geben’s role on the frontier, Mas Latrie 1891–93: 1.299. In 1347 Geben was recaptured from some Turcomans (Mutafian 1988: 471), which again suggests a border role.

- 80 Hild, Hellenkemper 1990: 217.
- 81 During an attack on Cilicia by the Mamluks, the Armenian king went to the Mongols, who had camped between Elbistan and Göksün (“Ablstin ev Koksonoy”). See Grigor of Akanc’, ed Blake, Frye: 356. Göksün would hardly be named as a territorial marker in parallel with Elbistan if it were a village rather than a town.
- 82 In the medieval Armenia of Cilicia and western Armenia, the -k- of Gr. “Komana” would have been pronounced /g/. M/n is a frequent alternation.
- 83 Hild, Restle 1981: 208.
- 84 On the remains of the churches: (1) in Ala Kapı, the first-century AD temple: Sinclair 1989, 474; (2) Kırık Kilise, from fourth-century AD mausoleum: Sinclair 1989: 472; (3) church built from theatre’s blocks: Sinclair 1989: 475.
- 85 Erdmann 1961: no 26, 1.90–97; for the builder, 1.96, 97. Özergin 1965: no 116.
- 86 The existence of the caravansaray is known from Ottoman itineraries: see Taeschner 1924–26: 1.182. Erdmann (1961: no 68, 1.194) was shown a small mound in Şarkışla which was said to be the site of the han. Özergin 1965: no 39. On the *menzil* of Gedük, Ibn Bibi, tr Duda: 51, 78, 95; Hild, Restle 1981: 228. Town: Mustawfî, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 98.
- 87 Erdmann 1961: no 74, 1.194.
- 88 Özergin 1965: no 81, making the identification with the *gavazera di casa Jacomo*; Taeschner 1924–26: 1, pl 23; 2.75.
- 89 I.e. even if the coining of the name “Lâtif Han” for the caravansaray, perhaps in jest or in poetic remembrance, can be imagined, it is difficult to imagine the subsequent transference of the name to the lake; and vice versa.
- 90 P-r-d/f-r-t : alternations p/f, d/t.
- 91 Taeschner (1924–26: 2.75) in fact thought that the Lâtif Han must be at Apardı.
- 92 The close connection between hearths and private houses might suggest that “casa” in Pegolotti’s name corresponds to “-ocak” in the name attested on the ground. However, in “Jacomo” we have the two consonants of “-ocak”. This would suggest that both the “casa” and the “Jacomo” element of Pegolotti’s name somehow, by greater confusion than usual, derive from “-ocak”, the first phonetically and the second semantically. Alternatively it might suggest that the “Tatlı-” element of the name now current on the ground hides an original which indicated a house or other dwelling. This original might have been, for example, “taht” (“throne”, “seat”, “residence”). Again it would be cogent to look in the consonants of “Apardı” and “Lâtif” for the original behind “tatlı”.
- 93 *TabPeut* apud Miller 1916: 729–30; *ItAnt* ibid: 178–79, 206–67, 214. On the traces of the road, Hild 1977: 72. However, the *TabPeut*’s stations of Foroba, Megalasso and Comaralis, equivalent to the Antonine stations of Eulepa, Malandara and Scanatus discussed here, are apparently intrusions from elsewhere on the predecessor map. See Ramsay 1890: 270, 288. The positions of the stations and the distances between them may not have been affected by the intrusion of the names.
- 94 Eulepa was identified with Pallas by Ramsay (1890: 207, 306). The later Aipoloi, on whose history see Hild, Restle: 1981, 137, was identified with Pallas and Eulepa equally on grounds of their toponyms’ resemblance. In general it would be unwise to accept the present site of the toponymically related village as the ancient or medieval site of a settlement, but in the present case the Roman road swerves precisely to pass Pallas/Gölova.
- 95 Ramsay 1890: 270; Miller 1916: 730, with the TP’s name of “Megalasso”; on the intrusion in the TP, n 73 above.
- 96 Miller (1916: 730) placed Scanatus at “Eski Aparenti” (a mistake for “Eski Apardı”), following Kiepert. This would fit the *ItAnt*’s (pp 178–79) distance of 30 Roman miles or c 45 kilometres. However, the *TabPeut* reads 32 Roman miles, which would be more or less right for the Lâtif Han. The distances for the stage Scanatus–Sebasteia in both documents (22, 28 Roman miles) are too great.
- 97 On the caravansaray, Erdmann 1961: no 32, 1.117–25; Özergin 1965: no 64, with identification as *gavazera del soldano*. On the *waqf* and the attribution to Karatay (by Aksarayı), Erdmann 1961: 1.124. On Karatay, Cahen 1968: 134, 256, 272–75, 335–36, 342.
- 98 “Zamanti” is connected with “Tsamandos”, the name of a fortress, now known as Melik Gazi, high above the Zamanti Su valley before the river issues into the plain.
- 99 On the Roman road Şar to Kayseri, Sinclair 1989: 446–47, 455, 476 and bibliography. For more easterly sections, ibid: 477–79, 492–95, 497.
- 100 Miller 1916: 735–36.
- 101 On the structures, Sinclair 1989: 454–55.
- 102 Turan 1946: 53, 64, 111.

- 103 Mosque: Dilaver 1996–68: 184–94; but cf Göde 1994: 36 and reference there. Coin: Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 663, p 221. Zawiya: Göde 1994: 64–65.
- 104 Hild, Restle 1981: 173–74.
- 105 Ptolemy, *Geography*: V.6.14.
- 106 Ramsay 1890: 305.
- 107 Mitford puts Seuagena at the Zamantı Su crossing of the Roman road to Melitene, where we suggest the *TabPeut*’s Larissa stood: Talbert 2000: map 64, C3, bottom left. But in the map-by-map directory (2.987, under Euagina), Mitford states Seuagena to have been near Gemerek, which lies between Kayseri and Sivas.
- 108 For this road and the fair, p 181. On the fair’s probable end date, Sümer 1985: 13–14, 18–20; pp 73, 180, 181.
- 109 On this road, Hild 1977: 100–03, 136–37.
- 110 On the roundabout northerly road and the monuments along it (Aromane, etc.), Sinclair 1989: 485–87, 489–92, 497.
- 111 On this road, Hild 1977: 100–03, 136–37. On Tzamandos/Melik Gazi, Sinclair 1989: 447–51.
- 112 Miller 1916: 211–12.
- 113 Turan ([O] 1951: 450) includes Jews, but this is perhaps based on a misreading of Evliya (ed Kurşun: 3.122).
- 114 See, among others, Gabriel 1931: 1.136.
- 115 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.289.
- 116 For such a governor, Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 2.852–53, 855; tr O’Kane: 595–96, 597–98. On the church, p 186. Evliya’s seventeenth-century description (ed Kurşun: 3.122) gives some idea of the citadel’s possible state in the late Middle Ages.
- 117 Demirel 2000: 17, 27, 187 (table). In the survey of 859/1455, only 10 Muslim *mahalles* emerge, while the number of non-Muslim *mahalles* was six, meaning that the number of non-Muslim *mahalles* did not increase between then and 1574. The non-Muslim population consisted of about 350 households (1,750 people), the Muslim population of about 220 (1,100 people). So in between times the Christian neighbourhoods had grown in size, probably by a mixture of influx and natural increase, while the Muslim ones had not, even though their number had greatly risen.
- 118 Evliya, ed Kurşun: 3.122; commented on by Van Berchem, Edhem 1917: 13, 14; Demirel 2000: 41. Evliya gives 4,600 houses plus 300 in a “lower” citadel against the north sector of the city wall. This “lower” citadel was almost certainly not there in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. In Evliya’s account the “lower” citadel was defended by a double wall with towers and a ditch. The lower citadel seems to have embraced the city’s north gate, and had a gate on its south side opening into the rest of the city. Within the “lower” citadel stood the province governor’s palace, a mosque, a hamam, a dozen shops and 300 houses. In the late Middle Ages we find nothing which corresponds to such an enclosure. Demirel (2000: 12–15, 46) and Demir (2005: 155) assume that Evliya’s “lower citadel” was the sultan’s garden just west of the commercial area in the city centre. Many points militate against the identification: the location against the city wall; the double wall; the 300 houses, which would not have fitted; the mosque; and the *hamam*, of which no trace survives within the sultan’s garden.
- 119 For bibliography, Sinclair 1989: 305, 526–27; Demir 2005: 161, 165–66.
- 120 On the two madrasas, Sinclair 1989: 302–03; Demir 2005: 158, 181–82 (Buruciye only).
- 121 Demir 2005 : 175, 181 ; pp 185–86.
- 122 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.95. On the crowds within the market district, Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.289.
- 123 Demir 2005: 167–68; for the purpose of the funduq, Turan 1951: 450–51.
- 124 Great Mosque: Demir 2005: 156–57; Sinclair 1989: 306, 307. Masjids: that of the Danishmendid Yaghi Basan and that of the *amir-I akhur* ‘Imad al-Din bin Ayaz. That of Jamal al-Din Muhammad Kazvini may have been built by 1218, but possibly later. The last is probably the same as the mas-jid of Jamal al-Din named in the 1280 waqfiya: see n 79. For all three, Demir 2005: 158.
- 125 Demir 2005: 183.
- 126 Khans and funduqs: Demir 2005: 168. The Kemaleddin *funduq* mentioned in one Genoese document (Bratianu 1929: 168 [sic]) must be the khan of Kamil al-Din Mansur known from the Gök Medrese waqfiya. For the contract, *ibid*: 166, Appendix 1, 2.
- 127 Bratianu 1929: 168.
- 128 *Ibid*: 161. It would seem that the consulate had already been established by the dates 1274 and 1279, when the two documents witnessing the existence of the church and *loggia* were drawn up. A consul is also directly attested in 1300 (*ibid*: 168).

- 129 Masjids: Demir 2005: 159 (Attârlar, İki Kardeş and Hacı Zeki Mescidi). The masjid of Jamal al-Din, near the gate of the “City Citadel”, i.e. the sultan’s garden, was very likely the same as the masjid of Jamal al-Din Muhammad Kazvini known earlier: n 124 on p 192. Madrasas: Demir 2005: 183–84. Within market area, the Subaşı Medresesi. Otherwise, the Kemaliye, Bulgarî, Shams al-Din Jazari and Amir al-Din Hamawi (the latter probably, but not certainly, within the Najm al-Din Tusi).
- 130 Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 2.835, no 11; tr O’Kane: 583, no 11.
- 131 Togan 1953–54: 35; Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.289. Some have accused the *Letters* of Rashid al-Din, of which Togan’s article is a summary, of being useless as a historical source (see Morton 1998; for counter-arguments, Leiser 1998). However, they seem more in the nature of a document which preserves laudatory traditions concerning Rashid al-Din, sometimes plainly wrong, sometimes perhaps heavily distorted. In the present case, Ibn Battuta’s record of his visit guarantees at least that the *dar al-siyada* existed. Less likely to be true is the story in the *Letters* that from the *waqfs* for the institution Jalal al-Din, governor of Rum from 1317 onwards, founded many humdrum civilian buildings (hamams, shops, etc.) but then used the income from these later buildings to reinforce the *dar al-siyada*’s waqf!
- 132 Demir 2005: 168, 179–80. Akhi Amir Ahmad: Demirel 2000: 59; Demir 2005: 159, 162, 172. On the Ahi Emir Ahmet Türbesi, which survives, Sinclair 1989: 308, with bibliography.
- 133 Demir 2005: 158, 171–72, 182–83; Turan 1948: 61; 1951: 452, 453. On the *madrasa* itself, which survives, bibliography in Sinclair 1989: 298–300; also Ferit, Mesut 1940: 107–19.
- 134 Demir 2005: 167, 168.
- 135 Ibid: 160, 163, 164; Demirel 2000: 58–59. The only exact date is that of a repair to the *türbe* carried out in 1370.
- 136 Evliya, ed Kurşun: 3.122, 124.
- 137 Demirel 2000: 58 and n 274; Wolper 2003: 47. Inscription of 720/1320, waqfiya of 721/1321. The name of this *ribat* and of its founder appear to have nothing to do with “Kemaleddin”, the name of the second Genoese *funduq* mentioned in the 1270s (n 184).
- 138 Demirel 2000: 58, 66; Demir 2005: 162, 167.
- 139 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 28.
- 140 Wolper, however, finds another zawiya to the northeast, again near one of the gates in the city wall. It was known as that of Shams al-Din Sivasi (presumably a dervish himself). See Wolper 2003: 47.
- 141 Demirel 2000: 58; Demir 2005: 171; for the present state of the buildings, Sinclair 1989: 310, with bibliography.
- 142 Demirel 2000: 58, 62, 192; Demir 2005: 162–63, 171.
- 143 Hild, Restle 1971: 274.
- 144 William of Rubruck, tr Morgan: 272; Korobeinikov 2005: 15. William says he was unable to get up to the church, no doubt because it was in the citadel.
- 145 Evliya, ed Kurşun: 3.124, but likely to have been founded before the late Middle Ages.
- 146 Colophons, thirteenth century: no 515, pp 637–38; fourteenth century: no 130, p 96, no 316, pp 256–57. On the history of the monastery, Oskean 1946: 27–76, esp 43–47.
- 147 Richard 1977: 115.
- 148 Richard 1977: 115.
- 149 On the appointment, Loenertz 1937: 172; Richard 1977: 172, 176.
- 150 Fedalto 1973–78: 2.202–03.
- 151 Madrasas: the Subaşı madrasa and that of the Amir al-Din ‘Ali al-Hamawi: Demir 2005: 183, 184.
- 152 Demir 2005: 159–60.
- 153 Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 2.863, no 29; tr O’Kane: 603, no 29. For the *khatib* or public speaker of Sivas as travelling companion of two Mevlevis, ibid: 2.931, no 74; tr O’Kane: 651, no 75. For the presence of other Sufis, ibid: 1.310, no 230/tr O’Kane: 215, no 229; 2.754, no 12/tr O’Kane: 526, no 12.
- 154 Ibid: 2.855; tr O’Kane: 597–98.
- 155 Ibid: 2.852, no 23; tr O’Kane: 596–98, no 23, for an incident where all arrived to intervene in a *fracas* where a *shaykh* from Erzurum threatened to subvert part of the populace.
- 156 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.289–92. For the mausoleum, Gabriel 1931: 2.161–64.

4 Sivas to Erzincan

A. Introduction

Pegolotti's stations:

Dudriaga: diritto, 3 aspers per load

Greboco: diritto, 4 aspers per load

Mughisar: diritto, 2 ½ aspers per load; *tantaullagio*, ½ asper per load

Arzinga: diritto, 5 aspers on entry, 9 aspers on exit from city's territory; [*tantaullagio*] for guardians at exit from city (Tabriz side)

Of these stations, Dudriaga has been identified with present-day Tödürge, about 60 kilometres east of Sivas on the modern road towards Erzincan.¹ Tödürge as a position for a toll station possessed certain topographical advantages. The track from Divriği, ultimately from Khartbert/Harput and Amid/Diyarbakır, climbing out of the Divriği basin and over a range of hills, descended to the Pegolotti track at Tödürge.² A third road, taking the line of the modern road, went due east to Gencolar and over a pass to Refahiye. A toll station at Tödürge controlled and taxed traffic on three different roads. A document of 1333 records the existence of a caravansaray at a settlement called Ovacık, in the *nahiya* or sub-district of Dodurga. Very possibly it was at this caravansaray, which would naturally have been positioned at the three-way crossroads, that the tolls were extracted.³ Although the modern village is somewhat nondescript, lying as it does on a rolling plain, there is evidence that the settlement could have been something more than a village in the late Middle Ages. In the late fourteenth century there existed an estate of Zara and Todurga – evidently the basin of the Kızıl Irmak – which at one point was granted to one of his followers by the *kazi* (Muslim judge) Burhan al-Din, ruler of Sivas.⁴ That Tödürge as well as Zara was used as a marker to designate the geographical area of the estate suggests that Todurga, or possibly Ovacık, if that after all was the central settlement, was a little bigger than the other villages of the vicinity, if it was not a small town like Zara.

But the names of the other two stations, “Greboco” and “Mughisar”, do not easily suggest any modern identification. The modern road continues eastwards from Tödürge along the valley of the Kızıl Irmak into the basin of the river's headwaters, rises over a pass, descends into the plain of Refahiye, which we shall discuss here, and leaves by another pass. It then descends the base line of a bare and inhospitable valley, the Çardaklı gorge, at a relatively steep gradient. If this line were followed by Pegolotti's route, then the settlement on the east side of the Refahiye plain known as Melikşerif in the nineteenth century would suggest itself as Pegolotti's *Mughisar*.⁵

Over the stretch of Pegolotti's itinerary between Sivas and Erzincan, the extreme paucity of medieval hans and of other evidence, literary or archaeological, for their existence is noticeable. Strictly the caravansaray at Ovacik just mentioned and a caravansaray near Hafik/Koçhisar, one day's journey east of Sivas, is known in the year 1342; but this seems to be all.⁶ Given the importance of the route connecting the two cities (without prejudice as to its exact line) in the Turkish Middle Ages down to the Ottoman occupation in the early sixteenth century, the absence of caravansarays can only indicate the existence of a number of small towns along the route, where merchants and other travellers found lodging. The shortage of evidence for medieval caravansarays also means that the ancient itineraries and archaeological and inscriptional evidence are the best basis for the reconstruction of Pegolotti's route and for the identification of Greboco and Mughisar.

The ancient itineraries indicate, in the first place, a route connecting Sebasteia/Sivas and the city of Nicopolis. The latter lies in the basin of the Kelkit Çay north of and separated from the more rolling valley of the Kızıl Irmak by a high massif, the Köse Dağ range. The Roman and Late Roman city of Nikopolis lay at the southwest corner of the Suşehri plain, which forms part of the Kelkit Çay basin. Secondly, the itineraries indicate a crow's-foot of routes from Nikopolis going somewhat north of east to Satala and southeast to the Upper Euphrates valley in the vicinity of Kemah, but none going directly to Erzincan along the line of the modern road. In fact, Erzincan appears not even to feature in the itineraries. Its name in the Classical sources, *Eriza*, does not appear on them, and the routes they follow seem not to pass through the city.

At this point some explanation of the topography and toponymy of the Kelkit basin, into which the itineraries cross from the Kızıl Irmak valley-plain, is essential.⁷ The main points are the difference between the Kelkit Çay valley and the Kelkit basin and the relation of the Suşehri plain to both of these. In the first place the broad Kelkit basin is slung between the Köse Dağ massif (to the south) and the Gavur Dağ, an outlying secondary massif of the Pontic range to the north: it is from a spur of the northerly massif that the great citadel of Şebinkarahisar, former Coloneia, looks out over the basin. The river Kelkit enters the basin from the east in the vicinity of the Roman and Late Roman city of Satala, which stands on a broad and spreading watershed, and leaves by a rift valley, with high, steep sides. The basin's western boundary consists of the east edge of a broad carpet of mountains, hills and incut valleys which stretches below the south face of the Pontic range; it is within this region of mountains and hills that the rift valley is formed. The town of Koyulhisar stands high above the entrance to the rift valley from the Kelkit basin, and is visible from the rift valley's floor.

The Kelkit Çay valley is the specific channel, within the whole Kelkit basin, through which the river flows. The floor of the basin is itself composed of a series of hill ridges, valleys and broad open spaces. The character of the Kelkit valley at various stages of the river's passage through the basin is determined by these features of local topography. For example in its beginning around Germürü and the town of Kelkit (the latter a recent creation which grew up around a farm known as *Çiftlik* or *Kelkit Çiftlik*) the valley is open and its slopes gentle. When the river passes through a hill ridge which progresses southwards over the floor of the basin,⁸ the valley is correspondingly incut and deep. The Kelkit Çay is by no means the only river in the basin, and within the latter receives various tributaries which rise in the two massifs, north and south.

The fertile Suşehri plain is just one pocket of the whole basin. It lies against the Köse Dağ massif towards its western end. The Kelkit Çay does not flow through it, but passes somewhat to the north, separated from the plain by a belt of hills. The two rivers which flow over the plain escape only by a transverse corridor within this belt of hills, uniting immediately

before the entrance to the passage. In the Turkish Middle Ages and the Ottoman period the plain was known as that of *Akşehir* or *Akşar*, after *Aqshahr* (Pers., “White City”, Turk. “Akşehir”), the name by which the city of Nicopolis was known at the time. In this discussion we call it the Suşehri plain, after the name of the town (formerly “Enderes”) a short way west of Nicopolis. To some extent at least population has moved from Nicopolis/Akşehir to Enderes/Suşehri, which means that to some extent Suşehri is the successor of Akşehir. We identify the plain by the name of the modern town, partly because it is the modern town and partly because there is much doubt about the fate of Akşehir in the late Middle Ages. The Cumonts (whose work we will discuss later), for example, finding a village called Akşar in a valley just south of the plain (and therefore within the outliers of the Köse Dağ massif), proposed that Akşehir dispersed in the Middle Ages and that part of the city’s population, in its medieval dispersal, moved to the village. In our opinion the doubt as to the fate of Akşehir in the late Middle Ages is unnecessary, but given that the name *Akşar* can be attached to a settlement *outside* the plain it seems better to stick to the name of the settlement which forms the district centre of the west part of the plain today.

In the Roman period Nikopolis was a prosperous city of some size at the edge of the fertile Suşehri (“Water-City”) plain, which was the city’s main source of food, the defining component of its hinterland. The city had a large rectangular walled area and perhaps sizeable suburbs. In the sixth century AD the city wall was rebuilt along a much-contracted alignment.⁹ The city is known throughout the Turkish Middle Ages, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The medieval city had impressive walls: these must have retained the sixth-century alignment. Their remains were visited by the British consul at Erzurum, Taylor, in 1866. Taylor found a quadrangular city wall about 1,100 feet or 330 metres long, with square bastions at each corner. Three of the city wall’s four sides each had two gateways 70 feet or 20 metres wide. These gateways’ side walls were faced in marble. At the time of Taylor’s visit, an aqueduct (Roman or late Roman) 3 miles or 5 kilometres long still brought water to the village, a small part of which lay inside the old walls; this aqueduct would therefore have supplied the medieval city.¹⁰

In the twelfth century Akşehir was a small city within the Mangujakid principality of Erzincan. This principality was one of the small polities into which eastern Asia Minor was divided in the first century of Turkish rule; there were Mangujakid princes at Divriği and Kemah.¹¹ Baha al-Din Veli, father of Jalal al-Din Rumi, came through Akşehir from Malatya and Erzincan sometime in the 1220s.¹² The battle of Köse Dağ of 1243, in which the Seljuk sultan was defeated by Mongol forces and the Seljuk sultanate subjugated to the Mongol empire, took place near here.¹³

The city assumed an important commercial role in the Il-Khanid period: not only did it lie on the grand east–west road between Tabriz, Sivas and Ayas, but also other roads came in from Tokat down the Kızıl Irmak valley and from the direction of Bayburt. The city, benefiting from international commerce, minted coins from the first years of Abu Sa’id’s reign (from 717/1317) to the early years of Sulayman’s reign (which started in 739/1339–40).¹⁴ The mint name on the coins is *Bikbik* (translit. “Bikbik”), which is probably derived from Armn. *Albiwrk* (pron. “Aghbiurk”), “Springs”: the latter would refer to the plentiful water brought to the city by, among other means, the Roman aqueduct. The name of the village which in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries stood just by the site was Pürk.¹⁵

The city was very much alive in the late fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. Its special significance seems to have been the trading connection with Erzincan and, after the sack of Sivas by Timur, the slave-trading connection with Sinop and Samsun.¹⁶ A Latin church is known here from 1334 to 1413, which is perhaps explained by these trading connections.¹⁷

In the 1390s the city became a bone of contention between Mutahharten, amir of Erzincan, and the *kazi* Burhan al-Din, ruler of Sivas and successor of the Eretnids. The course of these conflicts shows that the city walls had been maintained and that the city possessed suburbs of some size. In the winter of 1384–85 Burhan al-Din attacked the city. The suburbs were burnt, the walls were breached and the city nearly taken. Mutahharten's army tried in the winter of 1395–96 to repair its walls, but was prevented by Burhan al-Din's forces. In the spring, Mutahharten's men abandoned the city, and the *kazi*'s forces successfully repaired its walls.¹⁸

In the sixteenth century there was an Ottoman *nahiye*, a sub-division of a *kaza* (judge's jurisdiction), of Akşehir and Suşehir.¹⁹ The Suşehir in question is not the modern Suşehri to the west of Akşehir/Pürk, by whose name we identify the plain, but Ağvanis, then a small town on a plateau just above the plain's east extremity, to the south of which a marshy district called Suşehir was observed in the early twentieth century. The Ottoman *nahiye*'s title and geographical compass show that the Suşehri plain, as we term it, still functioned as an economic whole; it suggests that Akşehir remained at least a small town in early Ottoman times.²⁰ By the nineteenth century the settlement was no more than a village, known in Turkish as *Pürk*, on the edge of the Roman and medieval site. The town, such as it was, moved 6 kilometres northwest to Enderes, now renamed "Suşehri" ("Water-City"); this site, too, enjoyed access to some natural springs.²¹

After Nikopolis the Roman road ran the length of the Suşehri plain and climbed on to a high, bare plateau whose present district centre is the town of Refahiye. From here, two Roman routes continued further to the east, though strictly one went northeast and the other southeast. The first led to Satala, a city which dispersed after Late Antiquity but whose remains lie near the village of Sadak in the broad valley of the Kelkit Çay. The second descended southeast to the Upper Euphrates valley at Kemah. Here it joined a Roman road ascending the Upper Euphrates valley. We shall equate the portion of the latter road which comes upstream (northeast) as far as Kemah with routes known from the ancient itineraries. But of the portion leading upstream from Kemah to Erzincan and then continuing northwards through the hills overlooking the Erzincan plain as far as Satala/Sadak, the ancient itineraries betray no knowledge.

Leaving aside for the time being the problems raised by the ancient itineraries, it is important to stress the relatively easy nature of the terrain followed by the Roman routes: the Suşehri plain, followed by the plateau of Refahiye, and thereafter gentle inclines towards Satala (northeast) and a gentle descent towards Kemah in the Upper Euphrates valley (southeast). The modern road not only crosses a steep pass from the basin of the upper Kızıl Irmak, but also makes a final steep and somewhat stark descent from Melikşerif to Erzincan.

B. The ancient itineraries

1. *Sebasteia To Nikopolis*

The ancient itineraries. Let us now trace out the course of the road from Sebasteia/Sivas to Nicopolis/Pürk in the Roman itineraries. We shall first quote the stations and distances in full.

Tabula Peutingeriana (TP). Sebastia 23 Comassa 15 Doganis 25 Megalasso 22 Mesorome 13 Nicopoli.²²

Itinerarium Antoninum 1 (IA.1). Sebastia 18 Zara 20 Dagalasso 24 Nicopolis.²³

Itinerarium Antoninum 2 (IA.2). Nicopoli 24 Dagalasso 20 Zara 18 Camisa 24 Sebastia.²⁴

The name *Zara* of IA.1 and IA.2 has survived in the present-day name of a small town on the north edge of the Kızıl Irmak valley, beneath the first slopes of the Köse Dağ range. It is the junction of several roads, including those going northwards over the Köse Dağ and the modern road eastwards to Erzincan. The rough line of the IA's roads, staying always north of the Kızıl Irmak, as far as Zara is clear.²⁵ Two of the stations have been identified: Comissa (TP) or Camisa (IA; Ptolemy's "Kamisa") at Hafik, and Zara at the settlement of exactly the same name. Of the first settlement the ancient site, surrounded by walls, stood on a rocky eminence.²⁶ The ancient site at Zara is also above cliffs.²⁷ That between Hafik and Zara was an easy stretch of road, which passed through undulating country and low hills.²⁸ From Zara the modern road to Erzincan continues eastwards up the Kızıl Irmak valley. The modern road which climbs over the Köse Dağ range to descend into the wide basin of the Kelkit Çay, including the Suşehri plain, takes off from Zara in a northerly direction. A road aimed eventually at Divriği, in the mountain massif to the south, starts from Zara over the plain in the opposite direction.

The TP's "Doganis" has generally been placed at Tödürge, where an ancient site exists.²⁹ And on grounds of distance, the immediate district of Tödürge cannot fail to be right. Nevertheless for "Doganis" the village of Gencin, only 2 kilometres west and a little north of Tödürge, supplies a better site. Phonetically it is much closer to "Dogan-" (d-g-n/g-n-j or g-j-n); geographically it suits the likely line along the ground of the TP's road. The IA details a paved road which, although (to this author's knowledge) it has not been traced out on the ground by modern researchers, must nevertheless have pushed eastwards over the valley floor all the way to Zara, presumably staying just north of the river. But the TP signals a non-paved alignment which, as we shall see, bends northeastwards at a point just north of Gencin, and cuts across the plain to reach the outliers of the Köse Dağ massif, thereafter passing eastwards among those outliers until reaching the point of junction with an (unpaved) track coming northwards from Zara. There were several reasons why the TP's road crossed the plain, traversed the Köse Dağ's salient and joined the track from Zara so far north. The line thus achieved was shorter, and reached higher, better-drained ground sooner, than that running continuously along the plain by the side of the Kızıl Irmak. Moreover, by joining the track from Zara at a point somewhat north of that town, it cut out an ascent over and descent from a watershed; the latter we will describe later.

The *Tabula*'s road therefore crosses the Kızıl Irmak's valley-plain in a northeasterly direction, parting company with the IA's road at "Doganis"/Gencin; stays on an easterly course among the Köse Dağ's outliers; and makes contact with the track from Zara. The latter track came along the alignment of the modern road. It struck northwards into the Köse Dağ range and after crossing the watersheds descended to Suşehri/Enderes. The *Tabula*'s station of Mesorome, 13 Roman miles before Nicopolis, figures also in another *Tabula* route which comes from the direction of Tokat and Neocaesarea/Niksar up the narrow rift valley of the Kelkit Çay and, at Koyulhisar, opens out into the broader basin of the Kelkit, including the Suşehri plain. In this route, too, Mesorome comes 13 Roman miles before Nicopolis.³⁰ Mesorome, the point of junction between the two routes, must have lain in the Kelkit basin. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman itineraries between Sivas and Erzincan which we examine in section (a) of our Appendix I mostly include a stop at a spot called Şahna Çimen, which from the name was probably nothing more than a meadow, before reaching the Suşehri plain.³¹ Şahna Çimen lies in the Kelkit valley, 5 kilometres south of and somewhat above the river, right by the present main road. We shall shortly examine the whole of the *Tabula*'s route between the Kızıl Irmak and Kelkit basins, and will put forward fuller arguments for the identification of Mesorome

with Şahna Çimen. Meanwhile, it is time to address the logic of the relation between the TP's and IA's routes.

The two *Itinerarium Antoninum* itineraries differ between themselves as regards distances, and IA.2 includes Camisa, whereas IA.1 does not. But they agree in including Zara, which does not figure in the TP, and Dagalasso. Since, on the ground, "Doganis"/Gencin is midway between Comassa/Hafik and Zara, and at an awkward distance from both, it is unlikely that it ever featured in the IA: the short distances are unlikely ever to have justified a separate stage. This suggests not that the IA itineraries are merely making, on the TP's route, a selection of stations different from those to be found in the TP manuscript we possess, but that the two IA itineraries detail a different route to Nicopolis/Pürk from that specified by the TP: the two routes would split off from one another at or in the vicinity of Gencin. The impression is strengthened by the absence of Mesorome from both IA itineraries and by the presence in the IA of the name "Dagalasso" rather than the "Megalasso" of the TP, even if we allow for the possibility of interpolation (involving a change from *M* to *D* or vice versa) in the copying of the respective itineraries from a common original or in later copyings of the individual documents.³²

The Tabula's route on the ground. To approach the problem of the line followed by the TabPeut's route, of its station "Megalasso" and of certain of the Ottoman itineraries' routes, let us put down the relevant features from the truly excellent description of the track and the associated topography by Hogarth and Munro. These authors travelled the route in 1891. It is somewhat doubtful whether the modern tarmac road follows exactly the same course as the late nineteenth-century track: the latter, however, in all probability did not differ from the track of Roman times, and Hogarth and Munro's description, both for this reason and by reason of the authors' sure eye for topographical features relevant to the course of the track, is especially valuable.³³ At two points we shall include information from the much more selective account of Boré.³⁴

From Zara the road ascended northwards, crossed a ridge and descended to a caravan-saray, called "Arabja Kupru" (? Turk. "Arapça Köprü"), in a wooded glen.³⁵ This caravan-saray must have been the point at which the north-eastwards track from Gencin and Yapak, which we shall argue is the TP's and Pegolotti's route, not to mention that of several Ottoman itineraries, joined that from Zara. At only two hours and ten minutes' walk from Zara, the caravansaray would have to be serving another route than that coming from this town.

From the caravansaray in its glen, the track entered a narrow gorge, then climbed up steep slopes through pine forest to the watershed between the Halys/Kızıl Irmak valley to the south and the Iris/Kelkit Çay basin to the north. The watershed was reached at 3¼ hours from Zara, and therefore at around 1 hour from the caravansaray.³⁶

From the watershed the track first followed a 'cool upland valley', presumably descending, then made a long, gradual descent to the crossing, a ford, of a feeder of the Iris/Kelkit Çay. This was at 2 hours from the watershed. From Boré we learn that this crossing was near the village of "Kurdachi" (Turk. "Kürd Taşı", "Kurd Stone", "Stone of the Kurds").³⁷ Munro made a detour down this valley, 'between beetling rocks and luxuriant woods and undergrowth', to the hamlet of "İstoshun" (İştesen), following a 'horse track' towards Tokat. The phrase *horse track* presumably meant that this valley could be taken by those lightly laden riders who wished to cut the corner between the track towards Suşehri, now veering northeast, and the east-west track in the Kelkit Çay basin, which led directly from Erzincan towards Tokat.³⁸

From the ford of the Kelkit Çay tributary, the main track mounted a slope to a caravan-saray standing 'opposite' the village of 'Kechiut' (Turk. *Keçeyurt*, "Goat Encampment"), which lay 'across [i.e. on the far side of] a wide open dip to the left'. Near here will be the

ayla of ‘Heibesche’ where Boré spent the night in a tent. We argue in our appendix that this ayla is also the *Jaila-i Papas* (German rendering of the name) of a mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman itinerary.³⁹

The track continues ‘round the hills’ (i.e. above and parallel to the Kelkit basin, following salients and re-entrants). In 1 hour the village of ‘Gyusuk’ (Turk. *Kısıık*, “compressed”) was reached. From “Gyusuk” the track rose gradually up a little stream for three-quarters of an hour. Here the lip of the steeper slopes descending into the Kelkit basin was reached. From this point the ground suddenly dropped 1,200 feet (nearly 400 metres); to the right (east), wooded spurs rose up towards bare rock faces. (This will probably be the ‘Şahna Kayası’ of some Ottoman itineraries.)⁴⁰ The track descended steeply in 35 minutes to a rivulet. The meadows by this rivulet are probably the Şahna Çimen (a strange name meaning “Police-Chief Meadow”, “City Commandant Meadow”) of Ottoman sources.⁴¹ Although the place itself was no more than a meadow, an Ottoman *nahiye* of Şahna Çimen existed in the sixteenth century: the *nahiye* formed part of the *kaza* of Koyulhisar. Several Ottoman armies stopped here. These circumstances might suggest a tent emplacement similar to the “Jaila-i Papas” (pron. “Yayla-i Papas”) just mentioned.⁴²

The path then wound ‘over the roots of the hills’ (i.e. eastwards and following the contours, in and out, rather than descending straight down into the floor of the Kelkit basin) to the village of “Derman Tash” (Turk. *Değirmen Taş*, “Millstone”); the journey time was one hour. Here it reached the *chaussée* in the Kelkit basin, which took the travellers in 2½ hours to Enderes/Suşehri.

Of the Ottoman armies whose sixteenth- and seventeenth-century itineraries from Sivas eastwards are studied in our appendix, none goes to Zara. All camp at the Kaz Gölü by Tödürge, turn north across the plain and climb northwards into the first outliers of the Köse Dağ massif. They thus cut out Zara and join the Zara–Suşehri road at a point north of Zara. This point, we argue in our appendix, is near Hogarth and Munro’s Ottoman caravansaray of “Arabja Kupru” (pp. 200, 232), in the base of a valley crossed by the road from Zara. On modern maps, this spot would fall near Atalan.⁴³ Now given that the TP features a stage at “Doganis”/Gencin, and that its track follows the easier, roundabout, curving, westerly route to Suşehri taken by the Ottoman armies, it is reasonable to suppose that the TP’s road takes the same route. Zara does not figure on the TP, which is entirely consistent with the proposition that the TP’s road does not even go through Zara.

We have now brought the TP’s track from the junction near “Doganis”/Gencin over the valley floor to Yapak, eastwards on high ground and then northeastwards to the line of the modern road. The TP’s track follows the modern road over the watersheds and descends past Mesorome/Şahna Çimen to the Kelkit Çay valley and eventually Nicopolis/Pürk. The two questions then arise what to make of the TP’s station “Megalasso”, which does not feature on the IA’s itineraries towards Nicopolis, and where to take the two IA itineraries, with the station “Dagalasso”, in the sector between Zara and Nicopolis.

From the caravansaray of “Arapja Kupru”, the track described by Hogarth and Munro ascended through pines to the watershed between the Kızıl Irmak and Kelkit Çay, descended to the crossing of a stream feeding the Kelkit, then ascended to a caravansaray in a yayla ‘opposite’ the village of Keçeyurt. “Opposite” meant that the two were separated by a dip and were intervisible. This yayla was that called *Jailazi Papas* in Leunclavius’s account of Süleyman I’s itinerary in his campaign of 1548 against Iran. It was 26 miles from the previous stop at Yapak in the Kızıl Irmak basin (compare the TP’s 25 Roman miles from “Doganis” to “Megalasso”), and 15 miles short of the next stop at Şahna Çimen. To get to the latter, the track rose gradually for around 2 hours to the lip of the Kelkit basin, then dropped

in 35 minutes to what we have construed as Şahna Çimen.⁴⁴ Such a journey time, around 2½ hours, would be insufficient for Leunclavius's 15 miles, but there is nowhere other than the yayla opposite Keçeyurt for his *Jailazi Papas* to be. We also argue in our appendix that this yayla is the Ayaş Yaylası of Murat IV's itinerary of 1635 and of an itinerary in a seventeenth-century geographical work, the *Cihannüma* of Hacı Halfa: the Ayaş Yaylası was 4 hours before Şahna Çimen, according to Hacı Halfa.⁴⁵

The phrase *Jailazi Papas*, although apparently containing the word *yayla* in its entirety, is in reality a mangled, muddled name where the -ay- element, also to be heard in "Ayaş", may well reflect the Greek -γ- of *Megalasso*. Equally the --l- of the latter name is present in "Jailazi Papas", as is the -m-, via an easy phonetic change (m > p). The form of the name heard by Boré in the mid-nineteenth century was "Heibesche",⁴⁶ where again the -p- of *Papas*, perhaps originally an -m-, appears (m/b/p). The /z/ or /š/ sound in all the different sixteenth-, seventeenth- and nineteenth- century forms of the name suggest that the TP's --ass- does correspond to an -s- in the name as originally written on the document. The yayla, a natural stopping-place, where Hogarth and Munro found an Ottoman caravansaray, will therefore be the TP's "Megalasso". The Belgian Byzantinist Grégoire found Byzantine antiquities in the village of Keçeyurt or in the nearby village of Şerefiye.⁴⁷ It could be that the settlement denoted by the TP's name "Megalasso" is the village of Keçeyurt, while the stopping-place, and the point from which distances were measured, was the yayla.

In the period of Pegolotti's Ayas-Tabriz itinerary there was probably a small fort, rather than a caravansaray as in the Ottoman period, to protect the yayla. We know of a castle of Burtulush which, along with Sis and Ezbider, was taken from Mutahharten by the *kazi* Burhan al-Din in the late fourteenth century; this castle was "destroyed" in 1389.⁴⁸ In reality, Burtulush was probably a blockhouse like those seen by the Cumonts on the Çardaklı pass.⁴⁹

Of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century army itineraries, five stop at Şahna Çimen, which is also mentioned as a stage in Hacı Halfa's *Cihannüma*.⁵⁰ From Şahna Çimen to 'Akşar' (Akşehir/Pürk) Hacı Halfa gives the time as 4½ hours, and Leunclavius gives the distance to a camping-place on the plain of "Axar" (Akşehir), presumably just short of Enderes, as 8 miles. These figures would correspond well to the TP's 13 Roman miles from Mesorome to Nicopolis: the windings of the present road between Şahna Çimen and Suşehri are the result of salients and re-entrants which would have pushed up the distance along the ground well beyond the distance as the crow flies.⁵¹

To conclude: the TP's route first of all turns northwards across the plain of the Kızıl Irmak from the station at "Doganis"/Gencin. The latter, as the junction between routes coming from the east (all from Zara) and that now departing northeastwards to climb over the Köse Dağ range, was a logical point for travellers to stay; and it was also logical to single out this settlement to mark on the TP, since it identified accurately the alignment of the TP's route as opposed to that of the IA, which continues to Zara.

Having crossed the Kızıl Irmak plain northwards, the route entered the hills at the base of the Köse Dağ range and in the vicinity of Atalan found the track coming from Zara. It continued up the track followed by Hogarth and Munro, following a gorge to the Kızıl Irmak/Kelkit Çay watershed. From here it descended to the ford of the Kelkit Çay tributary, then mounted to the yayla opposite Keçeyurt. The latter we argue to be the TP's "Megalasso"; the yayla we argue to be the point along the road at which most travellers actually stopped and from which distances were measured. From here one traversed across the hillside, after which a rapid descent was made to the meadow known in Ottoman times as Şahna Çimen. This we identify with the TP's Mesorome. From Şahna Çimen the track wound along the hillside and gradually downwards to enter the Suşehri plain, probably at the spot where the medieval and

modern settlement of Suşehri/Enderes later existed. From there it kept along the shelf a little above the plain and easily came to Nicopolis/Pürk.

The Itinerarium Antoninum's route on the ground. It is time to look at the evidence for the line of the *Itinerarium's* route.

In a valley south of the Suşehri plain and not far east of Pürk, Taylor, the British consul at Erzurum, found in 1866 a stretch of Roman paving and a milestone. It was in the ravine of the Pulat Dere, a river which flows northwards into the Suşehri plain, somewhat to the east of Pürk/Nicopolis. The Roman traces lay downstream, and therefore to the north, of the village of Akşar. The latter lay around 8 kilometres southeast of Pürk, and 5 kilometres upstream, or south, of the point where the stream emerged from its valley on to the Suşehri plain. (The confusing name “Akşar” must reflect the movement of some element of the population of Aqshahr/Pürk to the site here, though the bulk of the population moved in the other direction to Suşehri. The village of Akşar is to be strictly distinguished from Aqshahr/Akşehir at Pürk, former Nicopolis.)⁵² A Roman milestone inscribed with the seventh mile from Nicopolis lay in the village. It seems to have dated from AD 129.⁵³

Above the village of Akşar lay a hill which appeared to have been made into a Mithridatic cult site: ‘On the top of the hill where we breakfasted are some old remains with a subterranean shaft, containing steps, like at Kara-Hissar [Şebinkarahisar], but nearly entirely blocked up.’⁵⁴ This is not necessarily a fort.⁵⁵ Somewhat downstream from the village of Akşar, and to the west of the stream, Taylor claimed to have seen an old mill with the remains of a Roman arch near it.⁵⁶

The brothers Cumont in 1900 thought that the road observed downstream (north) of Akşar was the road from Pürk/Nicopolis to Zara and Sebasteia (IA.1), and found what they thought was a continuation. Instead of following Taylor's course upwards and basically southwards, they followed the river upstream on a course somewhat west of south. ‘Le chemin, suffisamment large, passe d'une rive à l'autre, et est parfois creusé dans la paroi du défilé. Ailleurs de longues entailles horizontales, au-dessus du niveau des plus hautes crues, semblent être les restes de la voie antique.’ However, after an hour the Cumonts turned westwards and up to the ridge in search of inscriptions.⁵⁷ Here they knowingly departed from the line which they themselves supported as that of the IA's road to “Dagalasso”, Zara and ultimately Sebasteia. The distances of 24 Roman miles between Nicopolis and “Dagalasso” and 20 miles between “Dagalasso” and Zara argued for two legs, one southwards to “Dagalasso”, at a site in the Kızıl Irmak valley, the other westwards from “Dagalasso” down the Kızıl Irmak valley.

The Cumonts' suggestion is that the road (IA.1 and IA.2) came up beside the river (the Pulat Dere) to a pass in the Köse Dağ range beneath the present village of Gencolar, then descended easily to what is now the town of İmraniye. From there it changed direction and descended very gradually and easily down the undulating floor of the Kızıl Irmak valley-plain. On this view, “Dagalasso” would fall at İmraniye, where, naturally, tracks from the Kuru Çay valley (affluent of the Upper Euphrates)⁵⁸ and from the direct but difficult track into the Refahiye plain would meet. *İmran* (Ott. *İmrân*) is the name both of Moses' father and of the Virgin Mary's father. The name *İmraniye* might suggest a *türbe* claiming to be the burial-place of one or the other. This in turn would suggest that in the Middle Ages İmraniye, probably under another name, was a stopping-place for travellers; as a four-way junction it naturally was, in any case. In “Dagalasso” the -lasso element, shared with “Megalasso”, should be stripped off. The consonants /d/ and /g/, after suitable transmutations, may be seen in *Gencolar* (pron. “Genjolar”; -lar is the plural suffix): as often, the name may have travelled in a dispersal of population, whether partial or total.

An alternative to the Cumonts' view of a two-leg trajectory for the IA's route between Zara and Nicopolis – east-west up the Kızıl Irmak valley, then south-north over the Gencolar pass and down the Pulat Dere – was implicitly suggested, and tested, by Grégoire. From Akşar, Grégoire appears to have followed a diagonal course, however, which crossed the angle between the İmraniye road and the westwards road from İmraniye down the Kızıl Irmak to Zara. Grégoire's track hit the İmraniye-Zara road at a place called Çithan (pron. "Chit-han"). Over this track Grégoire could not find any trace of a Roman road. He noted that the journey from Nicopolis/Pürk to Zara by Akşar and Çithan took 13 hours, whereas the more direct route over the Gemi Bel took 9 hours.⁵⁹ However, Grégoire did not know of the evidence for a Roman road noticed by the Cumonts upstream of Akşar,⁶⁰ nor did he follow the most likely, though less direct, line of the Akşar-Zara road, via İmraniye.

Having tested the route described here, which crosses the angle made by the two-leg İmraniye alignment, and having found no evidence to support it, Grégoire espoused another. This was that the *ItAnt*'s road (IA.1 and IA.2) took the most direct track between Zara and Pürk/Nicopolis, that which rose and fell over the Köse Dağ massif itself. From Zara it would rise relatively swiftly to the relatively high pass called the Gemi Bel ("Ship Waist") and descend somewhat less swiftly to Pürk/Nicopolis, but the gradients would be much steeper than those of the Pulat Dere-İmraniye route. On the Gemi Bel line, no trace of a Roman road has been found, nor, on the same line, has a site for "Dagalasso" been found, despite various suggestions.⁶¹ The advantage of the Gemi Bel alignment is its directness. In taking the İmraniye-Pulat Dere route, one is first of all travelling along two sides of a triangle; one then emerges on to the Suşehri plain, but has then to turn westwards (thus losing miles which one has gained in the Kızıl Irmak valley). However, the road traces above and below Akşar argue distinctly in favour of the Pulat Dere-İmraniye alignment as that of the *ItAnt*'s road. The track along the Gemi Bel alignment, however, would certainly have been in use in Roman times, and we shall argue that the fourteenth-century Mustawfi itinerary (not Pegolotti's) did precisely take this track between Pürk and Zara.

The road remains and the milestone downstream of Akşar in the Pulat Dere valley, though not the evidence of a Roman road upstream of Akşar, have generally been taken as the beginning of a Roman road connecting Nicopolis with Analibla in the Upper Euphrates valley. Later we shall point out that the line suggested for this road from Akşar onwards is almost impossible and that there is no archaeological evidence for it. We shall also argue that the two names on the road which, on the extant copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, link Nicopolis and Analibla are an intrusion lifted from Ptolemy. The alignment over the mountains south-east of Pürk/Nicopolis which the map suggests is therefore spurious.⁶² These circumstances and arguments suggest that the traces in the Akşar valley belong to the Nicopolis-Zara road rather than a putative Nicopolis-Analibla road.

The Roman routes to Nicopolis: summary and implications for Pegolotti's route. Of the three Roman routes we have explored, let us take first that which crosses the Kızıl Irmak valley-plain to "Arapça Köprü", then climbs the Köse Dağ range to the yayla opposite Keçeyurdu and descends, sweeping gradually towards the east, past Şahna Çimen. This, the TP's line, must have been the standard route, admittedly unpaved, but passable except in the worst winter conditions. Practically all subsequent evidence, and particularly the Ottoman itineraries, congregates here.

The second route is that which continues from the vicinity of "Doganis"/Gencin along the Kızıl Irmak valley, past Zara, continuing as far as İmraniye (? "Dagalasso"), subsequently rising and descending northwards over the Gencolar saddle and thereafter following the Pulat Dere gently downstream past Akşar and into the Akşehir plain. This, IA.1 and IA.2, if it is

exactly a route at all, must be considered a winter route: in winter conditions the extra length would be worth undertaking since the road stays at low altitudes practically everywhere.⁶³

Finally the most direct route is that over the Köse Dağ on a line not far from the mountain's summit, and therefore much steeper than the other two. This line, which in any case does not feature in the Roman itineraries, was clearly a summer route only, and one travelled only by lightly laden parties.⁶⁴

As for the Pegolotti itinerary, there is not much doubt that it took the TP's route. At Pegolotti's *Dudriaga*, Tödürge, the merchants turned north over the plain and penetrated the first outliers of the Köse Dağ range exactly as had the travellers of Roman times. Connecting with a track rising north from Zara, the route then rose to the watershed, descended to the ford of the Kelkit Çay tributary and rose to the "Megalasso" yayla, protected by a block-house, where the merchants no doubt camped. They then traversed eastwards and dropped to Şahna Çimen, with its rivulets, where another camp could be made, and proceeded in another easy day's stage to Akşehir/Pürk.

A toll station was maintained at Dudriaga/Tödürge because several different routes converged here. Besides the Pegolotti track through the Köse Dağ range to Akşehir, the IA's more direct track to Akşehir led off towards Zara. A third way from Tödürge led southwards towards Divrik/Divriği, first over the Kızıl Irmak plain and then through valleys in the massif of the Anti-Taurus. From Zara some traffic continued eastwards into the upper Kızıl Irmak basin. From the latter, in turn, a track climbed southwards over a pass into the Upper Euphrates valley, which would lead travellers to Malatya, Kharberd/Harput and Amid/Diyarbakır.⁶⁵

2. *East of Nicopolis*

The routes and their interrelationships. Let us examine these roads, starting with a table which will be useful for future reference.

- TP.1. Nicopolis xiii [Unnamed] [mileage missing] Draconis xiii Cunissa x Hassis xiii Ziziola xii Satala⁶⁶
 TP.2. Draconis xvi Haris xvii Elegarsina viii Bubalia xxvii Zimara⁶⁷
 TP.3. Nicopolis xxi Oleoberda xv Caleorsissa xxiii Analiba xv Zimara⁶⁸
 IA.1. Nicopolis xxiv Olotoedariza xxvi Dracones xxiv Haza xxvi Satala⁶⁹
 IA.2. Nicopoli xxiv Olotoedariza xxiv Carsat xxiv Arauracos xxiv Suissa xxvi Satala⁷⁰
 IA.3. Satala xvii Suissa xviii Arauracos xxiv Carsagis xxviii Sinervas xxviii Analiba xvi Zimara xvi Teucila.⁷¹

Let us now examine these roads and the connections between them.

TP.1 shows a route going from Nicopolis via an unnamed station to "Draconis", which seems to have been conceived of as playing a special role in the transportation system, marked as it is with two towers.⁷² From "Draconis" the road continues: Cunissa, Hassis, Ziziola, Satala. The site of Satala is north of modern Erzincan.⁷³ TP.1 therefore tends in a direction somewhat north of due east.

From "Draconis" TP.2 extends south, towards Melitene/Malatya: Draconis, Haris, Elegarsina, Bubalia, Zimara. The position of Zimara on the Upper Euphrates, well downstream of Kemah, is more or less exactly known. The modern village of Zimara lies above and well to the northwest of the main river valley, but it is far from the line of the Roman road and no Roman antiquities are known in or near it.⁷⁴ The Zimara of the Roman period,

considered as a civilian settlement, was at the modern village of Pingan (officially “Adatepe”, “Island-Hill”), which lies on a slope right above the river and in a steep sector of the valley. Despite the Roman inscriptions found in the village – one mentions an *ala* or regiment of the Roman army; another is engraved at the command of a province governor – there is no military site here, and the Roman road passes around a kilometre behind the village.⁷⁵ The fort at which the *ala* was stationed was that at Zinegar (“Bağlıca”), 4-5 miles or 7-8 kilometres north of Pingan and away from the riverbank. Yorke, visiting the fort in the late nineteenth century, found a low circular mound about 200 yards/180 metres in circumference. This had been fortified with two concentric walls, between which there was an interval of about 20 yards/18 metres. The walls were faced in large, mostly unsquared blocks, and seemed to have been first built before the Roman period; however, the mortar suggested a Roman restoration.⁷⁶ Distances were probably measured from Pingan as opposed to Zinegar, even though Pingan lay at some distance from the road.

The position of Zimara therefore determines the general southwards direction of the road from “Draconis” to Zimara. South of Zimara the course of the road is known in any case: it follows the Upper Euphrates as far as the bridge and small caravansaray at Burmahan, then climbs up over bare slopes in a general southwards direction, on a course parallel to and not far removed from the river valley.⁷⁷ The cliffs on the valley’s west bank in this sector allowed only the cutting of a narrow path above them.

TP.3 runs as follows: Nicopolis, Oleoberda, Caleorsissa, Analiba, Zimara. Since the first two routes form, very roughly, an L, hinged at Draconis, whose two legs run west-east and north-south respectively, the third route, running by previously unmentioned stations between Nicopolis and Zimara, would appear to form the third side, running from northwest to southeast, of a triangle. Although we shall be arguing that the third leg is in some senses a fake, because its stations are copied, correctly or otherwise, from names in Ptolemy, we can represent the triangle schematically as in Figure 4.1.

Of the *Itinerarium Antoninum*’s routes, IA.1 runs as follows: Nicopolis, Olotoedariza, Dracontes, Haza, Satala. A further route in the IA provides exactly the same information.⁷⁸ IA.1 runs to the same destination as the TP’s first route (TP.1), and given the toponymic

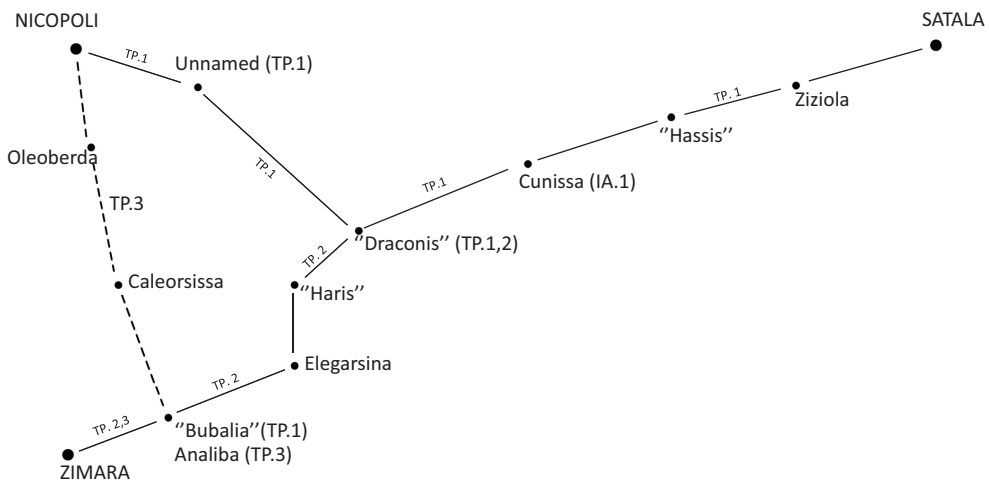


Figure 1. Nicopolis–Satala–Zimara. *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

similarity of the second station on each (“Draconis” and “Ad Draconis”), and that “Hassis” on the one and “Haza” on the other appear to be the same station, the two appear to be the same route, but with a different choice of stations. The *ItAnt* also supplies the *TabPeut*’s missing station, “Olotoedariza”. The two routes, as presented by the two itineraries, can be depicted schematically as in Figure 4.2.

IA.2 also connects Nicopolis and Satala: Nicopoli, Olotoedariza, Carsat, Arauracos, Suissa, Satala. Anticipating the identification of “Arauracos” as the castles of Kâlur on the Kelkit Çay, north of the line Nicopolis–Olotoedariza–Ad Dracones, we can represent the relationship between the two routes as in fig. 2. Between Carsat and Olotoedariza the second route might coincide with the first over a short distance, i.e., the second might hit the first some distance east of Olotoedariza. The schema of fig. 3 merely depicts the relationship between the two as far as can be learnt from the *ItAnt*.

IA.3 coincides with IA.2 as far as Carsaga, generally presumed to be the same as Carsat, but then proceeds to Analiba and Zimara, places known so far only from the *TabPeut*, via an as yet unknown station, Sinervas. The new route can be placed within the schema as in fig. 2.

The schema of the *TabPeut*’s and *ItAnt*’s routes can now be collated with the known traces of Roman roads, architectural remains, modern settlements, etc.

To undertake the identification of *Arauraca* and *Olotoedariza*, we begin with the most certain identification of all, that of *Arauraca* with the twin forts of Kâlur near Aşağı Haydûrük on the Kelkit Çay. Nearby are the remains of the church of St. Eustratios, known to have been at *Arauraca*. The forts lie either side of the Kelkit Çay.⁷⁹ The latter river flows down a broad corridor very roughly from southwest to northeast. A tributary, the Çobanlı Su, comes in from the south, originating in the upland plain of Refahiye and approaching the Kelkit Çay by a narrow valley. Towards the northeast corner of the Refahiye plateau the feeders of the Çobanlı Su unite, after which the combined stream flows off northwards down the valley, subsequently finding the Kelkit Çay. The road in the Çobanlı Su valley, a road which we shall argue to be IA.2 (Olotoedariza, Carsat, Arauracos, Suissa, Satala), therefore turned northeast from the confluence to reach *Arauraca*. After *Arauraca* the road must have

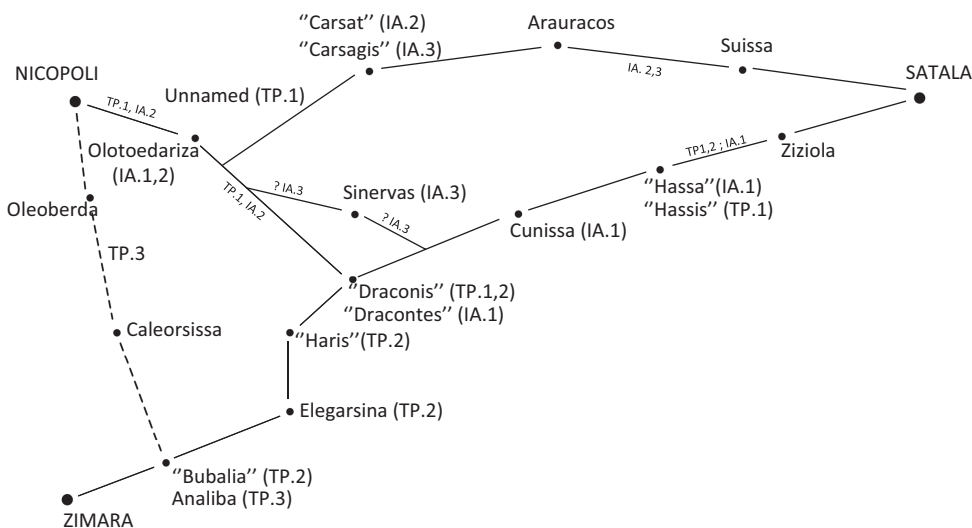


Figure 2. Nicopolis–Satala–Zimara. *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Itinerarium Antoninum*.

followed the Kelkit Çay upstream nearly as far as Satala, though a curve of the river requires that in the last stretch, the road would part company with it.

The next station which can be identified is Olotoedariza. As remarked earlier, the road starting east from Nicopolis towards Satala traversed the length of the Suşehri plain and then rose on to the plateau of Refahiye. By this time it had already split into two. The northerly branch, the most direct road to Satala, stayed on the northerly side of the plateau, continuing on an easterly course and leaving the plain at its northeast corner. As it passed over the plain the Arauraca road joined it at or near the mouth of the Çobanlı Su gorge. At the northeasterly corner of the plain, the road continued up a lonely, grim valley to a pass at 2,200 metres in the mountain massif which delimits the Refahiye plain to the east. Substantially this massif is a barrier to the continuation of routes towards Satala down the Balahu Deresi valley more or less due east of the Refahiye plain, but its southerly reaches also bar access from the Refahiye plain to the Erzincan plain. We shall refer to this massif as the Çimen Dağ massif, although the Çimen Dağ ("Meadow Mountain") itself is only the southeasterly portion, trailing off as far as the head of the Balahu Deresi valley and down towards the Erzincan plain.

The other branch of the eastward road from Nicopolis split off shortly before the Refahiye plateau and travelled southeast over that same plateau past the present-day villages of Saryusuf, Çobanlı and Kürelik. It then turned south to Refahiye, from which roads continued towards Satala (by a different pass in the Çimen Dağ massif) and Kemah (by a low pass over a different watershed). The archaeological evidence for the two roads (Refahiye plain and high, northerly pass in the Çimen Dağ massif on the one hand and Saryusuf-Çobanlı-Kürelik-Refahiye, followed by more southerly passes on the other hand) will be summarised shortly. It should be noted that after the fork there is no point at which the two roads join again or come near enough to each other to allow the conclusion that the two roads had been confused in the ancient itineraries. Ağvanis, which we shall propose as Olotoedariza, necessarily lies on the northerly road, and that road continues to the high pass negotiated by that road in the Çimen Dağ massif without any contact with the other road.

Let us now embark on the arguments for the identification of Olotoedariza. The village of Ağvanis (officially renamed "Gölova", "Lake-Plain") lies on a hill against the north border of the Refahiye plateau, not far from the descent to the Suşehri plain. This was visited in 1900 by the brothers Cumont. At the date of their visit, the ruins of a former town lay within the small Ottoman town. The Cumonts found, beside a chapel with *xač'k'ars* (pron. "khachkar") or crosses in relief, a Roman milestone, whose inscription, admittedly, was by then unreadable.⁸⁰ The IA's distance of 24 Roman miles (36 kilometres) from Nicopolis, and the site's position overlooking the descent into the Suşehri plain and the edge of the Refahiye plateau, would also recommend Ağvanis.⁸¹ Olotoedariza is often equated with Aladaleariza, base of a Roman cavalry unit, the Ala Rizena, known from the fourth-century *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁸²

During their visit in 1900, the brothers Cumont noted the small lakes to the south of the site, where water from the Çobanlı Su's feeders collected.⁸³ This steady supply of water ensured the existence of a stretch of meadowland, known as *Suşehir* ("Water-City"), which is to be at all costs distinguished from the town of Suşehri and from the Suşehri plain below and further west. On the meadows of Suşehir by Ağvanis, armies could stop on their way eastwards from Suşehri or Pürk/Nicopolis and the plain on which they lay, that of Suşehri; and a number of Ottoman armies are known to have stopped here.⁸⁴ If the meadows were a stopping-place for armies, and no doubt travellers in general, this would help to explain why the bluff at Ağvanis was chosen as a fort site and why a little town continued to exist there until the end of the Ottoman period.

The lakes and meadows could also supply a semantic clue for the two names *Olotoedariza* and *Aladaleariza* themselves. Conceivably the word *Eligi*, “marsh”, lies behind the Olo- and Ala- of the two names. In the Turkish form *Ağvanis* can be seen, too, the Al- (l: back l) that lay behind the Latin form *Aladaleariza*. All these points make *Ağvanis* a convincing identification for *Olotoedariza*.

Nicopolis to Satala: the summer route, IA.3. With *Arauraca* and *Olotoedariza* placed, it seems possible to trace the approximate course of IA.2, which led from *Nicopolis* to *Olotoedariza*, “*Carsat*”, *Arauraca*, *Suissa* and *Satala*. From its “*Carsagis*” to *Satala*, IA.3 coincides with this road. But after “*Carsagis*”, IA.3 diverges from IA.2 and goes to *Sinervas* and *Elegarsina*. Since IA.3 seems not to go westwards with IA.2 to *Olotoedariza* and *Nicopolis*, it is natural to look for “*Carsat*”/“*Carsagis*” at the point of junction and splitting of the two roads, the one headed towards *Satala* along the *Kelkit Çay* via *Arauraca* and *Suissa* (IA.2, IA.3), the other heading up into the *Çimen Dağ* massif and the high northerly pass therein and thereafter to *Satala*; this latter road, however, was the most direct way to *Satala*.

The point of divergence is the entrance to the *Çobanlı Su* valley from the *Refahiye* plain. The present-day village of *Aşağı Kölüksür* lies 4 kilometres east of this point. Phonetically it answers to *Carsaga* (k-r-s-g/k-l-s-k: r/l, g/k). The settlement of *Carsaga* itself may have been at *Karayakup*, right by the entrance to the *Çobanlı Su* gorge, where a *tekke* (Sufi convent), often an indication of a stage or junction, is known in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Another possibility is the village of *Buğdaçor*, which, as the *Cumonts* pointed out, lies directly in front of the gorge’s entrance.⁸⁶

Further light is shed on the location and possibly the nature of “*Carsagis*” as a settlement by *Nohutpert*, name of a village around 5 kilometres west–southwest of *Karayakup*, to whose site the name of the settlement at *Karayakup* could well have moved at a point in time after the compilation of the two ancient itineraries. *Nohut* in Turkish means “chickpea”; “*pert*”, spelt *berd* (/b/ and /t/ in Western Armenian pronunciation), means “castle” in Armenian. Now “chickpea” in Latin is *cicero*, in Armenian *siseṛn*. In *cicero/siseṛn* we may have the origin of “*Carsaga*”. If the local name, that of the settlement at the later *Karayakup*, were *Siseṛn*, it is easy to imagine an official, local or otherwise, mistakenly introducing two vocalised consonants (/c/, /g/) because he knew that the Armenian *siseṛn* meant *cicero*, “chickpea”. When traffic on the road became less, or perhaps when Roman troops were finally withdrawn from the region, the settlement at *Karayakup* could have substantially dispersed and the name moved a mere 5 kilometres to what is now *Nohutpert*. The origin of the TP’s and IA’s “*Carsagis*” and “*Carsat*” would appear to be Armenian *siseṛn*; *pert* in the name *Nohutpert* would suggest a fort at “*Carsagis*”/**Siseṛn*/*Karayakup*.

From “*Carsat*”/“*Carsagis*”, then, IA.2 and IA.3 went northwards down the *Çobanlı Su* gorge to the confluence with the *Kelkit Çay*, then turned eastwards up that river to *Arauraca* at *Kâlur*. The remaining station before *Satala*, *Suissa*, clearly lay somewhere in or near the *Kelkit Çay* valley. The modern settlement of *Kelkit*, lying a few kilometres east of *Germürü*, formerly an Ottoman post station,⁸⁷ would mark the rough whereabouts of the site.⁸⁸ Road traces are intermittently visible between *Kelkit* and *Sadak/Satala*.⁸⁹ In the sixteenth century a *Gerdekhisar* (“Bride-Fort”) is known; such a village is marked by the Turkish 1:200,000 map nine kilometres west–southwest of *Germürü*, and this will probably be the site.⁹⁰

A fort in such a position would command movement not merely along the *Kelkit* river but also along what, much later, became the Ottoman postal route towards *Şebinkarahisar* (formerly Roman *Coloneia*). This route climbed over a low pass to *Karaca* in the *Şiran Çay* valley (a ruined castle near *Karaca* was signalled in the early nineteenth century), then, past *Uluşiran*, over another pass into the valley of a different tributary of the *Kelkit*. This tributary

joins the Kelkit river not far short of Koyulhisar.⁹¹ A less likely situation for Suissa, if some compelling reason were to force us to reject the identification with Gerdekhisar, would be on the direct line between Arauraca and Satala. The road would run up the Kelkit Çay valley for around 12 kilometres, then strike across a series of hill ranges and valleys directly to Satala.

With Arauraca and Suissa, the two stations on IA.2 and IA.3 between “Carsat”/“Carsagis” and Satala – placed in the Kelkit Çay valley, respectively at Kâlur and Gerdekhisar it is time to look at the archaeological evidence, as opposed to the evidence supplied by the two itineraries themselves, for the other routes leading eastwards from Nicopolis, those which traverse the Refahiye plain and then negotiate a passage of the Çimen Dağ massif. One road, as we have adumbrated, came over the northern edge of the plain past Ağvanis/Olotoedariza and the branching-off point of IA.2 and IA.3 at the mouth of the Çobanlı Su gorge. The plain’s northeast corner was reached, and the lonely valley mentioned earlier was entered. Soon after the valley’s mouth, traces of the Roman carriageway become visible. The road rises to Gökseki (“Blue Bench”, referring to a natural shelf) on the north bank, then crosses to the south bank and passes a strange ancient site, which included a cemetery, called Akşehir (“White City” – not to be confused with Nicopolis/Pürk, whose medieval name was also Aqshahr/Akşehir). Road traces continue up the lonely valley till the pass at 2,250 metres, which, for purposes of distinguishing it from others in the Çimen Dağ massif, we shall call pass A.⁹² From the pass the road traversed the northeast side of a great bowl in the mountains, crossing the upper courses of streams which descend south and southwest into the centre of the bowl. Gradually descending, it reached a point called Kurugöl (lit. “Dry Lake”). Here the road converged with a more southerly Roman road coming through the Çimen Dağ massif, that of pass B, which we shall describe soon. The valley, that of the Örcil Deresi,⁹³ along which the second and more southerly road approaches Kurugöl, does not descend eastwards and out of the massif, but westwards and into the massif; however, the details of the second road and its associated topography will be explained later.

From the junction at Kurugöl the road continued eastwards. The valley just referred to rises to a watershed, after which the valley of the Balahu Deresi starts down, again eastward.⁹⁴ The road trace can be followed eastwards from Kurugöl on the north side of the upper reaches of the Örcil Deresi valley ascending towards the watershed; then high above the upper Balahu Deresi valley; then in the Balahu Deresi valley itself as far as the village of Balahor.⁹⁵ Below Balahor the valley continues gently downwards and eastwards, then opens on to the plain of Satala at Aşağı Sipanazat, about 5 kilometres before Satala itself.

Before going on to describe the second Roman carriageway in the Refahiye plain and its passage of the Çimen Dağ massif, it is opportune to investigate the importance of the Gökseki-Akşehir-pass A road as a means of reaching Satala and other destinations beyond, such as Bayburt and eventually Trabzon. Equally an estimate should be made of the rather enigmatic site at Akşehir.

Half a dozen descriptions of the progress of Ottoman armies towards campaigns further east, mostly in Safavid Iran, are available. Five of them are examined in our appendix. Of the six Ottoman armies, three, those of Selim I in 1514 and of Süleyman I in 1534 and 1548, stopped at Suşehir (in front of Ağvanis), crossed the northern border of the Refahiye plain and took the valley of pass A. The third of these armies, we argue, stopped at a yayla near Akşehir, the Ak Tepe Yaylası, then continued along the Roman road, or along a line very close to it, to pass A and eventually to the vicinity of Kurugöl. In this vicinity it camped at a yayla called the *Yassı Çimen Yaylası*. From here, far from continuing east into the Balahu Deresi valley, it came southeast over the Çimen Dağ itself: the latter is simply a broad hill ridge in the southeastern part of the massif as a whole. It then descended into the Çardaklı

valley, that which is taken by the present main road towards Erzincan, stopping at a yayla, that of Girmane, in the base of the valley and only 12 miles from Erzincan. The second army, Süleyman's of 1534, again stopped at Ak Tepe, the yayla near Akşehir, but made a stop at the Büyük Yurt (which cannot have been distant from Ak Tepe). It then went straight to Girmane without a stop in the vicinity of Kurugöl. The first army, that of Selim I in 1514, stopped at Gökseki and then at Büyük Yurt, in other words at points shortly before and shortly after Akşehir. Its next stop was at a spring near a meadow called the Kuru Tepe Çayırı, which, we argue, must have been near Kurugöl and the Yassı Çimen Yaylası. It, too, continued to Girmane and Erzincan.⁹⁶

The Roman road of pass A emerges not only as the most direct way from Nicopolis to Satala but also as the most suitable way for armies with a preponderance of pack animals and cavalry (which thus required a succession of yaylas) to reach Erzincan. The conclusion is strange, since the Örçil Deresi and pass B would appear to provide a more direct passage. The key seems to lie in the rich pasturage along the way. Transhumant tribes and genuinely nomadic groups, too, would have had the same requirements as the Ottoman armies. The road of pass A thus emerges, among other things, as a nomad's route. The lonely cemetery at Akşehir is a nomad's cemetery, perhaps also a cemetery of passing soldiers. It is so because all parties (including nomadic groups and armies) stop either at the Ak Tepe Yaylası just by Akşehir or at Gökseki, shortly before Akşehir, or at Büyük Yurt, shortly after Akşehir.

Let us now turn to the archaeological evidence for the southerly road through the Refahiye plain. A carriageway can be traced running southeastwards past the villages of Sarıyusuf, Çobanlı and Kanlıtaş all the way to Kürelik. At the latter village a 'Han' is reported. The Roman road then turns southwards towards Refahiye, and there are further reports of the road, or some road, in the vicinity of that town.⁹⁷ But at Refahiye the road turned abruptly eastwards, taking a course over the plain, which gradually turns into the floor of a valley, that of the Bulgar Çay. Refahiye itself, we argue here, is the junction from which TP.2 took off on its course south and southeast towards the Upper Euphrates valley near Kemah. It was the "Elegarsina" of that route, though in the course of repeated copying of the TP the name "Elegarsina" has changed places with "Haris".⁹⁸ "Haris", we argue, is to be identified with the site at Çengerli in the Menek Su valley: the nearby village of Horopol is its toponymic heir.⁹⁹

Within the Bulgar Çay valley, the evidence for the road consists not of traces along the ground but of the milestone originating from Sipdiğin, a village 5–6 kilometres east of Refahiye, and the fort site at Melikşerif. Sipdiğin lies right by the river, exactly on the expected line of a road which first follows the river, then swerves upwards and northeast to Melikşerif. Originally, in AD 92 or 94, the milestone was carved with the figure 3, which was then recarved in the reign of the emperor Hadrian with the figure 45. The *caput viae* from which the three Roman miles were measured could perhaps have been the fort at Melikşerif, which we argue later to be the "Dracones"/"Dracontes" of the itineraries; or it could have been Refahiye, very likely the itineraries' "Elegarsina". The 45 Roman miles (around 67 kilometres) were no doubt measured from Nicopolis along the Sarıyusuf–Çobanlı–Kürelik highway.¹⁰⁰

The settlement of Roman times at Melikşerif was evidently a walled town or fort. By the end of the second century it housed a military unit, the *cohors I Lepidiana*.¹⁰¹ Boré in 1836 saw the emplacement of the fort and a marble building which he thought must have been a temple.¹⁰² The town evidently existed in the late Middle Ages or early Ottoman period: the *türbe* or Muslim tomb-tower which the Cumonts saw in 1900 appears to have been of this date.¹⁰³ In the mid-nineteenth century, Melikşerif was still a fair-sized settlement.¹⁰⁴

After Melikşerif the road completed its climb out of the Bulgar Çay valley and found itself in the neighbouring and (at this point) somewhat higher valley to the north. This neighbouring valley is precisely the valley of the Örçil Deresi, which meets the Gökseki–Akşehir–pass A road at Kurugöl. Within this valley the road from Sipdiğin and Melikşerif turned and ran eastwards: traces exist on the north bank of the river. We shall refer to the narrower parts of this valley, around Hacırke and Leventler, as pass B, although it is not a pass with declivities in opposite directions either side, as is pass A.

East of Melikşerif, the Cumonts followed what was even then the modern road (*chaussée*), and is now the line of the tarmac road to Erzincan. The road crossed what was known as the Çardaklı Dağ, a southerly bastion, strictly a group of outliers, of the whole Çimen Dağ massif. It led gently up to the Çardaklı Bel, a pass at 2,060 metres. Shortly before the pass, the Cumonts found a large building in ruins which was described to them as a han. They then progressed over the plateau from which streams flow directly towards the Upper Euphrates, and came to what was in fact a second watershed. On the east side of the watershed, where the arid, ugly gorge of the Çardaklı Su begins its descent towards Erzincan, they found a small hillock crowned by a second and similar rectangular building. The Cumonts were not sure whether the two buildings were forts or caravansarays, and in buildings of such size, the difference in the specification of the structures is not so big. The second one measured around 50 × 20 metres; the remains of a circular bastion could be seen at its southeast corner. Both forts' walls were faced in regular courses of large blocks. Again the Cumonts could not decide whether the forts were Roman, Byzantine or "Seljuk" (i.e. medieval Turkish) in date. But if Roman, these are forts built to protect the approach to Melikşerif from Eriza/Erzincan, which lay in Armenia. There is no evidence for a Roman road directly east of Melikşerif following the Çardaklı gorge down to Erzincan. The Çardaklı Bel we will call, for purposes of clarity, pass C.

Let us return to the Roman carriageway which actually is attested, that of the Bulgar Çay valley, Melikşerif and pass B. As with the pass A road, we have to ascertain its purpose and its relation to the other roads. If we view its progress as a whole (Sarıyusuf, Çobanlı, etc. to Kurugöl), it follows a somewhat angular course, turning south at Kürelük, then at Refahiye east to Melikşerif, north into the Örçil Deresi valley and east again to Kurugöl. From Kürelük it could have stayed on an easterly course, avoiding steep gradients and the detour via Sipdiğin and Melikşerif, all the way to Kurugöl, by simply going straight into the Örçil Deresi valley. The reason for the detour is, in part, the fort site at Melikşerif, evidently meant to block approaches from the plain of Erzincan over the Çardaklı Bel. But in part the detour is due to the circumstance that Refahiye/"Elegarsina" was a suitable junction with the road coming up from the Upper Euphrates valley.

The relative dates of construction of different stretches of carriageway may also have played a role. The milestone found at Melikşerif dates to AD 76, which would suggest that the stretch (accounted for entirely by TP.2) from Satala past Melikşerif and Refahiye, then south over the watershed and down into the Upper Euphrates valley, was built only a few years after the annexation of Armenia Minor. If so, the purpose of this stretch was as a border road. It had to do more with communication between Satala and the settlements in the Upper Euphrates valley downstream of Kemah, given that the Erzincan plain was not available to the road-builders, than with communication between Satala and Nicopolis. The latter function was undertaken by the Kelkit Çay road (IA.2, the winter route) and the Ağvanis–Gökseki–Akşehir–pass A road (IA.1, the summer route, and quicker access). The latter road would equally have been built straightaway after the annexation of Armenia. But the stretch from Sarıyusuf to Kürelük, turning south to Refahiye, may well have been built later. This would explain why the Sipdiğin milestone, originally the third milestone from a *caput viae*

at Melikşerif when carved in AD 92 or 94, was then recarved with the figure 45 under the emperor Hadrian. The latter figure could only be valid if the miles were being counted from Nicopolis along the Sarıyusuf–Çobanlı–Kanlıtaş stretch.

Again a comparison with the trajectories of certain Ottoman armies is instructive. Of the six armies mentioned earlier, a second group of three went from the Refahiye plain via the Örcil Deresi to the Balahu Deresi. That of Selim II in 1578, after a night's camp at Suşehir in front of Ağvanis, took the Örcil Deresi and pass B, stopped at the Yassı Çimen Yaylası, then at a yayla on the pass, before dropping into the Balahu Deresi; ultimately both armies were to find a way into the Tercan plain and thence to Erzurum.¹⁰⁵ The third army, chronologically the earliest to undertake a journey through the Çimen Dağ massif, is that of Mehmet II on its way to Trabzon in 1461. The only geographical clues are that the army passed Koyulhisar, Yassı Çimen and Bayburt.¹⁰⁶ But since the army went down the Balahu Deresi from Yassı Çimen (i.e., the yayla of that name), taking the same route as those of 1578 and 1635, the approach may also have been along the Örcil Deresi and through pass B.

The situation is strange: the route taken by one group of Ottoman armies crosses at the Yassı Çimen Yaylası with that taken by the other group. The question arises why the second group of armies (Selim II, etc.) took the shorter route to the Yassı Çimen Yaylası along the Örcil Deresi when the first group had taken the northerly route (pass A), more roundabout but better provided with pastures. It may be that although pasture along the Örcil Deresi was scarce (for those choosing the Örcil Deresi route, the Yassı Çimen Yaylası was probably the first reliable one after the grazing-ground at Suşehir), the yaylas of the pass A road were foregone in the interest of speed. The Ottoman routes help to point out that a road starting from Satala whose main purpose was quick access to Nicopolis, rather than to the Upper Euphrates valley at Kemah and further downstream, would have taken the Örcil Deresi and pass B, and that therefore the initial purpose of the Melikşerif–Sipdiğin stretch was as a link in the road connecting Satala with the settlements in the Upper Euphrates valley downstream of Kemah.

Before we attempt to marry the archaeological data with the road scheme of the two ancient itineraries, let us summarise the archaeological evidence we have so far described. In the first place, from Ağvanis, whose identification with Olotoedariza seemed more than reasonable, a road was built along the north side of the Refahiye plain. From this road there branched off, at the entrance to the Çobanlı Su gorge, a road aimed at Satala via the Kelkit Çay valley: the alignment of this road rests securely on the firm identification of Arauraca with Kâlur and Aşağı Haydürük and on the road traces towards Satala. However, the more direct road to Satala, usable only in summer, rose up the valley of Gökseki and Akşehir, where the carriageway can be traced, to pass A. On the valley's south side is the enigmatic site of Akşehir, which we have characterised as a stopping-place and cemetery for nomads and mounted armies. From pass A, the Roman road descended to the junction at Kurugöl.

The second road advances over the Refahiye plain near its south edge, past Sarıyusuf, Çobanlı and Kanlıtaş, to Kürelik. Here it turns south to Refahiye. At the latter town it turns again eastwards to enter the Bulgar Çay valley and arrive at the fort site of Melikşerif. It completes its climb out of the Bulgar Çay valley, and turns eastwards up the Örcil Deresi valley and through pass B, arriving again at Kurugöl. From Kurugöl the road can be traced as far as Balahor; its line thereafter down the remainder of the Balahu Deresi valley and into the plains near Satala is fairly certain.

In attempting to match the archaeological evidence with the itineraries, it seems sensible to start with the section of road between Kurugöl and Sadak/Satala, where the identifications seem somewhat easier. Here sites must be found for TP.1's *Ziziola* (last before Satala), TP.1's *Hassis* (presumably IA.1's *Haza*) and perhaps TP.1's *Cunissa*.

To the east of the Kurugöl fork, only two ancient sites are known. The first of these is a fort site 4 kilometres west of Cemallı. Along the Roman road it is 9 kilometres (6 Roman miles) from Kurugöl.¹⁰⁷ Secondly another fort site exists on the south bank of the river (the Balahu Deresi) opposite the ruins of a han, 4 kilometres east of Balahor. Ziziola must have been located at a fort site, since it is likely to be the same as Sisila, base of a cohort in the East Roman empire in the fourth century. Ziziola should therefore be put at the fort site east of Balahor.¹⁰⁸ The village of İşkilor, 1 kilometre east of the caravansaray ruins, preserves in its name some of the consonants of “Ziziola”/“Sisila”. Hassis/Haza will then lie at the fort site 4 kilometres west of Cemallı. If the identification of Hassis/Haza with the fort at Cemallı is correct, Cunissa is then left without a site.

The next site westwards on both itineraries is “Draconis” (TP.1, TP.2), almost certainly the same settlement as “Dracontes” (IA.1). On the TP it is given a special symbol, that of a double tower. The symbol’s exact significance is unclear, but other examples, correlated with the known character of the relevant settlement, reveal that the double tower represents a settlement, often walled, at least of some importance in the road system.¹⁰⁹ The map locates “Draconis” at the junction of two roads, TP.1 (Nicopolis–[Olotoedariza]–Draconis, continuing to Cunissa, Hassis, Ziziola and Satala) and TP.2, which seems to head southwest from the junction to Haris, Elegarsina, etc. If we take TP.1 to be the Roman road rising via the site at Akşehir to the high, lonely pass A, and TP.2 to be the Roman road observed on pass B and descending south past Melikşerif and into the Bulgar Çay valley, then the junction between TP.1 and TP.2 falls at Kurugöl, to the east of the Çimen Dağ massif. But Kurugöl, although clearly falling precisely at the junction, is more a location than a settlement. There is no site here for “Draconis” to correspond to.

That there is no site actually at the junction of the carriageways observed on the ground should not raise many questions as to the accuracy of the TP at this point. A town a few kilometres away would surely be sufficient as an indication and identification of the junction, and at the same time it would have been difficult to mark such a site except by presenting it as precisely at the junction.

But there is no site even within 15 kilometres of the junction at Kurugöl. The nearest, and the only one with the qualifications for the TP’s two-towered settlement, is Melikşerif. Here, as we have seen, the archaeological evidence indicated a fort or possibly walled town, rather than a village, in the Roman period. (It is just conceivable that the two forts on the passes east of Melikşerif contributed to the image of the place which led to its depiction by means of the two-tower symbol on the TP.) Moreover, the place’s name in the late Middle Ages and early Ottoman period was *Arzanjak* (Pers.) and variants (*Ardingiely* [French], *Ardansagh* [English], *Erzenis* [Ottoman]), as we establish in our appendix.

The consonantal match of *Arzanjak* and its variants with “Draconis” and, even more, with “Dracontes” is remarkably close (r-z-n-ĵ-k/d-r-k-n-t), and, judging from the phonetic correspondence, the form *Dracontes* may even have been that originally written on the TP.¹¹⁰ The name *Draconis/Dracontes* and its successors *Arzanjak*, *Ardingiely*, etc. may have a modern successor in *Hacırke*, the name of a village around 8 kilometres towards pass B, on the road to Kurugöl, from Melikşerif.

With *Dracontes* “Draconis” fixed, it immediately becomes clear that TP.1 (Nicopolis, [unnamed], *Draconis*, ..., *Hassis*, ..., *Satala*), provided we accept the road scheme as presented to us by the extant copy of the TP, cannot run along the north side of the Refahiye plain (with AI.1 and AI.2), then continue on the observed line of the Roman road via the site at Akşehir and over pass A. It must instead follow the Roman road on the south side of the plain, past Sarıyusuf, Çobanlı, Kanlıtaş and Kürelık to Refahiye; run up the Bulgar Çay

valley to Dracontes/Melikşerif; and climb through pass B. Again provided we accept the road scheme of the TP as we have it, the Roman road progressing east from the Çobanlı Su gorge's mouth and up the lonely valley to pass A, with a possible stop at the Akşehir site, is not represented on the TP, and apparently, not on the IA either. But we shall argue here that, despite appearances, it is in fact represented on the IA.

Various solutions can be adopted. The name *Cunissa* may be considered an intrusion, perhaps a miscopied transfer from the name *Camisa* in another part of the TP.¹¹¹ This would then require that the observed road of Akşehir and pass A never featured on the TP and IA, perhaps because this road was built later than the others in the local network. We could also hypothesise that *Cunissa* was at the Kurugöl junction, despite the lack of a site, or on the pass B Roman road somewhere between Melikşerif and Kurugöl. Nevertheless, neither of these solutions would find a place for the Akşehir/pass A road on either the TP or the IA.

But other possibilities arise. On the TP (but not on the ground), the road from “Draconis” to Satala rises from southeast to northwest. The *name* *Cunissa* and its associated mileage (xiii) lie directly above the road from Nicopolis to “Draconis”, even though the *station* *Cunissa*, in the map as we have it, comes next after “Draconis” in the sequence. Perhaps on the original map a separate road was marked. This might have been above the grand road (TP.1) linking Nicopolis with “Draconis”, in which case it would have represented the Akşehir–pass A carriageway. The name *Cunissa* would then be that of a site, probably that at Akşehir.¹¹²

Even more radical solutions can be entertained. The simple fact that “Draconis” is represented on the TP as a junction strongly suggests that miscopying is involved. One might hypothesise, in the first place, that on the original map, the junction was shown as being at “Elegarsina”, where undoubtedly a junction did exist on the ground. *Dracontes (as the name might be reconstructed) would then lie in an ordinary sequence between “Elegarsina” and Haza. *Cunissa* could even be placed between *Dracontes and Haza, though this would seem virtually impossible, since between Melikşerif (*Dracontes) and the fort site west of Cemalli (Haza) there is no ancient site at which to place *Cunissa*.

Such a reconstruction has the advantage of not involving any change in the basic scheme of the map in this locality: one should not resort to re-arrangement of the basic pattern of roads except under the compulsion of a glaring incongruity or mismatch with the archaeological data. But the scheme of the TP's roads and its placement of the stations in this locality is surely such a case. The whole notion that a stretch of carriageway which has been followed by archaeologists and which represents the most direct line between Nicopolis and Satala should not have been shown on the TP or IA is somewhat unreasonable and intuitively repugnant: it should be accepted only after the alternatives have been convincingly dismissed. A name on the map, *Cunissa*, is unaccounted for unless we hypothesise a miscopying involving the loss of a road; equally an important site, Akşehir, lying on an observed stretch of road is left without representation on the map.

We might base ourselves on the circumstance that on the TP as it now is the name *Cunissa* lies above the name “Draconis”, even though in the map's road scheme (as the map is now configured), *Cunissa* lies east of a putative junction settlement at “Draconis”. We might hypothesise that on the original map there *was* a second road above *Dracontes and its road; that this second road on the map represented the observed road of Gökseki, Akşehir and pass A; that *Cunissa* was a station on this road; and that that station lay at the Akşehir site. “Olotoedariza”, assuming that this or its original was the lost name of the station next after Nicopolis on the map as it is, would have lain on this road rather than the southerly one (“Elegarsina”/*Dracontes). The observed traces of the Sarıyusuf–Çobanlı–Kanlıtaş carriage-way lie, at Çobanlı, about 5 kilometres south of Ağvanis/“Olotoedariza”. The intriguing

name *Cunissa* might be formed on the Greek κυανός, “turquoise”, which may be reflected in the “gök” (“sky,” “blue”) of *Gökseki*: at Gökseki some Ottoman armies stopped, immediately before Akşehir, which lay on the opposite bank of the river. The station itself, though, would be at Akşehir. We shall see later that the hypothesis of a road missed off the TP is strongly supported by IA.3, which requires a link from “Carsagis” to Analiba and Zimara.

We will add one more observation. This is that the whole argument here is independent of the argument concerning the putative direct link, shown on the existing copy of the TP, between Nicopolis and Analiba (TP.3). We argue here that the direct link never existed; the intervening mountain ridges and gorges were so forbidding as to rule out a built road; the names on the existing copy of the TP started life as a scribal import from Ptolemy; and on the original maps, no such road was depicted.¹¹³ If such a link had genuinely been shown on the original TP, this would be no obstacle to the triangular schema of the roads in the Refahiye plain which we propose here. It would even be possible to imagine a map on which the direct Nicopolis–Analiba link was depicted, but the Sarıyusuf–Çobanlı–Kanlıtaş carriageway, whose original line on the map we argue to have been stolen by the scribe for the purpose of drawing a road between Nicopolis and Analiba, was not shown. But as things stand, our conclusions concerning the putative Nicopolis–Analiba road actually help our conclusions here. Our reconstruction here puts “Elegarsina” at the junction between a direct road from Nicopolis, the *Dracontes–Haza–Ziziola road and the Haza–Analiba–Zimara road. It is just that direct road between Nicopolis and “Elegarsina” which, we argue, is stolen and transmuted into the false Nicopolis–Analiba link. “Elegarsina”, as already intimated, was eventually moved so as to lie between “Haris” and Analiba. This created a gap between Nicopolis and “Draconis” which was eventually filled by simply collapsing the <Olotoedariza>–Cunissa road with the southerly leg on which “Draconis” had been left as the sole station.

[*Satala*]–*Draconis*–*Elegarsina*–*Bubalia*–*Zimara*: TP.2. From the fork at Kurugöl, this road crossed the Çimen Dağ massif by pass B. Descending southwest past *Dracontes/Melikşerif into the Bulgar Çay valley, it then travelled westwards along this valley. The latter opens into the Refahiye plain, but the road, instead of following that plain northwestwards, immediately turns southeastwards and descends gently down a valley towards Kemah. The sharp turn is necessitated by a spur of the Çimen Dağ running between the two valleys. Having arrived in the Upper Euphrates valley opposite Kemah, the road then turns at a right angle and follows the valley downstream (southwest) to Zimara.

Coming from Satala, this road coincides with TP.1 as far as Refahiye. It ascends past Ziziola near İşkilor and Hassis/Haza at Cemallı to the watershed at the head of the Balahu Deresi valley, then descends through pass B and veers southwards to reach Melikşerif in the valley of the Bulgar Çay. It then progresses westwards along that valley and reaches Refahiye. The latter settlement was the district centre of the Refahiye plain at the end of the nineteenth century; it had formerly been known as *Gercenis*. Since Gercenis/Refahiye is the natural road junction, the TP’s *Elegarsina* should be located there, as was already suggested by the phonetic relationship between the two names. As will be seen, the Roman road to Zimara, which passed the site of Kemah, branched off from the Nicopolis–“Draconis” road at precisely this point. A village of Başgercenis also exists south of here and some way west of the modern road to Kemah. The element *baş*, “head”, suggests that Başgercenis was the upper village and Gercenis/Refahiye was the lower. But it is possible that the name *Başgercenis*, suggesting the centre of a district, migrated from Gercenis/Refahiye when in the late nineteenth century the present Refahiye became the district capital.¹¹⁴

From “Elegarsina”/Refahiye TP.2 continued southwards up a valley, keeping to the east the spur (known as Kurtlu Tepe) of the Çimen Dağ massif. It crosses a low watershed,

changes direction to southeast, and descends the valley of the Menek Su, tributary of the Upper Euphrates, on the other. In the Menek Su valley, a stretch of Roman road has been observed west of the village of Çengerli. Descending further southeast, the road then crossed from north to south, a plain, to one side of which is the village of Ermelik. On this plain, again, a stretch of the road has been followed.¹¹⁵ Below the village of Çengerli an inscription referring to a Roman cohort, the Cohors I Thracum Syriaca, has been found. In the village itself, large ashlar blocks have been used in the building of certain of the houses. The villagers say that these stones were cut from a quarry near the village of Horopol, in a side-valley of the Menek Su, about 7 kilometres northeast of the Roman road.¹¹⁶ All of this suggests a Roman installation, probably a fort, at Çengerli.

So far, in identifying *Dracontes with Melikşerif, and “Elegarsina” with Gercanis/Refahiye, we have ignored the fact that TP.2’s “Haris” falls between “Draconis” and “Elegarsina” on the version of the map we have. If that is its correct position, we should have to find a site for “Haris” somewhere in the Bulgar Çay valley. However, the map’s distance of 16 Roman miles between “Draconis” and “Haris” would be too long if “Haris” were in such a position; and on the other hand, the mileage is much better suited to the stretch between Melikşerif and Gercanis/Refahiye. The name “Horopol”, too, strongly indicates a site for “Haris” somewhere nearby. The evidence suggests a miscopying of the TP in which “Haris” or a predecessor name changed places with “Elegarsina”. “Elegarsina” or its predecessor name stood originally for Gercanis/Refahiye, and “Haris” for Çengerli, but with labour in the village now named Horopol having cut and carried the stone, perhaps also contributing to the construction of the fort. The name would later, perhaps sometime after the abandonment of the fort, have travelled to the village now called Horopol.¹¹⁷

From the point of arrival, opposite Kemah, at the bank of the Upper Euphrates, downstream as far as Pingan, many traces and indications of the Roman road are preserved. The road is continuously traceable, apart from one short stretch, until the crossing of the Kuru Çay (“Dry Stream”), an affluent of the Upper Euphrates, in a broad side-valley about 45 kilometres from Kemah as the crow flies. Over this stretch it first stays high above and well away from the riverbank, then descends to cross a tributary. It ascends again, rapidly this time, to a plain high above the Euphrates before a gradual descent past Boyalık to Hasanova and the Kuru Çay.¹¹⁸ Further on, the trace can be picked up shortly before the crossing of the Karabudak Çay (“Black-Twig Stream”). The Karabudak Çay was crossed by a bridge, repaired in the mid-third century AD, whose abutments survive. From the bridge to the vicinity of the village of Dostal the trace is clear.¹¹⁹ Until the approach to Pingan/Zimara, the road stays well up and away from the river itself, partly at least so as to avoid the frequent gorges through which the river flows.¹²⁰

This leaves the problem of Analiba (more probably Analibla), which is probably to be identified with the “Bubalia” of TP.2.¹²¹ Between Gercanis/“Elegarsina” and Pingan/Zimara, far and away the most important site is that of Kemah itself. The town of Kemah occupied a cliff-surrounded rock overlooking the river, and must in the Roman period, as later, have been protected by a wall directly above the cliff. During the first to fourth centuries AD, Kemah, then known as Ani, was the burial-place of the kings of Armenia.¹²² Probably their tombs were erected on the cliff-top neighbouring the citadel, where at present a tomb-tower of the Il-Khanid period or possibly later in the fourteenth century stands (on the far side of the river stand another tomb-tower of the same period and one of the early Turkish period [probably early thirteenth century]). After its existence as a Byzantine fortress, seat of a metropolitan bishopric with dependent dioceses in Erzincan, the Dersim and Arapkir, in the rear of the border with the caliph’s territory in Armenia, and after the Turkish invasions of the eleventh

century, Kemah became one of the capitals of the Mangujakid/Mengücekoğulları dynasty. In the late Middle Ages it was a formidable, inhabited fortress above a suburb, which itself lay on a slope above the river.¹²³

If Kemah were to be accepted as Analiba, the TP's 8 Roman miles between "Elegarsina" and "Bubalia" would roughly be accounted for by the distance from the site at Çengerli, which the TP identifies as Elegarsina but which we have argued to be its "Haris", to Kemah. And the importance of the latter site in the first to fourth centuries AD is unquestionable. But Ani, apart from being the burial-place of the Armenian kings, was also the central settlement of the Armenian district of Daranañi (pron. "Daranaghi"). The latter consisted basically of the Upper Euphrates valley downstream of the Erzincan plain. It lay on the Armenian side of the border after the Roman annexation of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor. Analiba, however, was a city of Armenia Minor.¹²⁴ It could not be equated with the capital city of one of the Armenian districts.

For Analiba, the village of Hasanova, in the mouth of the valley of the Kuru Çay, has been proposed. The Kuru Çay flows into the Upper Euphrates at a point roughly two-thirds of the distance from Kemah to Pingan/Zimara; Hasanova lies about 4 kilometres from the confluence, near the point where the Roman road crossed the Kuru Çay. The proposal relies on TP.3, which shows a direct route (via Oleoberda and Caleorsissa) from Nicopolis to Analiba. This direct route would run over the formidable Kızıl Dağ south of the Suşehri plain and would eventually make its way to the Kuru Çay valley and so to the road in the Upper Euphrates valley. TP.3 immediately suggests that Analiba lies at the point of junction between the direct route from Nicopolis (TP.3) with two others (TP.2 and IA.3) which have Analiba/"Bubalia" lying on a route from the Refahiye plain into the Upper Euphrates valley and then downstream to Zimara/Pingan. The position would fit the 16 miles to Zimara of the TP.3 and IA.3. It would also be defensible to say that the settlement at Hasanova (if there was one) lay in Armenia Minor, though a location of 4 kilometres from the river which ran down the centre of Daranañi would make this somewhat unlikely.¹²⁵

But Hasanova is recommended only by the geographical considerations we have mentioned, rather than by any characteristics of the site itself. In 1896, Yorke found capitals, which he thought were probably of "Byzantine" date, lying in a ruined hut.¹²⁶ However, no more accurate date has ever been put on them, and the vagueness of the description leaves open the possibility that they were transported, perhaps as building material, from a nearby Armenian church or monastery. No ancient site has been found, nor would 'Byzantine' capitals support the existence here of a settlement in the first century AD, when the road was built and the annexation of Armenia Minor took place. And as we shall see, the direct *Tabula Peutingeriana* road from Nicopolis to Analiba (TP.3) is simply a cartographic fiction formed by various miscopyings including imports of names from TP.1, the route directly above on the map itself, and imports from the text of Ptolemy. Moreover, the topography of the mountain massif between the Suşehri plain and the Kuru Çay valley is so forbidding as to make it unlikely that Roman engineers would even try to build a road across it.

The site which seems to answer to all the requirements for Analiba/"Bubalia" is that at İhtik (renamed "Bozoğlak") on an eminence well within the massif overlooking the Upper Euphrates valley from the north, about half-way between Kemah and Hasanova. It lies above the first stretch of the Roman road, which climbs southwestwards and downstream from Kemah, subsequently to descend to the Kürtler Dere.¹²⁷ The site also lies 3 kilometres north of and well above the Roman road, which, in this stretch, itself traverses spurs and valleys at a distance of 5–7 kilometres from the river. The site is therefore well out of the bowl of the Upper Euphrates valley, and could easily have lain in Armenia Minor as opposed to

Daranali. Locally, the site at Ihtik is known as a “Greek city”. Mitford identifies it tentatively as Ptolemy’s *Charax*, arguing from the nearby rocky cleft.¹²⁸ But this is Analiba, a settlement 26 Roman miles or about 40 kilometres from Zimara/Pingan according to TP.2, later the seat of a cohort in the Roman army, the *Cohors V Raetorum*, and a bishopric in fourth-century Armenia Minor.¹²⁹ The boundary between Armenia Minor and Daranali could well have been marked by the line of the road, which runs just above the bowl of the Upper Euphrates valley.

Nicopolis–Oloeberda–Caleorsissa–Analiba–Zimara (TP.3) and *Satala–Arauracos–Carsagis–Sinervas–Analiba–Zimara* (IA.3). Of these, the first, TP.3, appears to constitute the southwesterly leg of the triangle made by the TP’s roads and the second, IA.3, appears to cross the middle of the triangle. We shall take the latter first.

“Carsagis”, it has been argued, lies at the entrance to the Çobanlı Su valley from the Refahiye plain. Analiba has been located in the Upper Euphrates valley, downstream of Kemah, at Ihtik. This suggests, at first sight, a road which crosses the Refahiye plain from north to south and picks up TP.2 (Satala ... Elegarsina, “Bubalia”, ...) in the vicinity of Refahiye itself, thereafter continuing along TP.2 down the valley of the Menek Su and to the valley of the Upper Euphrates opposite Kemah. This would suggest in turn that Sinervas was somewhere near the settlement at “Elegarsina”/Refahiye, or perhaps that they were the same place.

The distance on the *Itinerarium* (28 Roman miles) between “Carsagis” and Sinervas, corrupt to an extent though it may be, militates against a reconstruction which brings the road directly across the Refahiye plain. So does the absence of observed physical traces of a north–south Roman carriageway directly over the Refahiye plain between the mouth of the Çobanlı Su valley and Gercenis/Refahiye. Instead, the traveller standing at “Carsagis” finds himself on the north side of what is, on the modern map, an eel-shaped pattern of roads. The north side is composed of TP.1 and IA.2, travelling westwards easily towards Nicopolis across the plain, and the Gökseki/Akşehir road, snaking up to and down from pass A: this, we have argued, was a leg originally represented on the TP, but missed out at a certain stage of its repeated copying. The south side consists, first, of the Sariyusuf–Çobanlı–Kanlıtaş–Kürelık carriageway to the west and second, snaking in sympathy with the Akşehir–pass A road, of the Melikşerif–pass B road, joining the pass A road at Kurugöl. Clearly the traveller standing at “Carsagis”, and wanting to reach the Upper Euphrates and Analibla down the Menek Su valley, has a number of choices: he can either go southwards straight across the Refahiye plain for 12 or 13 kilometres, although the first 8 kilometres or so will be on unpaved track; or he must go west along the north side of the eel and double back along its south side (Sariyusuf, etc.); or he must snake east along the north side of the eel (Akşehir, pass A) and then double back, snaking in sympathy, along its south side (pass B, Melikşerif).

However, the IA is not, at this point, informing travellers about practicalities. If you have already travelled to “Carsagis” along IA.3 in the Kelkit valley past Suissa and Arauraca, and insist on reaching “Elegarsina”/Refahiye and the Menek Su valley, the most practical course is south over the Refahiye plain for 12–13 kilometres. Equally, though, to reach the Upper Euphrates valley opposite Kemah and so travel to Analibla/Ihtik and Zimara/Pingan, it would make much better sense not to start on IA.3 at all but to take TP.1/IA.1 past Ziziola/İşkılör, pass B and *Dracontes/Melikşerif. Instead of informing us about the practicalities of travel, the IA is trying to inform us about the pattern of built Roman roads.

This means that IA.3 travels either to the tail of the eel, towards the west (Ağvanis etc), and doubles back along its south side (Sariyusuf, Çobanlı, Kanlıtaş), or else snakes along the eel’s back to its head, to the east (pass A road), snaking back along the other stretch of its south side (pass B, Melikşerif). Let us examine the two possibilities. The first is certainly

the shortest in terms of legwork along the carriageway. However, to represent the route, the IA would probably have wanted to refer to Olotoedariza or even, perhaps, to Nicopolis as a way of pointing out the availability of the two roads (AI.2 past Olotoedariza and TP.1/IA.2, Saryusuf, Çobanlı, etc). Moreover, if this end of the eel were meant, the IA would not be adding another stretch of road to the total pattern of built Roman roads in the region. If the snaking easterly half of the eel were meant, however, the northerly carriageway (Akşehir and pass A) would be added to the picture. And if it were not added here, it would be absent from the IA as a whole. Such a long detour would account for the long distance (28 Roman miles) given in IA.3 between “Carsagis” and Sinervas, after which the next station (suspiciously, after another 28 miles) is Analiba. That the Akşehir–pass A road forms part of IA.3 is a further reason for thinking that the same road featured originally on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.¹³⁰

Where was Sinervas? The Ottoman tax censuses of the sixteenth century record a village of *Ezirins* or *Ezirinis* on the ‘Çardaklı derbendi’ (“Çardaklı pass”). This will certainly be Sinervas. (In the Latin form of the name, only the -v- finds no equivalent in “Sinervas”).¹³¹ It is even possible that the Armenian accusative plural -s is accurately reflected by the Latin accusative plural -as. Finding the actual village is not so easy. Probably it is that of Kızıliniş, right in pass B.¹³² In the sixteenth century, part of the village’s population was given tax exemptions in return for ‘ensuring the safety’ of transhumants going on their summer migrations, and returning in the autumn, through the ‘Çardaklı derbendi’.¹³³ In reality the safety issue concerned the village itself and travellers other than the migrating herdsmen. However, the comment of the Ottoman tax register surely reveals something of moment for the understanding of the Roman road through Melikşerif and pass B. The annual transhumance in question can hardly fail to have taken place in the Roman period too, and for that matter in the Il-Khanid period. Pass B certainly functioned as an avenue for migrant pastoralists; very likely these pastoralists came east towards the pastures of the Çimen Dağ; probably they came from the Lower Euphrates valley up the Ermelik plain–Menek valley route, then east through the Bulgar Çay valley and past Melikşerif, rather than directly from the Refahiye plain through the Örçil Deresi. The Roman road of Sipdiğin, Melikşerif and pass B therefore functioned, in part, as an avenue of movement for commuting pastoralists.

TP.3 (Nicopolis–Oleoberda–Caleorsissa–Analiba) seems to lie west of IA.3, which we have just traced. A line for it has been suggested: it leaves the Suşehri plain not far east of Nicopolis/Pürk and descends south into the upper tributary valleys of the Halys/Kızıl Irmak, then traverses another watershed to reach the valley of the Kuru Çay. The latter brings the road under discussion to the Upper Euphrates valley.

Oleoberda has been placed very loosely on the first watershed (between the Suşehri plain and the basin of the upper Halys tributaries) or on the descent into the latter. A castle at Buldur and an ancient site at Kılıçlar have both been tentatively mentioned as the location. *Caleorsissa*, on similar principles, has been very roughly located on the southerly flanks of the Halys basin, on the second watershed, or on the descent from the watershed. Again a very tentative identification with some ruins at Yeniköy has been put forward.¹³⁴ Analiba has been located at Hasanova, as discussed earlier.

Let us now evaluate the line traced out for this road. Compared to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Itinerarium Antoninum* routes, placed on the Refahiye plain and elsewhere by means of road traces, milestones and ancient sites, the line of this road is distinctly shadowy. For the sake of neatness let us consider first of all the sites proposed. Here the proposed Roman road receives little help. The castle at Buldur and the ruins at Yeniköy have never been adequately described, nor have their dates been specified. It is impossible to say if they would fit the identifications proposed or if the nature of the remains actively supports the identifications.

We have seen how little support the “Byzantine” capitals of Hasanova will offer to the identification of that village with Analiba and to the proposal to place a Roman road station there.

After considering the proposed sites for Oleoberda and Caltiorissa, let us look at the line proposed for the road between Nicopolis and the Upper Euphrates valley. Admittedly it starts off well. The Roman remains in the Pulat Dere valley in and downstream of the village of Akşar, southeast of Pürk, have already been discussed. These include a stretch of Roman paving to the north of the village, the milestone in the village and probably Mithridatic remains on a hill. The traces would certainly be consistent with a road starting in the Akşar valley and rising over the mountains towards the Upper Euphrates valley. However, the road traces in the Pulat Dere valley upstream and south of the village of Akşar discovered by the Cumonts would be inconsistent with such a road, because after Akşar, the track towards the Upper Euphrates climbs out of the valley south-eastwards.¹³⁵

After Akşar, however, traces and indications of a Roman road connecting Nicopolis/Pürk directly with the Upper Euphrates valley simply stop. Let us follow the track taken by Taylor in 1866: this is the only track which has ever been put forward as the likely line of a Roman road with the relevant destination.

Taylor has first to cross the Kızıl Dağ, the mountain range which marches from the Refahiye plain westwards, overlooking in turn the Refahiye and the Suşehri plain from the south. He climbs, first southeast to a point 1 mile (about 1½ kilometres) west of the village of Buldur. His track then turns south, through forest, and circles westwards, suiting the contour, so as to overlook (from the north) the village of Çermisek.¹³⁶ After another 1½ hours’ climbing, Taylor found himself south of Akşar.

He travelled southwards over the ‘flat top’ of the Kızıl Dağ, then descended into a ‘small confined valley, containing an insignificant tributary of the Kizzil Irmak.’ This tributary, in truth, led southeast to the stream which could be considered the Kızıl Irmak itself, despite its course in the high reaches of the river’s upper basin. In the basin of the tributary’s valley, on the river’s south bank, lay the village of ‘Kapoo Mahmood’ (the Deli Mahmud [“Mad Mahmud”] of the maps).¹³⁷ Taylor then found a village called Konak (lit. “Resting-Place”, but sometimes “Mansion”, “[Grand] Residence”), around which was the *çiftlik* or extensive farm of a Kızılbaş chief, Kasım Ağa. This in fact lay, again in a valley, east of the confluence of the ‘insignificant tributary’ and the Kızıl Irmak. To the west, a low range of hills, cut by the Kızıl Irmak itself, separated Taylor from the valley-plain of the Kızıl Irmak, which runs all the way down to Sivas. The village of Konak Taylor found very cold, a comment on the unfavourable microclimate of the valley and of that of the ‘insignificant tributary’.¹³⁸

Taylor, progressing south, reached the main stream of the Kızıl Irmak. The latter stream, at this point, is flowing in a northwesterly direction. After crossing the river, he continues on a south–southwesterly course, rising past the village of ‘Chai’ (*Çay*, “Tea” or “Stream”) to the east. He reached a new upland, passing the village of ‘Bapsee’ immediately to the west, and climbing to a peak which he calls the ‘Bapsee Gedukee peak’.¹³⁹ From here he looks deep down into what he calls the Kuru Çay valley. The latter is probably the valley of the Kızıl Irmak, which not long before he has crossed, and which lies to his northeast. It has nothing to do with the Kuru Çay, affluent of the Upper Euphrates, which belongs to an entirely different river system, but whose valley Taylor will enter soon. He describes it thus: ‘... the Kuroo Tchai valley, appearing, from the vast accumulation of igneous rocks thrown up to a great height on all sides and in every shape, more like a bit from Pandemonium than the habitable abode of living beings’. Here and there, however, he discerned villages and isolated farms.¹⁴⁰

Taylor now descends to an ‘uninviting ravine’. This, for the first time, belongs to the river system of the Upper Euphrates. The river flowing within it was known as the Kuru

Çay ('Kuroo Chai'). A hamlet of the same name lay in the valley's base. But again this is not the Kuru Çay of the final descent into the Upper Euphrates valley. The Kuru Çay valley, says Taylor, is a 'narrow gorge containing at this season the dry bed of a torrent that, during spring and early summer, is filled with an impetuous dangerous stream'. He continues down this gorge, passing the villages of 'Telharee' (west) and 'Golaes' (Golaris, east), which, he says, 'thread the gorge'.¹⁴¹

At the confluence with the Sinek Su (his 'Senak Su'; "Fly Stream"), of which his Kuru Çay is a tributary, he crosses the Sinek Su itself. The latter river is flowing south towards Divriği, but joins there a river, the Çaltı Çay, which flows into the Upper Euphrates at the latter's sharp bend, by Burmahan, further downstream.¹⁴² Taylor continues southeast, climbing a 'high mountain spur to an upland – hemmed in by rock' to the village of 'Karraga' (*Karaca*). This, finally, does overlook the river which flows directly into the Upper Euphrates. It was called the Kara Dere ("Black Valley"). The river flows down its ravine towards the upland of Karaca in a southwesterly direction, then turns south to flow beneath the village, then turns again, southeastwards, in the final stretch before the Upper Euphrates confluence. The river by which the whole valley is known, the Kuru Çay, comes in from the north further downstream, at Taylor's 'Khan'/modern Kuruçay.¹⁴³ The ravine of the Kara Dere, wrote Taylor, was

sandy, hot and feverish. A stream – now inconsiderable [in August] – of bad, slightly saline water flows through it The natives generally shun this place [the valley] for the pure air of the hills on either side, where water is abundant.¹⁴⁴

After a descent from the upland, the way lies down the Kara Dere, then the Kuru Çay, valley all the way to the Upper Euphrates.¹⁴⁵

Taylor, led by guides, was following the standard track between the Suşehri plain and the Upper Euphrates valley. But, for a road-builder, the way is formidable. Beyond Akşar it rises through forest, circling to cope with the gradient. After crossing the Kızıl Dağ it descends into the bare, starved valley of the Kızıl Irmak tributary, passing eventually Konak, with its cold climate; the latter lies in the main Kızıl Irmak valley, whose rocky, chaotic, Pandemonium-like physiognomy was so inimical to habitation. The way now rises for a second time, and descends again into the gorge of the first Kuru Çay; the river, in the base of the gorge, becomes dangerous in spring. After the gorge, a third climb to another upland ensues, and then a third descent, bringing one into the hot and feverish Kara Dere, with its saline river, shunned by inhabitants of the district. Down this valley runs the final section of the track.

Given three ascents and descents, none of them described as easy, and the generally dry, rocky, inhospitable nature of the valleys necessarily followed by the track, it would be better to conclude that the truly formidable engineering difficulties, and the succession of ascents and descents that would have been required of the traveller, simply deterred Roman engineers and governors from the attempt at building a road. As Taylor admitted, no traces of a Roman road are encountered from Akşar onwards.¹⁴⁶

Having seen that there is no evidence for a Roman road along the proposed line, let us look again at the names on the *Tabula* route. Two different place-names, naturally, can share one or more elements. "Oleoberda" and "Olotoedariza", however, not merely do so but are also the first stations on two different routes starting from Nicopolis. Moreover, on the map itself, "Oleoberda" lies directly under the position where "Olotoedariza" would have been on TP.1 (Nicopolis, [Unnamed], Draconis ...); the compounded coincidence makes it possible to imagine a scribe copying at least the "Olo-" element from the name on the upper route,

TP.1, and perhaps substituting the element “-berda” (Arm. “berd”, “castle”) known from other place names for whatever untidy form lay in front of him.

Next the name “Analiba”. Here a correct miscopying, that is to say a correct or more or less correct copying, but in the wrong position, seems to have taken place. Again the name “Analiba” on this route (TP.3) lies directly under the corrupt name “Bubalia” on TP.2. So the correct copying of “Analiba” (or, more likely, *Analibla) on TP.3 in the wrong spot must have preceded the corruption of “Analibla” to “Bubalia” in the right spot. The corruption is again compounded by the circumstance that the name “Analiba” on the TP interrupts the road rather than lying above one of its steps in the manner normal on the TP. The name lies where the step would normally have been.

The intermediate name, “Caleorsissa”, is not explained by any name immediately above it in the TP. If we look in the text of Ptolemy, however, we find the sequence Seleberroea, Caltiorissa, Analibla. So we may hypothesise that a scribe, finding “Analiba” somewhat below its correct position but floating free of the Upper Euphrates road (TP.2), decided that there must have been a road connecting Nicopolis and Analiba, which would then reach the Upper Euphrates road at Zimara. So the copyist, knowing the close connection between Ptolemy’s lists of “cities” and the stations of the *Tabula*, goes to the text of Ptolemy and imports the two names “Seleberroea” and “Caltiorissa”, thus replicating on the *Tabula* the sequence in Ptolemy. In subsequent copyings of the *Tabula*, “Seleberroea” was corrupted, partly under the influence of “Olotedariza”, to “Oleoberda” and “Caltiorissa” to “Caleorsissa”.

The alternative hypothesis is that a road supplying the third leg of a triangle was marked on the original TP, and that the one we have is a much changed version of it. This might have had the same delineation (three stations, three steps) as the present TP.3 between Nicopolis and Zimara, but with different names. “Analiba” was then written in the place of the easterly name, and a subsequent copyist consulted Ptolemy and intruded the remaining two names. This would have the advantage of explaining the distances on the present TP.3. But a better delineation of the original road would be the much simpler one which would reflect the Sariyusuf–Çobanlı–Kanlıtaş road on the Refahiye plain. The original triangle would then have been much smaller; the original TP.3 might have crossed from Olotedariza to Elegarsina without any intermediate station. Once “Analiba” was copied below its original place, the import from Ptolemy and the corruption of the two imported names could follow. What had begun by being a simple leg between two stations, reflecting a short road over the Refahiye plain, was inflated into a longer leg, this time between Nicopolis and Zimara, passing three intermediate stations and appearing to reflect a road crossing from the Suşehri plain into the upper basin of the Kızıl Irmak and then into the valley of the Kuru Çay.

But leaving aside the precise sequence of miscopyings by which TP.3 came to take its present form on the *Tabula*, it should by now be obvious that TP.3 is in large measure simply an accretion to the map, a fake, either complete or nearly complete, which was not on the original map in anything like the form it has on the present copy because there was never a Roman road on the ground over the course which it implies. Very likely the original TP.3 corresponded to the Sariyusuf–Çobanlı–Kanlıtaş road on the Refahiye plain.

Kemah-Erzincan. The one remaining road to account for is that whose traces have been followed on the north bank of the Upper Euphrates from opposite Kemah (where TP.2 and IA.2 turn downstream towards Analiba and Zimara) upstream to Erzincan and then northwards out of the Erzincan plain to Sadak/Satala.¹⁴⁷ Watchtowers near the village of Alpköy on the north bank of the Upper Euphrates have also been noticed.¹⁴⁸ On the scheme just traced out, this road does not appear in the ancient itineraries, nor even does the name *Eriza*, the Greek and Latin name for Erzincan.

Eriza was an important city with a well-known shrine of the Zoroastrian goddess Anahit/Anaitis:¹⁴⁹ one could very cogently argue that if the road running through it had existed at the time of compilation of the information for the IA (? late second century AD), that road, and the city, are most unlikely to have been left out.

Both Ani/Kemah and Eriza/Erzincan (capitals of the two contiguous districts of Daranahi and Ekeleac'/Akilisene respectively) must have lain in Armenian territory at the point when the road system outlined earlier (excluding, of course, the Kemah–Erzincan carriage-way) was constructed. The period of construction probably starts in AD 72, when Armenia Minor (including the Satala plain, the Kelkit valley-plain and the Refahiye and Suşehri plains) was annexed by the Roman Empire. But western Armenia, including Daranahi and Ekeleac', was annexed permanently by the (Eastern) Roman Empire only in AD 387.¹⁵⁰ It should be observed that the road descending from the Refahiye plain into the Upper Euphrates valley does not actually reach the city of Kemah, which in any case lies on the south bank of the Upper Euphrates. On its passage downstream, the road stays well away from and sometimes above the river until the final approach to Zimara. It may well have been built along such a course in order to respect the boundary of the Armenian kingdom, or at least to make the minimum incursions inside it. Similarly the road running upstream from opposite Kemah to Erzincan stays well away from the river on the west bank, and sometimes well above the river too. However, a passage through Armenian territory was inevitable when the road crossed the Erzincan plain, passed Eriza and continued over the plain towards Satala.¹⁵¹

Easily the most likely circumstance under which the Kemah–Erzincan section could have been built is that of the short-lived annexation of the Armenian kingdom by Rome in AD 114. The emperor Trajan marched from Satala to a location in Armenia called Elegeia.¹⁵² Here he was to have crowned the Armenian king, but instead refused and had him murdered. He then proceeded to the annexation of the Armenian kingdom. Armenia was combined with Cappadocia in one large province. However, as soon as Hadrian became emperor in 117 he divested the empire of Armenia, which once more became a vassal kingdom.¹⁵³

It is a fair supposition that once Armenia had been annexed, military commanders would want a road built from Satala over the Erzincan plain and down the Upper Euphrates valley to connect with the road (TP.2, IA.3) that already descended the valley from opposite Kemah. This would allow easy access to the Erzincan plain; control over the settlements therein, including Eriza; and much quicker movement between Satala and the Roman positions in the Upper Euphrates valley (such as Analibla and Zimara) downstream of Kemah. (On the other hand, given that no roads were built further east, this road gives rise to a question: What aims did the Roman Empire have in annexing Armenia, and what form of military presence did it propose to maintain there?) Once Armenia had been relinquished as a directly administered territory, the road was simply forgotten about. For this reason it did not feature on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; even if its existence were still remembered, it would not have been included in the *Itinerarium Antoninum*, because it was beyond the borders of the empire.

Another possible, but much less likely, occasion for the construction of the road through the Erzincan plain is the Roman intervention in Armenia in 163 and 164. In the first of these years, the Parthians and their client king were thrown out of Armenia by Roman troops. In 164, a Roman client was set up; a new capital, Caenopolis, was founded (Vaḫaršapat/Ējmiacin); and a Roman garrison left there. The occasion would have been suitable for the construction of a road, but the jurisdictional neatness of outright annexation would have been lacking. The Erzincan plain was still the territory of the Armenian kingdom, even though the king was a Roman vassal.¹⁵⁴

The third most likely date for the construction of the Satala–Kemah carriageway is soon after the Roman annexation of Osrhoene, the region of Edessa/Urfa, and Mesopotamia (further east) in AD 198 and AD 199 respectively.¹⁵⁵ The new road would be part of an attempt to improve communication along the Euphrates frontier north of the Taurus mountains, now that the frontier south of the Taurus was so much more secure. As it was, the well-known bridge over the Chabina/Bölam Su below the shrine at Eski Kâhta was completely rebuilt in AD 199; at *Dracontes/Melikşerif, construction work, presumably with a military purpose, was carried out; the road leading westwards towards Melitene/Malatya was also rebuilt.¹⁵⁶ On this supposition, the road, as in the case of the opportunity presented by the events of 163–64, was built through Armenian territory, either by diplomatic arrangement or else by the application of *force majeure*. It was built too late for inclusion in the first drafts of the itineraries, and was not noticed by the time the itineraries were revised.

Other possibilities can be proposed. The carriageway in the Erzincan plain could have been constructed as part of a programme of road upgrading in Armenia Minor, just behind the frontier, in AD 223.¹⁵⁷ Conceivably its construction was part of an upgrading of the frontier defences and communications in the mid-century, of which the restoration of the Sabrina/Karabudak Çay bridge would have formed part.¹⁵⁸ The road might even have been built after the division of Armenia between the East Roman and Sasanian empires in 387; this spelt the end of the Armenian kingdom and was a final admission that in the struggles between the two empires Armenia could not remain a single kingdom and pass back and forth as the vassal, now of one and now of the other.¹⁵⁹ Although motives and political circumstance would favour such a possibility, it is doubtful if in this period the East Roman Empire would have constructed a road here at all.

It thus becomes clear at least that the Kemah–Erzincan–Satala road cannot have been constructed as part of the original network in the Refahiye plain, Kelkit valley and Upper Euphrates valley downstream of Kemah. The Erzincan plain, part of Armenia, was not, in general, open to Roman engineers to build in, however feasible and desirable the direct link between Satala and the Analibla–Zimara carriageway may have been.¹⁶⁰ Much the most likely period during which this direct link might have been constructed is that from 114 to 117, during which Roman troops controlled Armenia and there was every motive for Roman engineers to complete the network recently constructed in the plains, valleys and passes overlooking the Erzincan plain from the west. After Roman troops withdrew and another client king was crowned, the road in the Erzincan plain was forgotten, and so was never included in the third-century itineraries.

Summary. To summarise: the evidence of the ancient itineraries, road traces and milestones, etc. can be combined to produce a reconstruction of the Roman road system with a clear rationale. The latter principally rests on the imperatives of defence along the Roman border with the Armenian kingdom. The road scheme provides for a border road (TP.2) coming southwest from Satala and into the high Refahiye plain, where it passed a town at *Dracontes/Melikşerif. From Satala to the Refahiye plain, the road passes above and somewhat behind the Erzincan plain and immediately surrounding slopes, which constituted the Armenian district of Ekeleac'. From the Refahiye plain the road descends into the Euphrates valley opposite Ani/Kemah. It then turns downstream along the west bank, keeping a good distance from the river and generally above it, so as to stay out of Armenian territory or at least enter it as infrequently and over as short a distance as possible. Zimara, although on the bank of the river, lay within Armenia Minor. From the bend in the river a short distance beyond Zimara, the road rose out of the valley altogether.

The border road apart, the scheme provides for good access to the legionary fortress at Satala from Sebasteia and Nicopolis/Pürk. The road (IA.2) advances over the Suşehri plain and rises into the higher plain of Refahiye. From here the road along the north side of the plain, the summer route (AI.3), leads to a junction with the border road at Kurugöl, east of the Çimen Dağ. The winter route (AI.2, 3) leaves the plain at a point somewhat east of Ağvanis/Olotoedariza by the valley of the Çobanlı Su, and continues up the broad Kelkit valley to Satala. Finally the road scheme provides access to the Upper Euphrates valley opposite Kemah and to the road downstream past Pingan/Zimara towards Melitene from the direction both of Nicopolis and of Satala (IA.1, IA.3, TP.2, TP.3). From Nicopolis/Pürk, advancing to Olotoedariza/Ağvanis as before, one could go directly to the Upper Euphrates valley at Ani/Kemah by taking the short north–south leg over the Refahiye plain (? TP.3), which then combined with the border road on the descent towards Ani/Kemah.

C. Pegolotti's route

The discussion here serves to put in place all the sections of Pegolotti's route, which can be identified very quickly. *Mughisar* must be Kemah, where a large citadel (*hisar*) on an imposing and commanding site stands above the slopes covered by the late medieval town. The only serious competitor to Kemah is Melikşerif, the -m- and -k- of whose name could be held to correspond to the -m- and -g- of *Mughisar*. However, the town at what is now Melikşerif was called *Arzanjak* (Persian form of the name) in the late Middle Ages. Nor, in the same period, do we have evidence for a fort at the settlement.

But at Kemah there is good evidence, both archaeological and literary, for the existence of an important town, partly within the formidable cliff-top walls, from the beginning to the end of the Turkish Middle Ages (twelfth to fifteenth centuries AD) and in the early Ottoman period. It is likely that the walled site was fully built up with houses; a good proportion of these were inhabited by Christians. It was well-supplied with water from a pipe which fed a reservoir near its southwesterly nose.¹⁶¹ The site's strength was illustrated in Timur's siege of Shawwal 804/May 1402, in which the ravine between the walled area and the parent hillside was filled with stones to allow Timur's men to scale the walls.¹⁶² Some of the population perhaps lived on the apron of land above the river and downstream of the cliff-top walled area. Under the Mangujakids (twelfth and early thirteenth centuries) a *madrassa* seems to have been built in the town.¹⁶³ Under the Seljuks, in an emergency precipitated by the rivalry between two claimants to the throne, the fortress temporarily housed the Seljuk treasury, and during the Ak Koyunlu domination over the region, this use reappears.¹⁶⁴ By the Il-Khan Abu Sa'id it was used as a prison for no less a person than Abu Sa'id's cousin Shaykh Hasan in 1332 before Shaykh Hasan's appointment as governor of Rum.¹⁶⁵ In the first half of the fourteenth century another *madrassa* seems to have been built; equally two tomb-towers, one on the narrow table created by the citadel's ravine on its northeast side, and one on the far bank, on a table of land above the river, seem to have been put up.¹⁶⁶ In the Ak Koyunlu period and no doubt before, Kemah was a refuge for those who could not hold Erzincan.¹⁶⁷

For *Greboco*, much the best candidate between Dudriaga/Tödürge and Mughisar/Kemah is the city of Nicopolis. Under the name *Aqshahr* (Akşehir) the city flourished in the twelfth to fifteenth century; we shall see here that it existed, under the same name, at least as late as the sixteenth century in some form, perhaps only as a village. The name "Aqshahr" or "Akşehir" does not contain any phonetic leads for "Greboco", but the place's modern name, "Pürk", does. Of the consonants in "Greboco", all are accounted for by those of "Aḫbiwrk" (pron. "Aghbiurk"), the Armenian name suggested here as lying behind the modern name of

“Pürk”.¹⁶⁸ Here the order of the consonants is kept (γ-r-b-k/g-r-b-k). If “Albiwrk” was not the original of “Pürk” then in the latter we still have three of the consonants of “Greboco”, this time with some switching of the order (g-r-b-k/p-r-k). Pegolotti’s name for Nicopolis is of great interest. It shows at least that the two names “Aqshahr” and “Albiwrk” were current side by side in the fourteenth century. This in turn suggests, but does not entirely prove, that the merchants whose information was eventually compiled in the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary talked to the Armenian element of the population here.

The two urban settlements of Greboco/Pürk and Mughisar/Kemah are enough to fix the line of Pegolotti’s route with great exactitude. First it follows the *Tabula Peutingeriana*’s road from Sebasteia to Nicopolis (TP.1). Instead of continuing east from Zara over the same country into the basin of the upper Kızıl Irmak and over a difficult massif into the Refahiye plain, as the present metalled road does, it turns north before Zara to climb and descend the easy gradients of a pass through the Köse Dağ range and reach the city of Aqshahr/Pürk near the southern edge of the Suşehri plain. Travellers would have stopped at the *yayla*, protected by a blockhouse, opposite Keçeyurt, the TP’s “Megalasso”. From Greboco/Pürk, Pegolotti’s route follows TP.1 and AI.1 the length of the Suşehri plain and up to or near to Ağvanis, former Olotoedariza, at the entrance to the Refahiye plain.¹⁶⁹ It continues southeast along the Çobanlı–Kürelık road, passes Gercenis/Refahiye¹⁷⁰ and continues southeast on TP.2/AI.3, down the Menek Su valley and over the Ermelik plain to the bank of the Euphrates just upstream of Kemah. Merchants, or at least their goods, would not always have entered the town. This would have involved coming downstream, opposite the citadel, for half a kilometre before crossing the river into the suburb west of the walled cliff-top. At the mouth of the Menek Su valley, a Mongol *tangaul* waited to guard merchants’ goods at night.¹⁷¹

From Kemah, Pegolotti’s route follows the Roman road (built quickly when the Roman Empire had occupied Armenia [AD 114–17] but forgotten by the time the information for the Roman itineraries was gathered [late second century and third century AD]) gently up the valley of the Upper Euphrates to Erzincan. This road (Kemah to Erzincan) was in fact the continuation of a late medieval trade route which came up the Roman road from Malatya/Melitene. Clavijo, writing of a journey made around 70 years after the compilation of Pegolotti’s text, pointed out that traffic came up the Kara Su valley to Kemah, then continued towards Erzincan. It was this traffic which the small caravansaray at Burmahan served, and which helps to explain the comparatively good state of preservation of the Roman bridges.¹⁷²

It must be stressed that the roundabout Pegolotti route, constantly turning north and south of the main axis of movement in search of easy gradients, was not the only one in use or even maintained by the Il-Khanid regime. Mustawfi in his *Nuzha*, composed around 1340 but surely retailing information valid a decade or two earlier, details an itinerary from Erzincan to Sivas which precisely does take the shorter but more arduous line over a couple of segments. We shall take the opportunity to examine this itinerary, first detailing the stations, which are not toll stations, and the distances between them, then tracing out the whole route.

Arzinjan 5 De[p]e-i Kh^wāja Aḥmad 7 Arzanjak 8 Aqshahr 5 Akarsuk 8 Zara 10 Rubaṭ-i Kh^wāja Aḥmad 4 Sivas.¹⁷³

Arzanjak, as argued earlier, is Melikşerif. This means straightaway that the route takes the Çardaklı gorge up to pass C, then goes forward over the Refahiye plain to Aqshahr/Pürk on the Suşehri plain. De[p]e-i Kh^wāja Aḥmad, between Arzinjan and Arzanjak, will be the last stop before Erzincan of the eastward-riding Ottoman armies whose routes are set out in our appendix. In those armies’ itineraries the stopping-place is known under different names:

Tepe Başı, *Germane* and *Girmane*. Later Newbery and Evliya Çelebi found a caravansaray called *Başhan* in the same place.¹⁷⁴

Once travellers had arrived at Aqshahr/Pürk, they crossed the Köse Dağ range to Zara in the Kızıl Irmak valley; here the direct line, over the Gemi Bel, avoided both by the Pegolotti itinerary and by the two ancient itineraries' routes, is evidently meant. Mustawfi's *Akarsuk* will be the Akarsu of the maps, 10 kilometres southwest of Aqshahr/Pürk. It is possible that the route went to Suşehri first, then turned up a side-valley. This would go some way towards explaining the small direct distance of Akarsuk from Aqshahr/Pürk, certainly too low for Mustawfi's 5 leagues and in disagreement, too, with the proportion of 5:8 implied by Mustawfi between the distances Aqshahr–Akarsuk and Akarsuk–Zara. From Zara the route takes the track down the Kızıl Irmak valley. Mustawfi's *Rubaṭ-i Khwāja Aḥmad* was probably at Koçhisar.¹⁷⁵ The word *rubat* can mean either a dervish convent, generally of small size and in the countryside rather than in a town, or else a fort; and since the *rubat* is identified by the name of a *khwāja*/hoca or dervish teacher, the former is more likely, though the existence at Koçhisar of a fort as well as a *rubat* /zaviye in this period is difficult to doubt.

This line of stations on Mustawfi's route does not demonstrate that the general detour via Kemah, and the more limited detour along the *Tabula Peutingeriana*'s route to Pürk/Aqshahr/Nicopolis, for which we have argued, is invalid, but merely that Mustawfi's is the Il-Khanid empire's post route, while Pegolotti's is the route for more heavily laden travellers. Both, it is true, avoid the mountain massif between the upper Kızıl Irmak basin and the Refahiye plain. Pegolotti's route ascends to the passes in the Köse Dağ range, and descends from them into the Suşehri plain by the gentler gradients of a long, roundabout track. The Mustawfi route crosses the Gemi Bel, climbing and descending by the steepest and most direct line available. Pegolotti's route avoids, too, the ferocious descent down the bare valley between Melikşerif and Erzincan, which precisely is climbed and descended by the postal riders of Mustawfi's route. Instead it takes the gentler descent from the Refahiye plain to Kemah and from there an easy ascent to Erzincan. In general the Pegolotti route takes a succession of plains, easy passes and gentle ascents and descents along river valleys in preference to harsh climbs and descents over difficult passes or along steep valleys, which would, however, have offered a more direct itinerary.

As an indication that the route was in use during the late Middle Ages, it is worth pointing out that the Ottoman authorities arranged a series of *derbents* (points where villagers were responsible for ensuring the upkeep of the track or for the safety of travellers or some installation connected with the road) along it. The population of the village of Divir ("Pınaryolu") just south of Başgercenis was required to act as a *menzil* or stopping-place in return for exemption from certain taxes.¹⁷⁶ On the Kemah–Erzincan stretch there seems to have been not only a *derbent* but also a han at or near Alpuşu (renamed Alpköy).¹⁷⁷ On the other hand there was also a *derbent* at Çörençil (Dutlu) in the Kuru Çay valley, where some have wanted to run a *Tabula Peutingeriana* road: the Ottoman track, however, did not go north to the Suşehri plain via the headwaters of the Kızıl Irmak but took a diagonal course, via the village of Tarbas, to the floor of the Kızıl Irmak basin and directly to Zara.¹⁷⁸

The relative dearth of caravansarays is striking. We have evidence for two (Kürelık and Alpuşu) in the Ottoman period, but we cannot at all be sure that these existed in the early fourteenth century. Otherwise merchants must have stayed in the towns and villages. Tödürge/Dudriaga was probably a small town, Aqshahr/Pürk perhaps still relatively large. Thereafter merchants may have stayed at the monastery near Ezbider in the Suşehri plain¹⁷⁹ and at a small town or village on the mound at Ağvanis and, after the caravansaray, at another

village, near or identical with the predecessor of modern Gercenis/Refahiye. After the town of Kemah, Erzincan could have been reached in a single day.

It is strange that there are no toll stations between Aqshahr/Pürk and Kemah. The Il-Khanid authorities may simply not have thought it worth maintaining a presence in the intervening districts, in particular the Refahiye plain. Aqshahr, a junction, and apparently a sizeable town, was certainly worth their controlling. Clavijo explains why Timur insisted on capturing Kemah: it was the key to the security of Erzincan.¹⁸⁰ The Il-Khanid administration no doubt took the same view.

D. Erzincan

The city lay on an extensive and level plain among mountains whose slopes, especially those to the south of the plain, provided summer pasture for the Il-Khanid troops stationed in the province of Rum.¹⁸¹ In the Middle Ages, the plain of Erzincan presented a beautiful picture of cornfields, vineyards, orchards and gardens.¹⁸²

The city's walled area was a rectangle a mere 200 metres long, stretching over the plain from northwest to southeast; it seems to have been about 150 metres wide. In the present state of the walls, a ditch encircles the standing parts of the walls, and the walls were very probably surrounded by a ditch in the late Middle Ages.¹⁸³ Within the walls, the city was well laid out in squares and streets, where fountains were to be seen. There were markets; elsewhere within the walls the land was fairly densely built up.¹⁸⁴ There were gates in the southwest and northeast walls, but not in the southeast.¹⁸⁵ In the city's most populous days (late thirteenth and first decades of the fourteenth century), the population must have spread out in suburbs over the plain; probably the bulk of the suburbs lay to the southwest.¹⁸⁶ Officers paid by the Il-Khanid state stood by the northeast gate, probably to guard the merchandise of travellers who were unable to stay within the city. The transit taxes were paid by those coming and going from the southwest (direction of Kemah and Sivas) and those coming and going from the northeast (direction of Erzurum and Tabriz – basically east once the city's suburban limits had been reached). But these transit taxes were paid not at the gates, since a good proportion of merchants never entered the city, but at the point of entry and exit into the city's wider suburban area.¹⁸⁷ There was a bridge over the Upper Euphrates to the southeast of the city. But this did not carry the traffic from the southwest (Kemah, Sivas), which approached the city by the road on the west bank and therefore did not need to cross: it led to Çemişgezek through the Munzur mountains, then to Harput and Amid/Diyarbakır.¹⁸⁸

The population was predominantly Armenian. There was evidently a Greek element, however, with its own churches, as well as a Turkish one with mosques, *madrasas*, a *tekke* and a *zawiya*.¹⁸⁹ There is some evidence for an Italian business community in Erzincan. We mentioned earlier a contract drawn up in the year 1280 by Genoese notaries both in Erzincan and in Nakhchevan.¹⁹⁰ A notary must have been present in Erzincan at the time, but how continuous was the notarial presence is another matter. The treaty of 1320 between Venice and the Il-Khan stipulates that a Latin church and Franciscan monastery be maintained here;¹⁹¹ again it is difficult to judge over what period and how continuously the church and monastery were maintained.

The city's principal sustenance was evidently commerce. The city was full of opulent merchants. Mutahharten recognized their importance to the city when he bought off Timur, who threatened to slaughter all the Christians, by paying him 9,000 aspers (double dirhams). Timur had ordered one of the Greek priests to convert to Islam. It was when the priest refused that Timur made his threat. Mutahharten paid him off because of the value to the city of

the commerce carried on by the Christians. Nevertheless, the city's churches were pulled down.¹⁹²

However, commerce was not the only means by which the city lived. Its buckrams were sold in Pisa and Constantinople and in fact known by the name of the city. Marco Polo called them the best in the world. Ordinary cotton cloth, again praised by Marco Polo, was made too.¹⁹³ Copper utensils were manufactured here.¹⁹⁴

In the 1260s to 1280s, decades that came early in the period of operation of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, there is every sign that the city was growing swiftly, and fundamentally it was this trade which propelled the city's growth. However, the link with Trebizond, passing through Bayburt, to the north, contributed. A further factor was the Mongol presence, and the close relations between the Mongol authorities and the city's Armenians.

In the late 1270s, the city and its district were bought from the Seljuk state by the Il-Khanid *sahib-i divan* (director of finance), Juvayni. This made the city and district into an *injū* estate or one whose revenues went directly into the personal treasury of the Il-Khan himself.¹⁹⁵ Later on the city functioned for a time as the seat of the Il-Khanid governors of the province of Rum or Anatolia.¹⁹⁶ The city's Armenian bishops enjoyed a high status, at times communicating directly with the Il-Khan, and they played, too, a role as leaders within Greater Armenia.¹⁹⁷

One sure sign of the city's rapid growth in the early decades of the Ayas–Tabriz period is the influx of poets: a prosperous city naturally attracts poets in search of patronage. Best-known of the poets was Yovhannēs Erznkac'i (pron. "Hovhannes Yerznkatsi"; "Hovhannes of Erzincan"), but there were several others, and the poet Kostandin Erznkac'i wrote poems for performance by the Armenian *manktawag* or religious–professional guild, the latter itself a manifestation of a wealthy urban economy.¹⁹⁸ A further sign of urban wealth is the patronage of manuscript copying, not only of Gospels, menologies, hymnals, etc., the commissioning of which was an act of devotion designed to safeguard the patron's soul, but also of secular works like the corpus of the poetry of Yovhannēs Erznkac'i himself.¹⁹⁹

Beside the presence of an *akhi* brotherhood, a Muslim guild or society drawn from professional circles and designed to preserve morals, there was also an Armenian *manktawag* (lit. "child-group"; pron. "manktavag") with very similar aims, drawn also from professional families but this time apparently confined to young men. The Erzincan *manktawag*'s written constitution closely followed that of a Muslim *fityan* or *akhi* brotherhood. In any case the presence of both brotherhoods in the city clearly affirms the city's wealth, a necessary condition for the emergence of the social classes from which the brotherhoods' membership would be formed.²⁰⁰

The cathedral, seat of the Armenian archbishop, was itself the scene of some manuscript work, and there were Armenian monasteries as well as churches in the city,²⁰¹ but the city's true monasteries were the important ones on Mt. Kapos, southwest of the city and overlooking the Upper Euphrates valley towards Kemah.²⁰²

In the period, Erzincan was the seat of a Chalcedonian metropolitan bishopric, but the bishop was sometimes absent and in any case had no cathedral or convent in the city. The incident mentioned earlier, in which Timur threatened to slaughter the city's Christian population but was bought off by Mutahharten, seems to indicate that at the time the Greek element was of substantial size. Several Greek priests are implied, as are several Greek churches.²⁰³ But the incident, with other difficulties, may have caused the Greek population to leave: there seems to be no mention of it afterwards.²⁰⁴ We have argued that there was some evidence for an Italian business community in the city, though the only certainty is that of a Genoese notary's presence in 1280; given the relevant clause of the treaty of 1320, it is likely but by no

means certain that a Latin church and Franciscan monastery stood here by that date. Taking one thing with another, there seems to be a distinct possibility that by 1280 some Genoese merchants had taken up residence here, and possessed a church; by 1320, a Franciscan monastery had been founded, but by now there must have been some Venetian involvement, and perhaps a Venetian commercial presence, in the city.

The story of investment by Muslims in religious foundations is much more limited than in Sivas. A *madrassa* known in Turkish as the Atabek Medresesi seems to have been built in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁰⁵ There is a possibility that the vizier of the Il-Khan Abu Sa'id, Rashid al-Din, founded a *madrassa* here, perhaps around 1315.²⁰⁶ A disciple of Jalal al-Din Rumi, having gone to Konya to sit at the Mawlana's feet, came back here and founded a *tekke* of the Mevlevi order: this would perhaps have taken place about 1300 or 1310.²⁰⁷ The *zawiya* of an *akhi* or member of a kind of urban religious guild is known in the 1330s.²⁰⁸ Erzincan continued a somewhat limited Muslim intellectual and spiritual life after the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. The known foundations seem to be mainly *zawiyas* or similar institutions. The Akhi Ayna Beg who suddenly emerges in the mid-fourteenth century as master of Erzincan and Bayburt appears to have founded a *khanqah* here.²⁰⁹ Mutahharten himself founded a *zawiya*, and three Ak Koyunlu beys apparently founded more in the fifteenth century.²¹⁰

After Timur's visit and the fall of the Mutahharten principality, the city maintained a very active trading role. It played an important part in the Bursa silk trade: caravans from Tabriz came through and continued to Tokat and Ankara. Pearls and musk were also traded here. The link with Bayburt and Trebizond was kept up, and we have suggested that after Timur's sack of Sivas in 1400, the road from Trebizond carried some slaves whose final destination, via Kemah and Arapkir, was Mamluk territory. At any rate the sale of slaves here in the late fifteenth century is known, and the southwards road through the Dersim and Çemişgezek to Harput and Malatya was in active use.²¹¹ Besides the strictly commercial aspects of its life, Erzincan continued to manufacture copper vessels, knives, items made from tin, haberdashery and leather goods.²¹²

It was partly on account of the continuing trade, and partly because Erzincan was an apanage within the Ak Koyunlu tribal principality, that the city was attacked several times during the fifteenth century. For a time (1410–20) it was held by the Kara Koyunlu, now in the ascendant after Timur's death; at one point (in 1438) it was briefly occupied by Mamluk troops approaching from the direction of Arapkir and Çemişgezek; however, the principal attackers in the period were members of the Ak Koyunlu dynasty other than the prince reigning in Erzincan.²¹³ By the time the Venetian consul in Tabriz, Barbaro, passed through Erzincan in 1478, the city seems to have been in a somewhat battered state. It is not clear to what extent the ruins of the churches pulled down on Timur's orders were visible. The city had recently been burnt by Ottoman forces: this happened in the campaign of 1473, which ended in the battle of Otluk Beli or Başkent.²¹⁴

The city had radically declined by 1520, when Ottoman officials examined the taxable population: in all, 917 households were found. The city walls were extensively breached; there seem to have been no suburbs. But it is not clear if the decline and the failure to maintain the walls was due to a loss of trade, which had perhaps begun to take a course through the Kelkit basin to the north, or to the struggles, centred on Tabriz, within the Ak Koyunlu empire which broke out after the death of Uzun Hasan in 1478 and later by the conflicts between Ottomans and Safavids starting in the early sixteenth century. By 1568, the population had risen to 1777 households, but the populous days of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century were over.²¹⁵

Notes

- 1 Heyd 1923: 2.113–119; Manandian 1965: 192: cf Bryer, Winfield 1985: 28.
- 2 Pp 54, 121, 119.
- 3 Demir 2005: 169.
- 4 Astarabadi, *Bazm u Razm*, ed Köprülü: 276.
- 5 On Melikşerif, p 210. “-hisar”, “fort”; “şerif”, “honour”; m-g/m-(l)-k).
- 6 Demir 2005: 170. Built by a prominent citizen of Sivas.
- 7 The topographical description which follows was correct until the flooding of large parts of the Kelkit basin by a dam.
- 8 Discussed here, pp 318–21.
- 9 For the Roman and sixth-century cities, Cumont 1906: 308–11; Grégoire 1909: 34–5.
- 10 Taylor 1868: 298–300. For the medieval city, Sinclair 1989: 339.
- 11 On Akşehir, Turan 1973: 71. On the Mangujakids generally, Turan 1993: 55–71; Sümer 1990: 1–14; Sakaoglu 1971: 31–103.
- 12 Aflaki, ed Yazıcı: 1.24–26, nos 16–19; tr O’Kane: 19–20, nos 16–17; for a comment on this and another version of the story, Şahin 1985: 1.216–18. Each version carries the assertion that a madrasa or khanqah was built at Akşehir for Baha al-Din; this may be true, or it may illustrate merely the awe in which he was held. The plain and whole Kelkit basin was known for its monasteries and large villages at the time (Grigor of Akanc’, ed Blake, Frye: 312, which acknowledges the city too). Other Armenian sources mention both city and plain: Colophons, ed Hovsepian: no 136, p 695 (AD 1203); no 380, p 283 (AD 1223). The Kōn of these sources is Koloneia/Şebinkarahisar.
- 13 Matuz 1973: 193–96.
- 14 Appendix II, pp 355–56. A hoard containing a number of Bikkik coins was found near Tokat (Blair 1983: 311–12), which suggests a location near that city; but, given the frequency of the mint’s issues, there was no other settlement of sufficient size at which the mint of Bikkik could have been located.
- 15 Boré (367–68; cf Taylor 1868: 298) was told that *Pürk* derived from Armn. *biwrk’*, “10,000”, and that this was the number of Armenians martyred here. *Biwrk’* would have been pronounced “piwrk” at the time; but the story is otherwise fictional. The Greek name Πύργος, “Tower”, has also been suggested as the origin of “Pürk” (Hogarth, Munro 1893: 726). Although this is possible, the Turkish *burç*, “tower”, would normally be expected. Turk. *burç* is immediately derived from Arab. *burj*, itself from Gr. Πύργος.
- 16 On the latter, p 121.
- 17 Fedalto 1973: 2.170–72. Perhaps an Armenian congregation acknowledging Rome’s authority?
- 18 Astarabadi, *Bazm u Razm*, ed Köprülü: 302, 486–87, 490–92; Yücel 1971: 684–85, 700–01; Şahin 1985: 1.391–93.
- 19 Dündar 1998: 230.
- 20 On Ağvanis and its Suşehir, p 207. On Akşehir in the sixteenth century, Appendix I, pp 302–9 *passim*.
- 21 On Enderes/Suşehri, where a few ancient fragments were found, Cumont 1906: 304.
- 22 Miller 1916: 730–31.
- 23 Miller 1916: LX; ItAnt 207.
- 24 Miller 1916: LX; ItAnt 213.
- 25 In Talbert 2000, the road is marked as far as Zara in the continuous line which suggests that the exact course has been traced: but the references given do not bear this out. See Ramsay 1890: 264–66; Hogarth, Munro 1893: 722–27; Cumont 1906: 318–30.
- 26 Cuinet 1890–95: 1.696; see also Maunsell 1893–94: 1.44; Von der Osten 1929: I 63, 64.
- 27 Grégoire 1909: 40.
- 28 For a description of the terrain and course of the Ottoman *chaussée*, Hogarth, Munro 1893: 722–23.
- 29 Grégoire 1909: 40; RE ‘Dagona’, 4.1.1986 (W.Ruge); cf Olshausen, Biller 1984: 123. A case, has, however, been made for a point near Devekse (“Devekese”, “Camel Purse”): RE ‘Zara.1’, 9 A, 2.2314 (H.Treidler). But Devekse hardly fits the distance of 15 Roman miles from Comassa/Hafik.
- 30 Miller 1916: 674–75.
- 31 Turkish, “City Commandant Meadow”, “Police-Chief Meadow”, “Tax-Gatherer Meadow”. However, police chiefs are not noted for their abundance here, and “Şahna” perhaps derives from

- şahin*, “eagle”: one of the crags above the meadow was known as “Şahna Kayası”, which might originally have been “Şahin Kayası”, “Eagle Crag”. See pp 199–201, 213, 302–12.
- 32 Adontz (1970: 63–64), also supported two different routes, and see *ibid*: 64 for the observation that Ptolemy knows Dagona, Megalassos and Mesorome but not Zara or Dagalasso.
- 33 Hogarth, Munro 1894: 724–25.
- 34 Boré 1840: 1.365–66.
- 35 Turk. *Arapça*, “in the Arab/Arabic manner”, “Arabic” [the language]; *köprü*, “bridge”. The caravansaray would therefore be called after a nearby bridge, or, more likely, after a village which itself was named after a bridge. Even so “Arapça Köprü” (“Arabic Bridge”) as the name of a bridge is somewhat problematic, and possibly the first word was *arabacı*, “cart driver” (“Cart Driver Bridge”).
- 36 Possibly even less, since a stop might have been made at the caravansaray.
- 37 Boré 1840: 1.365. According to Boré, the Kelkit Çay tributary was at this point a ‘broad torrent’.
- 38 Munro made this detour apparently in order to visit some strange symbols on pillars in a cave at Istoshun which he probably calculated, on the basis of villagers’ reports, to have been a Greek inscription.
- 39 Pp 200–201, 306, 307.
- 40 Appendix I, p 305.
- 41 Previous note, and for the etymology, pp 199–201, 213.
- 42 On the *nahiye*, Dündar 1998: 230. On the armies, next note.
- 43 On the Ottoman itineraries, including Hacı Halfa’s, Appendix I: 302, 305, 310. On Atalan, p 302.
- 44 Our appendix, pp 302, 305–8.
- 45 Appendix, pp 309, 310–11.
- 46 Boré 1840: 1.366; p 307.
- 47 Grégoire 1909: 39; RE 15 (1931): 140 (W.Ruge); Bryer, Winfield 1985: 43.
- 48 Shukurov 1994: 37. That Burtulush lay on the way from Aqshahr/Pürk towards Sivas appears from a second passage in Astarabadi (*Bazm u Razm*, ed Köprülü: 474, 483). Sis was still known in the early Ottoman occupation, when it was the centre of a *nahiye*, and the fort was maintained and garrisoned (Erder, Faroqi 1979: 339: “Sisorta”). It must have been somewhat east of the village of Değirmen Taş below Şahna Çimen on the descent towards Enderes/Suşehri. At this point (east of Değirmen Taş), Hogarth and Munro noticed a monastery (Hogarth, Munro 1893: 725; p 200). Ezbider will be the ruined building, with cemetery attached, by the monastery at Ezbider, a day’s travel east of Akşehir/Pürk: Grégoire 1909: 36; pp 201, 303, 312, 319, 321; n 169 on p 236; n 179 on p 237.
- 49 Pp 211, 219.
- 50 Our appendix I, pp 306–7, 310 *passim*.
- 51 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 23 for the importance of the fact that Mesorome occurs in both itineraries; see also p 25. But Miller (1916: 678) placed Mesorome at “Ortock” or Çiftlik.
- 52 Taylor 1868: 301; Cumont 1906: 314; and see pp 196–97. Downstream of the village of Akşar the river was known, at the time of Taylor’s visit, as the Akşar Su (‘Ak Shahr Su’). The village was also called Aksherabad (the addition -abād- implies “the plain of ...”).
- 53 Taylor 1868: 301–02; CIL 3.2 (Berlin 1873), *Additamenta* no 6057, p 975 = CIL 3, *Supplementum* pt 2.1 (Berlin 1902), no 14184¹² (ad n. 6057), p 2316¹¹; Cumont 1906: 314–15.
- 54 Taylor 1868: 302.
- 55 *Pace* Cumont 1906: 315.
- 56 Taylor 1868: 301. But the Roman bridge marked by Talbert 2000 (Map 87: D4) is not mentioned either by Taylor or by Cumont. Both authors mention a wooden bridge downstream of Akşar.
- 57 Cumont 1906: 314–16. A similar rock-cutting in Anatolia further west was acknowledged as a trace of a Roman road by French (1981: 19). But there is no need to assume with the Cumonts (1906: 315), either that Akşar was a *mansio* (in reality there was no fort: see previous paragraph), or that the whole settlement of Pürk/Nicopolis moved here in the Middle Ages, facilitating movement along Mustawfi’s track to Zara and Sivas. On Mustawfi’s track, pp 226–27.
- 58 Pp 000–000.
- 59 Grégoire 1909: 38.
- 60 P 202.
- 61 Grégoire (1909: 39–40) gives the route and proposes Şar (his ‘Shar Yeri’) as “Dagalasso”; he claims, without evidence, that it is an antique site.

- 62 Pp 219–22.
- 63 On the idea of summer and winter routes to Nicopolis/Pürk, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 45, and for a more developed account of the summer and winter roads crossing a different mountain range, the coastal range of the Pontus, *ibid*: 48, 51–52.
- 64 Besides Grégoire, other authors have assumed that the Köse Dağ direct route is the IA's connection between Zara and Nicopolis/Akşehir. For the location of Dagalasso, Munro suggested Sivri Tepe, provenance of an inscription of Justinianic date (Hogarth, Munro 1893: 729). But Bryer and Winfield (1985: 45) point out that Sivri Tepe is not a settlement, and suggest either the village of Alişir Meryemana or, further east, that of Çamlıkale. However, Alişir Meryemana and Çamlıkale lie near the TP route (Keçeyurt, Şahna Çimen etc). See also Cumont 1906: 316; RE 'Dagona', 4.1.1986 (W.Ruge).
- 65 On the track from the upper Kızıl Irmak basin, our appendix, pp 203–4, 226. On the route to Malatya, Harput, etc., pp 53–54.
- 66 Miller 1916: 675–76.
- 67 Miller 1916: 682.
- 68 Miller 1916: 679.
- 69 *ItAnt* 183; Miller 1916: LIX.2.
- 70 *ItAnt* 215–16; Miller 1916: LX.
- 71 *ItAnt* 208–09; Miller 1916: LX. These roads have been numbered before, by Yorke (1896: 465; 1898: 74). To avoid the confusion caused by the renumbering, Yorke's numbers are best given in a footnote.
- TP.1 = Yorke II.b
TP.2 = Yorke I.b
TP.3 = Yorke II.d
IA.1 = Yorke II.a
IA.2 = Yorke II.c
IA.3 = Yorke I.a.
- 72 On the issue of the two towers, p 22.
- 73 On the remains at Satala, Cumont 1906: 343–51; Mitford 1974: 164–71; and for others Sinclair 1989: 335.
- 74 Officially “Altıntaş”, “Goldstone”. But a small medieval fort, of which a single wall survives, stands above the village: Taylor 1868: 308; Sinclair 1989: 414. Yorke (1896: 335) stated no antiquities.
- 75 The inscriptions: (1) *Ala. CIL 3 Supplementum*, pt 1 (Berlin 1902), no 6743, p 1233. (2) *CIL 3 Supplementum* pt 2.1 (Berlin 1902), no 14184¹, p 2316⁹. (3) Mitford 1974: 171–72: inscription of governor of the shortlived province of Cappadocia, Armenia Minor and Armenia Major from 114 to 117. Yorke (1896: 405–06) thought that Zimara should be placed at the find spot of the inscriptions. For the road, Mitford 1999: 265.
- 76 Yorke 1896: 455 (“Zinika”).
- 77 On the section rising up the northwest face of the main Antitaurus ridge, Mitford 1980: 1184; *id* 1999: 263–64 (supposes zig-zags towards Çaltı Çay bridge).
- 78 *ItAnt* 207; Miller 1916: LX.2.
- 79 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 166–70, 175–6. Of the two authors, Bryer (pp 169–70) believes, however, that Arauraka lay at the castle site of Avarak, west of the confluence of the Çobanlı Su with the Kelkit Çay. But *awarak*, pron. “avarak”, means in Armn. simply “ruin”, so the name would be no argument. Note the correspondence of consonants in the two names “Arauraka” and “Haydürük”: r-k in both.
- 80 Cumont 1906: 320 (‘Aivanus’). Mitford (1980: 1210) believes that this milestone should be associated with repairs undertaken to facilitate the emperor Valens’ campaigns in Armenia starting in AD 370. The unpublished milestone (*ibid*: 1201 n 93), inscribed with a mileage of 16 in Greek, found at Sevindik somewhat further east is less helpful in demonstrating the line of this or any other Roman road, because its find spot lies between two roads: TP.1 and IA.1 through Ağvanis and TP.3 through Saryusuf, Çobanlı and Kürelık (as we argue it to be): on the latter, pp 210–15, 218–19, 222.
- 81 On the distance, Cumont 1906: 321.
- 82 *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed Seeck: 84.
- 83 Cumont 1906: 321
- 84 Our appendix, pp 302, 306–9 and compare the discussion on pp 209, 212.

- 85 Evliya, ed Kurşun: 2.102.
- 86 Cumont 1906: 323. Bryer and Winfield (1985: 31) propose Melikşerif, Akşehir or Horun, on the first two of which see here pp 210 and 196–97, 202. Cumont (1906: 266), followed by Mitford (1998: 266), identified Carsaga with Melikşerif; cf Talbert 2000, Map 89, A1, where the editors insisted on Melikşerif. The name *Zecker Deresi*, that of the feeder of the Çobanlı Su which flows into that river just west of Aşağı Kölüksür, may also preserve the name *Carsaga*, but transmuted into a form different from *Kölüksür*. Another possibility for “Carsaga” is the village of Buğdaçor, which, as the Cumonts pointed out, lies directly in front of the gorge’s entrance.
- 87 Pp 247, 318, 319, 320.
- 88 So argue Bryer and Winfield (1985: 32), who, however, place Suissa precisely at Germürü.
- 89 French 1983: 84.
- 90 Sixteenth century: Miroğlu 1975: 75. Turk. *gerdek*, “nuptial chamber”; *hisar*, “fort”.
- 91 On the Ottoman postal route, the appendix here, pp 317–18; on the ruined castle near Karaca, Ouseley 1823: 477–78.
- 92 On the road, French 1983: 86; Talbert 2000: Map 87, 26; Sinclair 1989: 336.
- 93 The name *Örçil Deresi* denotes the river within the valley rather than the valley itself, even though *dere* means “valley”. The means of reference to the valley then becomes problematic.
- 94 On the name, see previous and following footnote.
- 95 Gr. Παλαιοχώρα, mod. Gr. Παλαιοχώρι, Παλαιχώρι, “Old Village”.
- 96 Appendix I: 318.
- 97 All French 1983: 86. French thought that the han might be Roman, but did not have time to investigate it.
- 98 Pp 215–16.
- 99 Pp 215–16.
- 100 On the milestone, Cumont 1906: 324, as *Zipti*; Mitford 1980: 1185. *Sipdiğin* is Armn. *Surp Tikin*, “Holy Queen”, “Holy Mistress”; new official name “Olgunlar”, “Ripe, Mature Ones [whether fruit or people]”.
- 101 On the inscription dedicated to the Roman emperor Septimius Severus by the *cohors I Lepidiana* in AD 198, Cumont 1906: 327; cf Mitford 1980: 1190.
- 102 Boré 1840: 1.369.
- 103 Cumont 1906: 327.
- 104 Boré 1840: 1.369; for the situation 60 years later, Cumont 1906: 327. The milestone of AD 76 which the Cumonts found does not materially add to the stock of buildings or artefacts belonging to Melikşerif in the Roman period, because it evidently belonged to a point 3 Roman miles from the town, on TP.1 or IA.1, either towards Satala or towards Nicopolis/Pürk. See Cumont 1906: 327–28; Cumont 1905: 201; French 1980: 716.
- 105 Appendix I: 308.
- 106 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 61–63; not in Taeschner 1924–26.
- 107 French 1983: 86.
- 108 The argument is French’s (1983: 86). On Sisila and the *cohors militum Germanorum*, *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed Seeck: XXXVIII.30; cf Procopius, *Buildings*: III.6.22.
- 109 For the suggestion that the double tower symbolises a settlement with a particular role in the road network, Bosio 1983: 108; p 22. Levi (1967: 66–82, esp 78–80) thought the symbol represented the settlement’s walls. In this author’s opinion, there is some doubt as to whether the symbol consists of two towers or of two houses.
- 110 For a closer argument, esp Appendix I: 322. R, k and n are in common. The /j/ of the late medieval and Ottoman names would appear from the majority of the forms known (*Arzanjak* (Pers.), *Ardingiel* (French traveller, sixteenth century), *Ardansegh* (English traveller, sixteenth century), *Anourgia* (French traveller, nineteenth century)) to be a part of the standard name, though in *Erzenis* (seventeenth-century Ottoman) and *Erzez* (nineteenth-century French) it has been transmuted into /s/ and /z/ respectively. Both the /z/ and the /j/ of *Arzanjak* may correspond, therefore, to the -d- of *Dracontes*; on this assumption, **Dracones* would be the correct form on the TP. On the other hand the /t/ of *Dracontes* could correspond to the /z/ of *Arzanjak*, in which case there would be no spare sound and the correct reconstruction would be **Dracontes* itself.
- 111 On this name and the place, pp 197, 198. Camisa can be placed at Koçhisar, pp 195, 198.
- 112 There is also the remote possibility that on the original version of the TP the name *Cunissa* was marked where “Draconis” is now marked, i.e. at the junction. “Draconis” would then have been

- marked further towards Nicopolis. On this hypothesis, in subsequent copyings “Draconis” moved eastwards to its present place, and *Cunissa* was copied as the first station after it on the road to Satala.
- 113 Pp 219–22.
- 114 However, this element *baş* may be a rationalisation on Turkish lips of the element which preceded “-gercenis”, since it is not clear what “Baş-” means in a village name. “Upper ...” is normally “Yukarı ...”. “Ele-” in the TP’s name is therefore unlikely to be a correct copy of the original front part of the name. However, this syllable will perhaps supply a second s and a possible v. The original form on the TP may have been *Vesgarsina or something close to it. Strecker, writing in 1861, says that Gercenis had formerly been known as Kadıköy, which suggests that it was the centre of a *kaza* (district under the authority of a *kadı* or judge). A further remnant of the name Elegarsina can perhaps be seen in Kersen, name of a village about 2½ kilometres south of Çengerli/“Haris”: the latter, subject of the next paragraph, lies not far south of the Roman road.
- 115 On both stretches, Mitford 1998: 267.
- 116 On road and ashlar blocks, Mitford 1999: 267. By coincidence the side-valley is called the Merekler Deresi, after a village somewhat upstream of Horopol.
- 117 The equivalent name in Ptolemy (*Geography* V.7.3) is perhaps *Charax*; this (“cleft, gorge”) might have referred to the Menek Su valley.
- 118 Mitford 1999: 266–67.
- 119 On the road, Mitford 1999: 266. On the bridge, Mitford 1980: 1185, 1208 and pl II.3; Yorke 1896: 455–56 (repair inscription); see also CIL 2, *Supplementum*: 2.13644 and 14184¹⁴. It is probably the bridge mentioned by Kamaxec’i (ed Nşanean: 33) in the late sixteenth century as ‘in the plain of Hasan ova’. The river’s Latin name in the inscription, *Sabrina*, the same as that for the river Severn in Britain, seems to be unconnected with the Turkish *Karabudak*.
- 120 Talbert 2000: Map 64, H2. It passed below the fort at Zinekar but at least a kilometre behind the settlement at Pingan (pp 204–5, 216).
- 121 For this proposal, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 25 n 74.
- 122 *Epic Histories*, tr Garsoian: 442.
- 123 Byzantine fortress etc: Honigsmann 1935: 56–58, 69–72. On occupation in the late Middle Ages, including tomb-towers, p 225.
- 124 Ptolemy, *Geography*: V.7.4.
- 125 Yorke 1896: 467; Bryer, Winfield 1985: 31–32 (mistakenly as “Kuruçay”); Talbert 2000: map 64, H1.
- 126 Yorke 1896: 456.
- 127 On this stretch of road, pp 216–17.
- 128 Mitford 1999: 267.
- 129 *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed Seeck: 84.
- 130 Argued on pp 213–15.
- 131 Z-r-n/s-r-n.
- 132 The -k- would be a new element: otherwise there is good correspondence with Ezirinis: z-r-n-(s)/z-l-n-(s). *Kızıl*, “red”: the name changes under the influence of the adjective.
- 133 Miroğlu 1990: 93–94.
- 134 All Bryer, Winfield 1985: 32.
- 135 For descriptions of the remains, and references, p 202.
- 136 Taylor 1868: 302–03, ‘Cheyrmeemshuk’.
- 137 Taylor 1868: 303.
- 138 Taylor 1868: 303–05.
- 139 Turk. *Gedik*, “gap”, often in a range of mountains; ‘Gedukee’ would represent “Gediği”.
- 140 Taylor 1868: 305.
- 141 Taylor 1868: 305.
- 142 See pp 54, 129, 205.
- 143 On which, m 145 below.
- 144 Taylor 1868: 305–06.
- 145 Taylor (1868: 306) turned southwards up and out of the valley, to reach Dostal and (in a different direction) Zimara, before reaching the Kuru Çay/Upper Euphrates confluence. He left the Kuru Çay around 5 miles (8 kilometres) downstream of Khan, the isolated residence of the *müdü*r or headman of a *nahiye* or group of villages. Round Khan developed a village now called Kuruçay, which is still the seat of a *nahiye* or group of villages.

- 146 Taylor 1868: 302. But Taylor, followed by Yorke (1896: 468), believed a road to Zimara and Melitene was built over these mountains.
- 147 For these traces, French 1983: 84; Mitford 1998: 267.
- 148 French 1983: 85. On the road's continuation towards Trapezus/Trebizond, Mitford 1999: 267–69.
- 149 On the cult of Anahit at Erzinka, Russell 1987: 246–49.
- 150 See Blockley 1992: 42–44.
- 151 Wheeler (1991: 507–08) expands on the difficulties of building a road along the river's west bank, when Ekeleac'/Acilisene still lay in the Armenian kingdom. Ibid: 508–09 for the Armenian Zoroastrian sites at Kemah, Erzincan and on the ridge southeast of Erzincan: Wheeler argues that it is difficult to imagine the Roman empire controlling the territory in which these shrines lay. However, only Erzincan lay on the west bank: the others, lying east of the river, would not have presented an obstacle, except in a moral and more numinous sense, to the building of a road on the west bank.
- 152 Never satisfactorily identified: Ilıca on the Pegolotti route, just west of Erzurum (pp 240, 306, 310, 311 etc) has been proposed (RE V.2,2258, "Elegeia.1' (Baumgartner); Mitford 1980: 1198; also Lightfoot 1990: 117–18), but Ilıca is a purely Turkish name, and Ptolemy's indications (V.13.12) are for a location somewhere in the Ararat or Araxes plain well to the east of Erzurum.
- 153 See Magie 1950: 607–08, 610; Mitford 1980: 1198–1200.
- 154 On the events, Magie 1950: 661.
- 155 On the campaign, Magie 1950: 674–75; Mitford 1980: 1206.
- 156 Mitford 1980: 1206–07. On the Chabina bridge, the so-called Cendere Köprüsü, Sinclair 1990: 58–59, 61, with further references.
- 157 Mitford 1980: 1207, referring to CIL: 3, no 14184^{27, 30} and the Sevindik milestone.
- 158 On the bridge, p 216. For the notion of an upgrading, Mitford 1980: 1208. For the general context of Sasanian invasions and Roman counter-attacks, Mitchell 1993: 1.237.
- 159 This date for the road is suggested in Sinclair 1989: 337.
- 160 Note that French (1983: 85), in attempting, perhaps rather bravely, to run part of IA.2 (Satala, Suissa, Arauraca) along the Satala–Erzincan–Kemah stretch, concluded that Arauraca lay 'somewhere (under the alluvium) ... c. 6 km. WNW of Erzincan.'
- 161 On the walled site as a whole, Sinclair 1989: 417, 422. Population: İnçiçean 1822: 102 (remains of six churches). Compare Brant 1836: 203; Yorke 1896: 457–58. Pipes, etc: İnçiçean 1822: 102; Lehmann-Haupt 1910–31: 1.497–98.
- 162 Ibn 'Arabshah, *'Aja'ib al-Maqdur*, ed Kabir: 256–58; Şahin 1985–87: 2.24–26.
- 163 Miroğlu 1990: 151. A "Melik Fahreddin Medresesi" is mentioned in the Ottoman *defter*. The name refers to the last Mangujakid, Fakhr al-Din Bahramshah. See also the mausoleum and *zawiya* of Saljuqshah, Bahramshah's son, built on a natural shelf on the west bank opposite the citadel (Ünal 1967: 151–64); Pancaroğlu 2013: 42–43.
- 164 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr Budge: 412; Khunji, *Tarikh-i Alam-Ara-yi Amini*, ed Woods, tr Minorsky: 153/tr 35.
- 165 N 533 on p 151.
- 166 The Torumtay Medresesi, again mentioned by the *defter*, would have been built by Torumtay, governor of Erzincan, before 1278: Miroğlu 1990: 151–52. Tomb-towers: Ünal 1967: 164–65, 171–72.
- 167 Woods 1999: 65, 68, 69.
- 168 P 197.
- 169 The first stop after Greboco/Pürk would have been at Ezbider. This at the time was probably a residential settlement protected by a fort: Grégoire (1909: 36) saw an old cemetery by the remains of a massive building. At some point a monastery was built; by the time of Hogarth and Munro's journey, the monastery had been abandoned.
- 170 Gercenis would not have had the same role as in the second century AD, however: in the sixteenth century, according to the Ottoman tax documents, its population never surpassed 12 households. See Miroğlu 1990: 94.
- 171 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 28.
- 172 In the sixteenth century there was a *derbent*, or point at which local people were made responsible for safety or for the upkeep of a road, at Nezgeb (renamed "Çığdemli"), which the Ottoman document describes as the *ana yol* (main road) (Miroğlu 1990: 67). But in the sixteenth century there was evidently a road on the south bank of the Upper Euphrates, over a certain sector at

- least, as the *derbents* at Hoğsık (Oğuz), Çakşur and Urfat (Muratboynu), the latter subsequently transferred to Postu, show. See Miroğlu 1990: 46, 51, 53. But the origin and destination of this road are not clear.
- 173 Mustawfi, *Nuzha*, ed Le Strange: 183.
- 174 Appendix I: 313–14, 322, 323, 325. Bryer, Winfield (1985: 27) equate *De[p]e-i Khwāja Aḥmad* with the village of Ahmediye, in a side-valley somewhat north of the Erzincan-Melikşerif track: the village's name is clearly connected to that of the station on the road, but the village itself is too far removed from the main track actually to be the station.
- 175 As suggested by Bryer, Winfield (1985: 26–27), referring only to the *Camisa* and *Comassa* of the ancient itineraries.
- 176 Miroğlu 1990: 93.
- 177 Miroğlu 1990: 52: there is some confusion over the whereabouts of the village of Kamerik, which was also renamed Alpköy (Miroğlu pp 47–48).
- 178 Miroğlu 1990: 54, 85.
- 179 The Cumonts (1906: 318) noted that the village functioned as a night's stop, 20 kilometres east of Pürk, on the caravan route. The Armenian monastery of Shahnigar, 1½ kilometres south of Ezbider, had been abandoned by the time of the Cumonts' visit.
- 180 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 90.
- 181 *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.62.
- 182 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 88. For a description, basically agreeing with Clavijo's, of the city's context within the plain shortly before the First World War, Siwrmenean 1947: 107–08.
- 183 For a description of the walls and ditch, Sinclair 1988: 428. For the state of the walls immediately before the First World War, Siwrmenean 1947: 114.
- 184 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.293–94. Clavijo, ed Lestrada: 89 on the streets and squares. His information is unlikely to be inaccurate for the early fourteenth century, though he possibly idealized the streets and squares: the streets known, immediately before the First World War were narrow, irregular and muddy (Siwrmenean 1947: 108–09). At the same juncture there seems to have been just one public square in the walled area: *ibid*: 125–26.
- 185 A well-constructed gateway survives in the southwest wall.
- 186 In the early twentieth century, the walled area lay towards the east side of the city. See Siwrmenean 1947: 114.
- 187 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 28: 'all'entrare della terra verso Laiazzo', '... verso Torissi', 'per li guardiani all'uscire d'Arzinga verso Torissi'. (Nevertheless it is possible that 'terra' here refers to the whole plain or the wider district dependent on Erzincan. If so the watchtower at Alpköy (p 227, cf 222) may well have been the toll station '... versa Laiazzo'. The village of Cimin (Appendix I: p 294, cf 311) might have been the toll station '... verso Torissi'.) Another indication of the suburbs' extent: Mutahharten, the independent amir of Erzincan at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, retired into the walled area on the approach of the Ottoman sultan Bayazid I, although, seeing that resistance was useless, he then surrendered. Şahin 1985–87: 1.399 and many sources in n 72.
- 188 For the bridge, Barbaro: 84 (17 arches). For a description of the bridge as it was shortly before the First World War, Siwrmenean 1947: 115, and map at beginning. Since the river had changed course, part of the bridge had been buried underground. For the track to Çemişgezek, n 949 to Ch 2.
- 189 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.293–43; Clavijo (ed Estrada: 89) mentions the Greeks; see the story here of Timur's attempt to convert a Greek priest to Islam.
- 190 N 709 to Ch 2.
- 191 *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed Thomas: 1, no 85, pp 173–76; Turan (O) 1973: 74.
- 192 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 89–90.
- 193 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.96; Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.293–94. Note that the buckram was a type identified by the name of the city, and it was marketed via Erzurum as far as Pisa! See n 193 on p 237 and p 93. According to Rashid al-Din's *Letters*, Erzincan sent a gift of, among other things, 10,000 cubits of velvet cloth and 200 bales of kincob to himself while vizier (Togan 1953–54: 42 n 5; Turan (Ş) 2000: 164). This, however, is likely to be invention (embroidery?), even if the *Letters* have a certain historical basis: see n 131 on p 193.
- 194 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.293–94. Copper goods are even now made in the city because of the availability of the ore.
- 195 See, e.g., *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.71.

- 196 *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.72, 75, 87; cf the presence of the future Seljuk sultan Mas'ud in the city (ibid: 1.73).
- 197 K'iwrtēan 1953: 118, 127–34 (Sarkis, the best known), 145–52. On Sarkis and the Il-Khan Abagha, Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, tr Budge: 1.455–56; *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.66.
- 198 On these poets, K'iwrtēan 1953: 118–19, 168–224, 235–92; on Kostandin, Dadoyan 2003–2004: 150; Bardakchian 2014.
- 199 Dadoyan 2003–2004: 126, n 30.
- 200 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.293–94; Dadoyan 2003–2004: 128, 135–55; Goshgarian 2013: 234–47.
- 201 Cathedral: Colophons, fourteenth century: no 20, p 18; no 40, p 31; no 100, p 73. Monasteries: Colophons, thirteenth century: no 279, p 340; fourteenth century: no 35, p 29; no 378, p 304 (?). For a church of Surb P'rk'ič' (the Holy Redeemer) founded sometime before 1266, K'iwrtēan 1953: 117–18. None of the churches known in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to have survived into the Ottoman period. Those functioning at the end of the Ottoman period had all been founded within that period. See Siwrmenean 1947: 118–24.
- 202 On these, Thierry 1988–89.
- 203 Korobeinikov 2005: 5–10. Korobeinikov concludes the bishopric had fallen into abeyance by this time, on the grounds that no bishop is mentioned in the narration of the incident. With occasional absentee bishops or an unfilled see, however, the see could have survived up to the time of Timur's visit if not beyond.
- 204 On the hostility of the city's Turkish and Armenian elements to the Greeks, Korobeinikov 2005: 9.
- 205 Şahin 1985–87: 1.336.
- 206 Togan 1953–54: 35–36. If so, and if all the assertions in Rashid al-Din's *Letters* are correct, it was a moderately luxurious foundation: each of the 20 students was provided with squirrel fur for the winter, and the carpets for the *madrasa* were to be woven in Shiraz. However, the details are likely to be invention embroidered onto a tradition, and it is possible the whole story of Rashid al-Din's *madrasa* is invention. See n 131 on p 193; n 193 (sic) above.
- 207 Şahin 1975–77: 1.331–32, 335.
- 208 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.293–94.
- 209 Miroğlu 1990: 153.
- 210 Miroğlu 1990: 152–53; discussed Şahin 1975–77: 1.444–53.
- 211 Trade: Hinz 1950: 190, 197–98; here, pp 129, 121–22. Route through Dersim: n 949 to Ch 2.
- 212 Ibid: 190.
- 213 Woods 1999: 47–51, 65, 70, 73, 75, 79, 84, 117. Kara Koyunlu: ibid: 46–48, 74–75, 79, 81, 84. Mamluks: 68.
- 214 Barbaro: 84; Woods 1999: 117, 118–20. It is even possible that Barbaro saw the city just after an earthquake which took place in the Muslim year 888 (which embraces part of 1478 and part of 1479). See Şahin 1975: 1.439.
- 215 Ottoman censuses: Miroğlu 1990: 124, 125, 135. Breaches in wall, loss of suburbs: Matrakçı, ed Yurdaydın: pl 22a. Strictly the observation dates to the passage of Ottoman armies in 1534 and 1548. The same impression is given by D'Aramon (ed Schafer: 72), which also relates to 1548. On the conflicts, Woods 1999: 127–28, 130–31, 136, 141–43, 151–64.

5 Erzincan to Erzurum

A. Pegolotti's route

Pegolotti's stations:

gavazera sulla montagna: diritto, 3 aspers per load

Ligurti: diritto, 2 aspers per load

ponte a Cantieri: diritto, 2 aspers per load; *tantaulaggio*, ½ asper per load

gavazera fuori d'Arzerone verso Laiazzo: diritto, 2 aspers per load

bagni d'Arzerone: diritto, 1 asper per load

Arzerone: within the city's territory, *diritto*, 9 aspers per load; 'di gratia al signore', 2 aspers per load.

In terms of general direction this sector of the route takes the valley of the Upper Euphrates in an easterly direction, crosses the plain of Tercan, where the valley of the Upper Euphrates opens out, and rises to the westerly snout of the Erzurum plain by one or other of two valleys. Of these the northerly is that of the Kara Su or Upper Euphrates itself, a long, straight, easy ascent taken by the twentieth-century railway. The southerly is that of the Dereköy Deresi, which is taken by the present main road.¹

Gavazera sulla montagna. The "mountain" in question will be the range of hills overlooking the Upper Euphrates from the north: the river, reaching the southerly lobe of the Tercan plain, describes a turn from south to west and then flows in a westerly direction through a wide valley which may be said to end – and the Erzincan plain to start – somewhat to the east of Altintepe, the mound on which an Urartian fortress-city was constructed, and probable site, too, of an Armenian provincial capital in the Achaemenid period.

Essentially there were two routes to the Tercan plain and beyond. The first crossed the hills by a direct line to the northern end of the Tercan plain, where travellers could stop at the village of Mans, protected by a castle, then at the large village of Pekiçiç [sic], which lay at the plain's eastern border. This was the route taken by Clavijo in 1405. However, the direct crossing of the hill range meant that this way was only for small and lightly laden parties; it has to be remembered that snow was falling continuously as Clavijo took the track over the hills and then across the plain.² This route, although quicker, is therefore most unlikely as Pegolotti's. It probably took off from the plain near the village of Peteriç, known in an itinerary of the sixteenth century.³ But one could stay at other villages nearby, such as that of Cimin, where later a *zaviye* (building or complex to house dervishes, but standardly extending hospitality to travellers) is attested.⁴ The second route stays on the Erzincan plain for a

while, maintaining a southeasterly direction, then climbs through the hills to the Cibice pass, taking basically a northeasterly course, then descends to the Upper Euphrates valley.

Let us consider the candidates for the *gavazera sulla montagna*. Instead of straightaway striking northeast into the hills up a valley which begins not far from Peteriç, the track would continue skirting the plain in a southeasterly direction and arrive after another 15 kilometres or so at the start of the climb over the hills. On the British ETA 1: 1,000,000 map, a han called the Khalil Agha Khan, probably very late, is marked at this point. The track then curves round from east to north, climbing in a valley, and arrives at the village of Dalav, and then, in another 2 kilometres, at the Dalav or Keşiş Han (Turk. *keşiş*, “monk”). The name *Keşiş* is probably owed to the nearby monastery whose ruins, about 5 kilometres west of the caravansaray, were later known as *Şirihlimanastır Harabesi* (*harabe*, “ruin”). From here, however, the track turns east up the valley side and negotiates the rise to the Cibice Pass. At 2 kilometres from the Dalav or Keşiş Han, the Turkish 1:200,000 map marks a further caravansaray, this time abandoned, the “Şavşek Han Harabesi”, “Şavşek Han, in ruins”. The Şavşek Han is unlikely to be critical in our enquiry, and may not have been built by the fourteenth or even the sixteenth century: the Dalav Han, however, stood at a junction where a track from the west (a more direct but more arduous line from Peteriç, Cimin, etc.) comes in.

The Cibice Pass lies in a range of hills overlooking the Upper Euphrates from the west. From the pass the track descends to Kargın, by the side of the river, in a matter of 4 kilometres. To the east of the pass, but somewhat north of the track, the map marks another han, the *Tivnik Khan*. This, however, seems designed to serve a short cut which took off north-east from the Cibice Pass and descended gradually to the bank of the Upper Euphrates in 9 kilometres. From Kargın or from the junction of the cross-route just mentioned, the track followed the bank of the Upper Euphrates to the bridge called the Kötür Köprüsü.

Already by the late sixteenth century, two caravansarays are attested in the hills between the Erzincan plain (to the west) and the Upper Euphrates valley (to the east). The English traveller John Newbery (part pilgrim, part commercial adventurer), returning from the Holy Land via Tabriz and Erzurum, stayed at a caravansaray he called “Gebesse”, i.e. Cibice. On the next morning he passed another of the same name.⁵ These two caravansarays can only be the Tivnik Han and the Dalav or Keşiş Han. The Keşiş Han is mentioned by name in the *Cihannüma* of Hacı Halfa in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶ The likelihood is that Pegolotti’s *gavazera sulla montagna* is the Tivnik Han or predecessor: the Tivnik Han is on the mountainside, whereas the Keşiş Han is in the base of a valley, admittedly within a hill massif.

At any rate, the track followed by the Pegolotti route is clear enough: it stays on the Erzincan plain, rises up the track curving from east to north as far as the Dalav Han attested from the sixteenth to early twentieth centuries (which may or may not have existed in the fourteenth century), then turns east over the Cibice pass. The traveller is taxed (provided our identification is correct) at the Tivnik Han on the easterly side of the pass, proceeds down the more easy gradient northeast and continues along the bank of the Upper Euphrates to the Kötür Köprüsü.⁷

The remaining stations. Of these the first two, Ligurti and the *ponte a Cantieri*, are highly problematic, but the last one before Erzurum can be placed easily, and the general location of the second to last (*gavazera fuori d’Azerone* ...) on the Erzurum plain is clear. *Bagni d’Arzerone* are the baths at İlica (Turk., “Hot Spring”), which were well known in the Ottoman period. The baths were enclosed in a chamber dug into the side of a prehistoric mound, the successive villages on which had no doubt taken advantage of the sulphurous springs. In the late Middle Ages, owing to the three-way junction (to be discussed later)

where the baths were located, the village, too large for the mound, probably lay on the plain at a short distance from it rather than on it.⁸ The baths lay at a distance of 15 kilometres, less than a full day's walk, from Erzurum. They were the last point at which traffic travelling towards Erzurum along the south bank of the Kara Su (which flows down the centre of the plain) could be joined by traffic from the direction of Trebizond. The latter traffic entered the plain from the northwest after crossing one or the other of two passes. Depending on which pass had been taken, the river was crossed by one or the other of two bridges, of which the easterly was just north of Ilıca.⁹ The easterly bridge enabled travellers to reach Karaz from the Erzurum plain and so to continue eastwards, staying north of the river without ever entering Erzurum.¹⁰

The *gavazera fuori d'Azerone* must be one of the two caravansarays whose positions are known only from the names of settlements on the map. These names are Evrenihanı and Karabıyıkhanları, and both are immediately south of the river. The former is not far from the village of Evreni, and the latter more or less opposite the village of Karabıyık ("Black Moustache") or Kandilli ("Candle-like or "Characterised by Candles: translate "Candle"); in other words, the village lies on the Upper Euphrates' north bank, though displaced about 2 kilometres to the west in relation to Karabıyıkhanları. Of these caravansarays Evrenihanı would be another 12–13 kilometres along the track west of Ilıca, and Karabıyıkhanları another 12 kilometres again. These stages are somewhat short and cannot be day stages. We have to think of overlapping stages: Evrenihanı would be a day's journey from Erzurum, and Karabıyıkhanları a day's journey from Ilıca. On these grounds, Karabıyıkhanları would be Pegolotti's *gavazera fuori d'Azerone*. But, as we shall see, Evrenihanı is much more likely, since Pegolotti's *ponte a Cantieri* is the bridge just a few kilometres from Karabıyıkhanları.

To return to the Tercan plain. The traveller descends from the Cibice Pass to the bank of the Upper Euphrates, probably by the gradual path rather than by descending to Kargın and then proceeding along the bank. Once arrived at the river's bank, at whatever point, the traveller will necessarily advance to the crossing of the Upper Euphrates. At present, an old stone bridge with broken arches, the Kötür Köprüsü, can be seen just north of the modern road and railway bridges.¹¹ The bridge stands at the edge of the curving Tercan plain.

From the bridge, two alternative ways of reaching the Erzurum plain, and thus Erzurum, were open. The more southerly of these nevertheless starts out in a northeasterly direction. Here it followed the north bank of the Tuzla Suyu, a tributary of the Upper Euphrates. At first it crosses the plain, over which the Tuzla Suyu flows, then it enters that river's valley. The track crosses the plain at a hinge, as it were, between two sections of the plain. The southerly section, that just alluded to, is elongated from northeast to southwest, and the Upper Euphrates flows southwest. But the northerly section is elongated from northwest to southeast, and the river too flows in that direction. At Kötür, plain and river are bending from southeast to southwest.

The track would then arrive at the Mamahatun Hanı, a large caravansaray in the settlement now known as Tercan,¹² but until the 1950s known as Mamahatun. The route would then continue up the twisting, enclosed valley of the Dereköy Deresi and emerge on to the plain of Erzurum at its southwest corner. The caravansaray at Mamahatun/Tercan would certainly have existed in the early or mid-fourteenth century: it seems to have been founded in the late twelfth century. The nearby mausoleum, whose decoration is stylistically very similar, is attributed to Mama Hatun, sister of one of the Saltukid princes of Erzurum. Mama Hatun, in 1191 at least, was regent of the Saltukid principality, but seems to have died by 1193.¹³

The second alternative open to travellers who had crossed the Upper Euphrates at the Kötür bridge took at first a northerly as opposed to a northeasterly course. But the track then

wound northwards to arrive at the town of Pekiçi, now renamed *Çadırkaya* (“Tent-Rock”). The present village of Pekiçi lies near an odd, conical rock (a “tent-rock”) rising out of the plain. The track veers towards the easterly border of the plain: having arrived at Pekiçi, it would first rise to a low hill ridge. In the late Middle Ages the conical rock was crowned by a small castle, known from Clavijo’s narrative; from the hill ridge the castle on its rock was visible.¹⁴ After the village the track would then pass again into the valley of the Kara Su and follow it upstream in an easterly direction as far as the plain of Erzurum. Clavijo described the advantages of this gradual ascent up the valley. The land was well watered by streams flowing down from the heights. Caravans would then have no difficulty finding pastures among the rich grassland with which the valley was covered.¹⁵ From Kötür, the medieval track would follow the same general line as the modern railway, taking advantage of the same easy gradients. However, the medieval track crossed the angle described by the railway, which follows the river valley all the way to its debouchment into the plain.

The late medieval settlement at Pekiçi is known from Clavijo’s description. It had two wards, one Turkish and one Armenian. A similar event had happened here to that in Erzincan. Timur had insisted on demolishing the churches, and even the gift of 3,000 aspers could not save them (however, there is no mention of a threat to kill a person or people). But Timur’s attention to the village and the reference to a plurality of churches point to a village with a large Armenian element and of large overall size.¹⁶ The description implies two discrete sections, each comparatively large. Later on, the first Ottoman tax census, taken around 1520, revealed five Turkish and two Armenian *mahalles* or neighbourhoods.¹⁷ In either period the settlement was protected by the castle on the “tent-rock”.¹⁸

The reason for the settlement’s size was, in part, that two grand medieval routes crossed here. One was the Erzincan–Erzurum section, strictly one of the two different alternatives for the Erzincan–Erzurum leg, taken by traffic coming from Iran and aiming eventually for Sivas or Tokat, then Ayas or Antalya or Bursa, depending on the period. Strictly speaking we have not yet established that the route between Erzincan and Erzurum came through Pekiçi and the Upper Euphrates valley to the Erzincan plain; this will emerge in the following paragraphs.

The track which crossed the grand east–west route at Pekiçi originated from Trebizond and came over the Zigana pass to the plain of Satala, in the basin north of the Tercan plain where Pekiçi lies. The site of the legionary fortress and Late Antique city of Satala was deserted. But the track from the deserted city’s immediate vicinity to the Tercan plain, through a mountain range via the Karakulak valley, was entirely practicable. As far as the Tercan plain’s borders, it was identical with that of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (to be established later) and the Ottoman post route.¹⁹ From the entry into the Tercan plain, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* road took a longer way round through Mans, but nevertheless passed through Pekiçi, then continued up the Upper Euphrates valley. The north–south line, however, continued south from Pekiçi to the Mamahatun caravansaray, which can be considered the equivalent point to Pekiçi on the southerly line between Erzincan and Erzurum.

From the Mamahatun caravansaray, the road went southeast up the valley of the Tuzla Su to the castle and settlement at Şirinli Kale,²⁰ and continued to the river’s headwaters in the range of mountains dividing the Upper Euphrates basin from the Aras catchment area south and southeast of Erzurum. From the heights here it descended south. After this the traveller had a choice: he could progress southwestwards down the Göynük Su valley to the Lower Euphrates valley at Ç’apak’jur, predecessor of present-day Bingöl; or he could take a somewhat more westerly line, finding the Liçik Su valley and arriving at the town of Palu, which lies in the Lower Euphrates valley west of the plain of Muş.²¹ Palu and Ç’apak’jur in

turn gave access, over the Taurus mountains, to Amid/Diyarbakır and the nearby complex of Upper Mesopotamian cities. From the Tuzla Su's headwaters the traveller could also turn south-eastwards into the valley of the Çarbuhar Deresi (a tributary of the Murat Su/Lower Euphrates), which led to a more easterly sector of the Lower Euphrates plain. The latter would give him access to cities such as Malazgirt (on the plain itself), the Lake Van cities and Muş.

Let us now examine the two possible alternatives for Pegolotti's route east of the Tivnik Hanı and the Kötür bridge. The first, which passes the Mamahatun caravansaray and rises up the Dereköy Deresi, would be recommended by its shortness and by the excellent caravansaray itself. Certainly some traffic did go this way. However, we shall argue here that Pegolotti's *Ligurti* is Kağdاریç, on the north bank of the Upper Euphrates just before the river leaves the Erzurum plain, and his *ponte a Cantieri* is the bridge over the Upper Euphrates, 5 kilometres east of Kağdاریç. There would be no point in siting toll stations in these two places if travellers could avoid them by simply following the somewhat more direct Mamahatun/Dereköy route. Equally there would be no point in Pegolotti's informing merchants that they would be taxed at these two points if it were much simpler to avoid them in any case. Pegolotti's route therefore goes north from the Kötür bridge to Pekiç, where it is joined by Clavijo's route, and takes the Upper Euphrates valley thereafter. The merchants taking this course enjoyed all the advantages described earlier: the easy gradient of the valley and the convergence of other routes at Pekiç.

Let us now move to the Erzurum plain. The *ponte a Cantieri* must be one of the bridges over the Upper Euphrates in the plain. The name means literally "bridge of/at the *Chantier* [Fr., "construction workshop"]", but this only suggests that "Cantieri" is an assimilation, in Italian ears and mouths, of a local place-name to an Italian noun. The bridge at Ilıca is hardly likely, as it would be to the east of both of the possible caravansarays, Karabıyıklıhanları and the Evreni han. If the bridge in question is that only 5 kilometres or so upstream of Kağdاریç itself, the caravansaray could be either Karabıyıklıhanları or Evrenihanı. Despite the proximity of the westerly bridge to Kağdاریç (which we shall shortly identify with Pegolotti's *Ligurti*), that bridge is almost certainly the *ponte a Cantieri*. "Cantieri" relates phonetically very well to "Kandilli", the name of the settlement (alternative name, Karabıyık) on the river's north bank opposite the Karabıyıklıhanları.²² The *gavazera fuori Arzerone* ... will then, on grounds of distance, be the Evrenihanı. Tolls were levied at Kağdاریç, and then, after only 5 kilometres, at the bridge, certainly to pay for a guard stationed there (the *tantaullagio*) and perhaps in order to pay for the bridge's maintenance (the *diritto*) – then, after a short day's travel, at Evrenihanı.

Ligurti will be (Aşağı) Kağdاریç. In the Classical and Late Classical periods this, in Armenian, was Kałdoyarič ("Joy of Haldi [the chief Urartian god] or the Chaldeans [Urartians]", pron. "Kaghdoyarich"), Ptolemy's *Kaltiorissa*. *Kaldoyaič* later contracted to *Kaldarič*, pron. "Kaghdarich". The consonants have been transposed: otherwise, given standard phonetic transformations, there is good correspondence (k-l-d-r/g-l-t-r).

The place has a substantial history as a castle controlling the principal entrance to the Erzurum plain. In the seventh to tenth centuries. Arab forces held the city of Erzurum and its plain, but the next plain westwards, that of Pekiç, was in Byzantine hands. During this period the castle of Kałdoyarič was maintained as the principal Arab defence against Byzantine raids into the Erzurum plain.²³ Even under Ottoman rule, a castle stood on the site as late as 1586.²⁴ Thus there could well have been a castle here, maintained by the İl-Khanid authorities, in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century. It commanded the track leading out of the Erzurum plain down the Kara Su valley. This track led to Erzincan

by Pegolotti's route; to Trebizond by the Zigana route, which branches off northwestwards shortly after the plain is left behind; and to Trebizond, Tokat, Sivas and Amasya by the Satala route. The latter either followed the Upper Euphrates valley as far as Pekiç and then followed the *Tabula Peutingeriana* route northwest to Satala (on which see pp 245–48), or else left the Upper Euphrates valley half-way towards Pekiç and cut out the more circuitous but easier journey which a stay at Pekiç involved.

Summary: Pegolotti's route from Erzincan to Erzurum. Pegolotti's route is therefore as follows: Merchants, leaving Erzincan eastwards across the Erzincan plain, probably stayed the first night at the village of Peteriç or one very nearby. Then, avoiding the marshes of the river valley, they coasted the edge of the plain, travelling southeastwards, then entered the hills and climbed northerly up a valley to the village of Dalav. They then turned eastwards, crossed the Cibice Pass and stayed the second night at the Tivnik Hanı, the *gavazera sulla montagna*.

The following day they descended into the Tercan plain, probably taking the diagonal track which came down more gradually, rather than the more rapid descent to Kargın. They crossed the Upper Euphrates by the Kötür bridge and traversed the plain northwards to stay the night at Pekiç. Immediately beyond the Kötür bridge, they left on their right-hand side the large Mamahatun caravansaray and, beyond it again, the shorter way to the Erzurum plain up the Dereköy Deresi. Instead of the latter route, they take the gentler ascent up the Kara Su valley, keeping to the north bank. Emerging on to the Erzurum plain, they pay a toll at the castle of Kaldariç: at Kaldariç equally tolls are paid by those coming from the direction of Trebizond and Satala. The merchants then cross a bridge, paying another toll, southwards over the Kara Su only 5 kilometres east of Kaldariç. Pegolotti identifies the bridge by the name, "Kandilli", of the settlement on the north bank near which it lies; the name, however, is transformed into "Cantieri" to suit Italian acoustic and pronunciation habits. After the bridge travellers stay the night perhaps at the village of Karabıyık, where there may have been a caravansaray, only a few kilometres further on, or perhaps at the Evreni han, which we identify as Pegolotti's *gavazera fuori d'Arzerone verso Laiazzo*. After the one or the other of Karabıyık and Evreni the merchants advanced along the south bank of the river, paying tolls at the Evreni han and Ilıca. At Ilıca, tolls were paid also by merchants who had come from the direction of Trebizond by a more easterly route through Meymansur. At the same time the easterly bridge, that just north of Ilıca, allowed travellers to cross from the Erzurum plain to Karaz and then progress eastwards without ever passing through Erzurum. These travellers would normally have come into the Erzurum plain by the Mamahatun–Dereköy line, which we recapitulate in the next paragraph.

The line taken by the Pegolotti route in this sector strikes modern observers as roundabout. Once arrived in the Tercan plain, merchants could stay at the Mamahatun caravansaray, and then rise up the Dereköy Deresi, staying, if it had been built by then, at the smaller Çiftlik caravansaray.²⁵ They would arrive at the village of Cınıs or at Karabıyıkhanları on the Erzurum plain. The Dereköy track is, moreover, the line of the modern road. The principal reasons why Pegolotti's route avoids it are the gradients and the convenience of travelling along sections of route taken by merchants going to different destinations. All the same, the Dereköy track must have been followed in the early fourteenth century, perhaps mainly by lighter-laden traffic. This traffic, evading Kaldariç and the *ponte a Cantieri*, could still be taxed at Evreni.

The Mamahatun caravansaray, it must be remembered, served a second route, which cut the great east–west international route precisely in the Tercan plain. We have referred to this

second route here. It came from the direction of Trebizond and the plain of Sadak/Satala, followed the *Tabula Peutingeriana* route, shortly to be discussed, southeastwards into the Tercan plain, then continued southeast down the Tuzla Suyu, which gave travellers access to a variety of points in the Lower Euphrates valley, including the Malazgirt plain and so the L. Van cities, and westerly cities such as Palu and so the Tigris cities of Amid/Diyarbakır and Mardin.

B. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* route from Satala eastwards

As we have seen, Eriza/Erzincan does not feature on the *Tabula*, but a route from Satala is shown, which joins Pegolotti's route from Erzincan to Erzurum half-way.

Satala xx Salmalasso xx Darucinte xx Aegea xv Lucus Basaro xxii Sinara xv Calcidava
(in the *Ravenna Anonymous*, Chalcidava) xii Autisparate xv Tharsidarate xx Datamisa
x Adconfluentes²⁶

Later (p 257) it will be argued that *Adconfluentes* must be Köprüköy in the Pasinler plain to the east of Erzurum. The village lies at the confluence of the Aras and Siğirli Çay. *Datamisa*, it will be argued, must then be Hasankale, further west in the Pasinler plain. On grounds of the *Tabula*'s mileages, *Tharsidarate* must have lain somewhere west of Hasankale and east of Erzurum. The most probable site is that of the large village of Du, now (Büyük) Tüy, which is mentioned both in connection with fifth-century warfare and in the tenth century.²⁷ Du, however, lies north of the direct line between Erzurum and Hasankale. *Autisparate* would then be located at the site of what was later to be Theodosiopolis and even later Arzan al-Rum or Erzurum, or else at another site which lay at a similar distance from *Datamisa*/Hasankale and Du.

Of the stations between Satala and *Autisparate*, that of *Lucus Basaro* can, it seems, be located with decent probability. *Lucus*, "grove", indicates a site with at any rate some kind of religious function. In Classical times there stood at the village of Bagayariç referred to earlier (pron. "Bagayarich"; Turk. "Pekeriç") on the east side of the Euphrates plain a temple for the worship of Mihr, one of the two principal deities of the Zoroastrian religion in Armenia at the time. Before the first century AD the temple of Bagayariç was, moreover, the sole temple to the god. The name *Bagayariç* meant "village of the god".²⁸ Not far outside the village there rises the odd conical rock referred to earlier. At about half-height on the face of this rock, a rock-cut staircase starts down, whose purpose was apparently to allow the god to come out of the ground. The staircase and rock-cut chamber are in the style of the Mithridatic shrines of the Pontic kingdom.²⁹ It is hard not to see in "Basaro" an original name connected with "Bagariç", the name of the village: perhaps the original form of the name on the *Tabula* was "Lucus Bagarae" or "Lucus Bagari".³⁰ "Lucus Bagarae/Basari" would then mean "Grove of Bagariç". The TP's station would be a settlement in or by a grove near the conical rock. The settlement attached to the shrine of Mihr may have been in the grove, or the grove may have been at a distance from this settlement. If so, the TP's station is either within the grove or adjacent to it.

With "Lucus Basaro" located, we can turn to the three stations which precede it if one is coming from Satala. These are Salmalasso, Darucinte and Aegea. The TP's route came from the Satala plain to that of Pekeriç, on which "Lucus Basaro"/Pekeriç lay. Topographically the most difficult feature of such a route would be the mountain range extending from southwest to northeast immediately to the north of the Pekeriç plain. Once the traveller was through

these mountains and on the Pekiç plain, the way to the Erzurum plain would not be difficult, whether following the Pegolotti route along the Upper Euphrates valley or coming southeast through the Pekiç plain to the site of the later Mamahatun caravansaray and then taking the Dereköy Deresi northeastwards. Both of these routes have been described here (pp 241–45) in connection with the course of the Pegolotti track.

From Satala the first stage of the track is inevitably a valley running east–west, leading to a low pass and then to another valley descending, this time, west–east. (The rivers in these two valleys are both tributaries of the Çoruh, river of the Bayburt plain to the north.) After this, the most direct way through the mountains runs southeast through Çamurköy (“Mud-Village”) and Başköy (“Head-Village”). But this track seems to have been difficult, involving an ascent and descent over a steep pass. There is no evidence for its use by Ottoman armies, by official parties, by the Ottoman postal service or by European travellers – except one, the British consul, Taylor, who was evidently determined at least to establish its character and practicability.³¹ The three stations in the TP (Salmalasso, Darucinte and Aegea) between Satala and “Lucus Basaro”/Pekiç do not suggest such a short route (75 kilometres from Satala to Pekiç). Despite our reservations in the introduction (pp 21, 22–23), three stations would normally imply four days’ travel.

A different alternative has been suggested. This identifies “Salmalasso” with Gelengeç, which is in a valley southeast of Satala but on a trajectory removed further east than the Çamurköy–Başköy track.³² Phonetically there is limited correspondence between the names (l-m-s/l-n-ç), but “Salmalasso” is undoubtedly corrupt, and “Gelengeç”, if the descendant of the original name on the TP, would have been influenced by Turkish “gel” and “geç”, “come” (imperative) and “pass”. The route implied by the identification came east from Satala up and down the two valleys separated by the low pass, as before, but then, diverging from the Çamurköy track, rose southeast up a gentle valley, that of the Zekleler Deresi. After Gelengeç it ascended eastwards over a narrow pass; from the pass it descended to the head of a valley the stream in which, again, flowed eastwards. In this valley lay the village of

Karakulak (Turk., “Blackear”).³³ The Karakulak valley in fact communicated much more easily with the country immediately to the north. Not far north of Karakulak the terrain opened out and the traveller faced the spreading ridge called Otluk Beli, on which more later.

Karakulak has been argued to be the TP’s Darucinte, essentially, it seems, on the grounds that this fine village was the stopping-place of several European travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁴ An alternative name, “Irâkh”, mentioned to a British traveller of the early nineteenth century, more or less clinches the matter: the phonetic correspondence is clear.³⁵

Karakulak was not far from the northern edge of the Pekiç plain, if not exactly well placed from the point of view of access to it. The valley descends gently eastwards, but only 4 kilometres or so after Karakulak, the track towards Pekiç would have crossed an easy watershed and descended into a neighbouring but independent valley. In this valley, travellers would ride southwards for another 12 or 13 kilometres before the valley opened out into the Pekiç plain. The village of Mans, which we identify later as the TP’s next station, that of Aegae, lies another 8 kilometres to the south, on the plain, and if not exactly at Mans Aegae would have to be situated on the plain somewhere south of the valley’s debouchment. Pekiç/“Lucus Basaro”, on the other hand, lies more or less due east of the valley’s mouth. To reach Pekiç, one would need merely to stay at the foot of the mountains’ outliers, crossing the Upper Euphrates after a few kilometres, rather than setting foot on the open plain at all. This immediately raises the question why Aegae/Mans features on the *Tabula* at all; a suggestion will be put forward later.

Let us assume for the time being that the identification of the TP's Darucinte with Karakulak is correct; however, we shall not close the question at this point, because the final identifications of Salmalasso and Aegea might overturn that of Darucinte with Karakulak. Turning now to the problem of Salmalasso, the identification with Gelengeç is subject to a number of reservations. We mentioned that the phonetic argument carried little weight. The line from Satala to Karakulak through Gelengeç is still a little short to justify two day stages and, in particular, the TP's distances (20 miles each time). Even worse, the line through Gelengeç finds no support from attested lines of travel in the medieval or Ottoman period.

It is more cogent to examine a line which actually was taken in the past. This is that of the Ottoman post route, which was also followed by a number of European travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We cannot expect a precise correspondence with the TP road, because the two lines have different origins and destinations. However, it is reasonable to expect the stretch of the Ottoman post road from Satala southeastwards to be instructive.

The Ottoman post route came via the town and castle of Şebinkarahisar, which looked out over the Kelkit basin from the north. Given that it came from this direction, roughly from the northwest, and not from the west (as did the TP's route starting from Satala), the equivalent station to Satala was the village of Kelkit and the nearby post station of Germürü.³⁶ From Kelkit the travellers proceeded over rolling country southeast and then crossed, again in a southeasterly direction, a spreading whaleback known as Elma Dağ ("Apple Mountain"). On the approach to the Elma Dağ they either went right past the site of Classical and Late Classical Satala, or at least passed it at a distance of 1–2 kilometres.³⁷ After the Elma Dağ the travellers dropped into a broad, fertile valley, in effect an upland plain. Crossing this in an easterly direction, they left the large village of Lori a short way, 2–3 kilometres, to the north. In reality the settlement in question was Yukarı Lori, Upper Lori; the village's other half, Aşağı Lori or Lower Lori, lay around 4 kilometres downstream, again on the lower skirts of the valley's side. The Europeans left the upland plain of Lori, and travelled on, again in a southeasterly direction; they climbed over another broad ridge, the Otluk Beli, site of the well-known battle in which the forces of the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II beat those of the Ak Koyunlu sultan Uzun Hasan in 1473. After the Otluk Beli, they entered the valley of Karakulak and in a short time were in that village.³⁸

On this itinerary, the place which stands out as a candidate for the TP's "Salmalasso" is Lori, recommended both by its size and by its position. It does not seem that the name Lori is a phonetic descendant of that which, in the second or third century AD, gave rise to the evidently corrupt name "Salmalasso". Probably the modern name in question is İshimsor: the village, standing on the Elma Dağ, overlooks Aşağı Lori. Another possibility, much less likely, is Çorozma: this village lies on the northwest slopes of the Elma Dağ, but at a distance of 5 kilometres or so north of the Ottoman post road.³⁹

A stage between Satala and Darucinte/Karakulak was not needed at all, as the experience of the European travellers showed: starting from a point near Satala, Kelkit, they went in one day to Karakulak. The significance of the TP's "Salmalasso", then, is that Lori was available as a stopping-place or that travellers would have reason to stop there, rather than that it was a necessary stopping-place. The TP's distance of 20 miles from Satala to Salmalasso may well have been correct, particularly if the measuring-point was the junction where the short track from Lori struck the through track heading towards Karakulak. The subsequent distance of 20 miles on the TP is evidently corrupt, and may be a simple perverse copying of the previous figure: the third distance, too, is 20 miles.

From "Salmalasso"/Lori the track rose to the Otluk Beli, then descended and arrived at Darucinte/Karakulak. We have followed its egress from the Karakulak valley over a pass

and its descent into the plain of Pekiç. We should note at this stage that the Ottoman post route parts company with the TP's track soon after Karakulak. It descended further east down the Karakulak valley, crossing a ravine later known as Şeytan Deresi ("Devil's Valley") and eventually emerging in the enclosed section of the Upper Euphrates valley at a spot called Şogayn (pron. "Shogayn" or "Shogan"), roughly half-way between Pekiç and the Erzurum plain.⁴⁰

Given the location of Pekiç on the east margin of the plain, it would be reasonable, on grounds we have suggested here, to expect for the TP's Aegae a position on the plain's northern edge or at the base of the mountains delimiting the plain here. However, relevant archaeological remains and cognate modern names in these locations are lacking.

Seven or eight kilometres south of the point where the Dorum Deresi turns east towards the Upper Euphrates lies the village of Mans. Here the secretary of the British embassy in Tehran, returning in the very early nineteenth century to Istanbul and from there to London, found a village which he called "Moss". This must be the *Mans* of the modern maps. Morier approached via Mamahatun, crossed the Upper Euphrates by the Kötür bridge, then came northwards over the plain, arriving eventually at "Moss"/Mans. This village he found deserted: its inhabitants had fled the day before in order to escape Kurdish raids. But near the village, Morier found a cemetery with ancient Christian tombstones, one, from the inscription, clearly Armenian. Here and there, he wrote, he found collections of very large stones, rudely piled one on top of the other: in other words evidence of a ruined fort, or possibly a palace. The village of Pekiç was visible on the eastern edge of the plain, beyond the Upper Euphrates. After "Moss"/Mans, Morier found the north–south valley through which we have proposed that the TP's track descends from the watershed with the Karakulak valley.⁴¹

Mans will be the TP's *Aegae*. It lies some distance south of the point where the TP's track might be expected to turn east in order to reach "Lucus Basaro"/Pekiç. However, it also lies on the track coming over a range of hills from the Erzincan plain in order to reach Pekiç and ultimately Erzurum: this was the route taken by Clavijo.⁴² So the TP can be presumed to have marked Aegae/Mans as a way of pointing out the importance of the latter settlement as a crossroads.⁴³

So far we have brought the TP's route over the broad hill ridges east of Satala, southwards through the mountain range via the Karakulak valley, on to the Pekiç plain and to Aegae at Mans and eastwards over the Upper Euphrates to "Lucus Basaro"/Pekiç. It is time to look at the remaining stations as far as Autisparate, which, on grounds of its place in the sequence of stations on the TP's road, should lie at or near the later Theodosiopolis or Erzurum. These stations are Sinara, Calcidava and Autisparate itself.

Manandian's identification of the second of these stations, "Calcidava", with Kałdoyariç, which as we have seen was one of Pegolotti's stations, is reasonably convincing. Manandian relies on the variant name in the *Ravenna Anonymous*, "Chalchidara".⁴⁴ However, Ptolemy's *Kaltiorissa* is surely Kałdoyariç too. If so, we are faced with a case where Ptolemy on the one hand and the TP and the *Ravenna Anonymous* on the other are drawing on different traditions. Manandian also points out that the TP shows the road crossing the Upper Euphrates near "Calcidava", and it was the function of Kałdoyariç to guard not only the entrance to the Upper Euphrates valley from the Erzurum plain but also the crossing of the river by the nearby bridge. In the third century AD a settlement, possibly a fort, at Kałdoyariç/Kağdariç can be presumed.

One possibility for the station of Sinara shown on the map between "Lucus Basaro"/Pekiç and "Calcidava"/Kağdariç, Sinara, is the point at which a route, much-frequented in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from the Kelkit basin further north, debouched into

the Upper Euphrates valley: Sinara, then, would be the point of junction between this route, which was also the Ottoman post route, and the TP's and Pegolotti's, both of which are following the valley of the Upper Euphrates at this point.⁴⁵ A caravansaray, feared and avoided by travellers, is known at this point in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁶ A linguistic link with the Armenian name for the whole valley, *Šogayn* (pron. "Shogan") might be proposed.

Let us turn to the station called on the TP "Autisparate". The name, sharing the termination -arate with the name following it in the TP, looks hopelessly corrupt, and it is even possible that the name that we have at this point on the map incorporates elements from names elsewhere on the map.⁴⁷ However, our procedure will not depend on a phonetic correspondence of "Autisparate" with known names on the ground.

The naturally powerful site of the later Erzurum and the construction of the city of Theodosiupolis in the fifth century as a defence against Sasanian Iran argue for Erzurum as the site of the TP's Autisparate. One source, however, tells us that Theodosiupolis was founded on the site of a village called *Καλό Χωριόν*, "Good Village" or "Beautiful Village". On the assumption that the TP's "Autisparate" was something more than a village, it should not have lain at the site of Theodosiupolis. The information for the TP was gathered in the third century AD, though revisions were made in the late fourth, possibly early fifth century. If we wanted to argue that "Autisparate" represented the recently founded city of Theodosiupolis on a version of the map which had just (in the early fifth century) been revised, then the name *Theodosiupolis* should be on the map at this point: "Autisparate" does not look like a corruption of it. Of course "*Καλό Χωριόν*" was probably a translation of a local name with the same meaning. But the name in Armenian which has that meaning, *Bari Giwl* (pron. "Bari Giugh"), seems far away from "Autisparate". None of this positively requires that "Autisparate" did *not* lie on the site of the later Theodosiupolis and Erzurum. But the likelihood is slim, and to support the case for putting "Autisparate" there one would be obliged to find a local name meaning "Good Village" which might fairly be deemed to have been transformed in the course of copying into the name "Autisparate" that we actually have.

Looking elsewhere, we note that *Calcidava/Kaldoyarič* lies just north of the Upper Euphrates; furthermore, *Du/Tüy*, our candidate for Tharsidarate, the station next after Autisparate on the TP, lies to the north of the line which would be expected if Autisparate were in fact Erzurum and which is certainly taken by the Pegolotti route east of Erzurum.⁴⁸ In the search for "Autisparate", it would be reasonable to hypothesise that the relevant site lay north of the Upper Euphrates as it flows through the Erzurum plain. This would then mean that travellers who had arrived at "*Calcidava*"/*Kağdariç* never had to cross the river in order to get to Tharsidarate/*Du* and the other stations in the plain of Basean east of what was later to be Erzurum.

A settlement more or less level with Erzurum should nevertheless be sought, and a settlement attested in the eleventh, then in the mid-fifteenth century AD is highly likely to have existed at such a position in the early third century AD (date of the TP's first compilation) and in the early fifth (date of Theodosiupolis' foundation). This is *Arcn* (pron. "Artsn") or *Arzn*, whose name later became *Karaz* (Turk. *Kara*, "Black", + "*Arz*": -n, which functioned as a definite article in Class. Armn., is dropped), and which lay to the west and a little north of Theodosiupolis/Erzurum. It is around 16 kilometres from Erzurum and on the north bank of the Euphrates, around 3 kilometres from the river, and opposite the baths at *İlica*. In the Ottoman period, and at least over a certain interval before the Ottoman period, it was connected with *İlica* by a bridge. The notion that the name Erzurum could have been formed from Arabic "*Arz al-Rum*" (pron. "Arz ar-Rum") seems extremely reasonable. The name *Arz*

al-Rum, attested in many texts, would have meant “Arz[n] of the Romans”; Theodosiopolis, founded by the Byzantine emperor Theodosius II, was a new city which could truly be considered the Arzn of the Romans.

In the tenth and early to mid-eleventh centuries AD, Arcn seems to have functioned as a kind of unwallled trading exurb of Erzurum; it was the seat of Byzantine officials too. It was an easy and attractive target for Turkish raids in the mid-eleventh century.⁴⁹ But if it was a trading exurb it was nevertheless on a track which bypassed Erzurum itself. The same situation seems to have persisted afterwards. In 1435 the aged Kara Yülük Osman, prime mover of Ak Koyunlu expansion in the early fifteenth century, waited at Karaz after sending a force into the Pasin plain in order to intercept the Kara Koyunlu sultan İskender: the latter was retreating westwards from Tabriz. İskender seems to have evaded the Ak Koyunlu force and came to Karaz in order to ask Kara Yülük Osman for help. Instead, however, a battle took place at Karaz in which Kara Yülük was defeated.⁵⁰ The incident could hardly have occurred if the way through Karaz had not been a recognised alternative to the track through Erzurum as a way of passing from the Pasin plain westwards towards the Tercan plain and Erzincan. Erzurum was by this time badly depopulated,⁵¹ and perhaps so badly depopulated that it could no longer function as a market for valuable goods coming from distant destinations.

A mound at Karaz has been excavated. The principal strata in this tell were prehistoric (Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age), but some material characterised as Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman was found. The tell measured about 150 metres from north to south and somewhat less from east to west. This seems small for a town site; however, it would be reasonable to suppose that whereas the prehistoric settlement was a village which stood atop a mound gradually rising with successive occupations, the medieval town spread both over flat land adjacent to the mound and, to an extent, over the mound itself.⁵²

But if the TP’s “Autisparate” lay, at least from some point in the copying process, at Arcn/Karaz, the name immediately to the west of “Calcidava” on the present map, “Sinara”, is much more appropriate. Provided the definite article -n is accepted as part of the local name, the correspondence of consonants is reasonably close: s-n-r/r-c-n. “Sinara” is probably the original name or very close to the original, even if it does not occur in Ptolemy.⁵³ Although we had found a possible location for the name “Sinara” in the Upper Euphrates valley downstream of Kağdariç, there was no settlement at that location – only a small Ottoman caravansaray – and the identification, though possible, was unconvincing. Much more convincing is the equation of Sinara with Arcn/Karaz. This would imply that on the original map, the name Sinara or something very similar was written at a point appropriate to Arcn/Karaz, while no position was marked on the road where the Ottoman caravansaray of Şogayn would have lain, nor was any name marked there. A copyist then wrote “Sinara” on the map, between “Lucus Basaro” or equivalent and “Calcidava”, and provided it with an appropriate step in the line of the road. At the position previously held by “Sinara”, the same copyist, or more likely a subsequent one, noticed a vacant position (a step in the line of the road) and assembled a nonsense name, “Autisparate”, from names elsewhere on the map (perhaps “Anteba”, “Sorve” and “Catispi” as suggested before), probably without inspiration from ‘Sinara’, despite the common consonants.

Let us sum up, starting from the legionary fortress of Satala. The *Tabula*’s route proceeds over even land southeastwards from Satala, finds and climbs over the Elma Dağ, descending to a valley-plain where the TP’s station of “Salmalasso”, today’s Aşağı Lori, lies just off the track. Rising and descending from another broad ridge, the Otluk Beli, it finds, in the range of mountains it must somehow cross, the valley of Karakulak and the village of Darucinte or Karakulak. It climbs out of the Karakulak valley and descends two successive valleys

to reach the Pekiçi plain and the settlement of Aegae at Mans. It then crosses the Upper Euphrates and comes to “Lucus Basaro” at Pekiçi. The shrine there may well have been the principal reason why the *Tabula*’s route takes a more southerly course through the Pekiçi plain rather than following what was later to be the Ottoman post route, which would have brought it more directly to Şogayn in the Upper Euphrates valley. A secondary reason was perhaps the difficulty of the pass at the head of the Karakulak valley and of the subsequent descent past the Şeytan Deresi.⁵⁴

From “Lucus Basaro”/Pekiçi, the TP’s track, joining for a day’s stage the line of the Pegolotti route, crosses to the enclosed section of the Upper Euphrates valley and rises up the valley as far as “Calcidava”/Aşağı Kağdariçi. But here the Pegolotti track crosses the river at a bridge which probably did not exist in the Classical and Late Classical periods, and heads across the Erzurum plain for the city of Erzurum. The TP’s road continues on the river’s north bank and arrives at the town of Arcn opposite the baths of Ilıca and around 10 kilometres short of a point opposite the village of Καλό Χωριόν, whose site was later to be occupied by Theodosiopolis/Erzurum. The next stage will be “Tharsidarate”/Du, to be discussed in the next chapter.

C. Conclusions

The general line of Pegolotti’s route has been summarised here. The itinerary, combined with other evidence, suggests a castle and town at Kağdariçi and a minor settlement, something bigger than a village, at Ilıca. It vouches for the existence of two caravansarays, the Tivnik Han in the Keşiş Dağları and the Evrenihanı on the Erzurum plain, and suggests a third at Karabıyık. But the provision of caravansarays, as in the Sivas–Erzincan section of the route, is meagre. If merchants had taken the more direct but steeper route through Mamahatun and Çiftlik, they would have found two more caravansarays, both built in earlier periods.

Equally, the long distance, on Pegolotti’s route, between the toll stations at the Tivnik Hanı and at Kağdariçi, followed by an interval, amounting to two days’ travel, in which tolls were levied no less than four times, seems remarkable. And yet along the route no traveller could escape taxation altogether. Those who did take the Mamahatun–Çiftlik line were caught by the station at Evrenihanı.⁵⁵ Kağdariçi and the *ponte a Cantieri* caught most traffic coming from the west and northwest. That taking a more easterly route from Trebizond (via Meymansur) would cross the Kara Su at Ilıca and be taxed there.

D. Erzurum

The city lay on the rise out of the southeast corner of the plain, which it surveys to west and north. In the late Il-Khanid period, the city’s walls were probably double, as they were in other periods, and were surrounded by a ditch. They described very roughly a square oriented north–south and east–west, but a square whose northerly side had been turned anticlockwise so as to face northwest or more or less so. This orientation of the northerly wall took defensive advantage of the particular configuration of the slope. The citadel was built on a bluff just within the easterly stretch of the city wall, and in fact was built up against that stretch of wall. The city probably spread beyond the walls to the slopes west of the walled area. After the station at Ilıca, tolls were paid ‘In Arzerone dentro nella terra’, which perhaps means at the boundary of the city’s suburbs.

In all likelihood the city’s population was predominantly, but not wholly, Armenian. The city was the seat of an Armenian diocese. But in the early fourteenth century the bishop

accepted papal doctrine and rites; such bishops are known sporadically until the end of the century. There was a Franciscan monastery in the city certainly from 1320 to 1390.⁵⁶

We know of one ancient church in the city, which was standing in the early fourteenth century and which possessed a dome of immense diameter.⁵⁷ This was probably that of the Mother of God, which is attested as late as the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ As at Erzincan the monasteries with which the city's population stood in a relation of mutual dependence lay some way outside the city. The three whose existence and activity in the early fourteenth century are reasonably argued by the available evidence are to the north of the city. One was that of Surb Step'anos (St. Stephen), around 17 kilometres to the north, by the village of Xandamluc' (pron. "Khandamluts"; officially "Gülpınar"), at a point where the land begins to rise out of the plain's east border. Near this was Karmir Vank' ("Red Monastery"), in a similar situation about the same distance from the city but a little further east and more in the plain's northeast corner. The third was Xaç'kavank' (pron. "Khachkavank"; "Monastery of the Cross") at the village of Arcat'i ("Artsati"; officially "Yeşilyayla"), right on the plain and around 5 kilometres southwest of the first, Surb Step'anos.⁵⁹

The city's two most impressive Muslim buildings were built respectively by a Seljuk monarch and by one of the Il-Khans, Uljaytu. Under the Saltukids (the local dynasty which held the city before its acquisition by the Seljuks), a Great Mosque of now unknown dimensions (the mosque was rebuilt several times after the initial Saltukid construction) had been built near the city's east gate, the Tabriz gate; the small mosque within the citadel is also a Saltukid edifice.⁶⁰ In the first four decades of the thirteenth century, Armenian sources attest the city's wealth and size, which must both have been due to the now increasing volume of trade along the Sivas–Erzincan–Erzurum–Tabriz line.⁶¹

The Rum Seljuk monarch, Ala al-Din Kaykubad I, defeating and absorbing in 1230 the local breakaway Seljuk principality whose capital was Erzurum, started the construction of a large *madrasa*, now known as the Çifte Minare Medresesi, to celebrate the victory. The *madrasa* was sited in the southeast corner of the walls, south of the citadel and just south of the Tabriz Gate; the choice of location perhaps helped to communicate the message of victory and occupation, not so much to the citizens who dwelt within the walls as to those entering from the direction of Iran. The *madrasa* was also located just east of the Great Mosque, and the choice of site may also have conveyed a message concerning the Seljuks' conquest of the city from the local breakaway branch of the same dynasty. This grand project was just short of completion when in 1242 the incoming Mongols seized, pillaged and half-ruined the city, and although the building seems subsequently to have functioned as a *madrasa*, the remaining work on it was never done. But the city was soon reconstructed: the bishop, Ter Sarkis, played a part.⁶² There followed a period of prosperity, very much owed to the Ayas and Trebizond traffic. Marco Polo in the late thirteenth century called Erzurum a great city.⁶³ Although the city was not renowned in general for its industry, either in the city itself or in the region, a well-known type of carpet was produced here.⁶⁴

The Çifte Minare Medresesi was followed by the Yakutiye Medresesi, which was commissioned by the Il-Khan Uljaytu and finished in 1311. The building this time stood in the centre of the walled area, perhaps to one side of the market. Yet the building is on a smaller scale, and the two building projects are separated in time by 70 years.⁶⁵ We are not faced with the same volume of building work as took place at Sivas. The city was already in decline, and the reasons were inherent in the nature of the Il-Khanid state.

When Oderic of Pordenone, a Catholic friar on his way to Hormuz and India, passed through here, he found that the city had suffered much from the 'Tartari' and 'Sarraceni'.⁶⁶ Ibn Battuta in 1332 also reported that while the city was of vast extent, it was mostly in decay

after a feud between two groups of Turcomans.⁶⁷ In 1314 there occurred the destruction of several churches and the desertion of the city by some of its inhabitants.⁶⁸ The episode is difficult to interpret, but, combined with the state of affairs seen later by Oderic of Pordenone and Ibn Battuta, it suggests attacks on the city from outside by a Mongol faction, one opposed to the governor of Rum (hardly Turcomans: how would two Turcoman factions be allowed into the city, to fight it out, by the Il-Khanid authorities?). By 1316 the seat of government had been moved to Bayburt.⁶⁹ A bishop was killed by Muslims in 1321.⁷⁰ Pegolotti's text itself hints that at the time of the Tabriz itinerary's compilation (perhaps mid-1320s), the city was in the hands of a non-official element.⁷¹ In 1332 a tax was levied by the local Venetian authorities on Venetian merchants, or their agents, in Tabriz; the purpose was to finance an indemnity for two Venetian merchants who had undergone losses in Erzurum.⁷²

Clavijo, 80 years later, found that the city's population was rather thin, and knew of its previous wealth.⁷³ But attacks on the city continued, whether in an attempt by one Ak Koyunlu chieftain to take it from another or in a raid by the Kara Koyunlu.⁷⁴ When the city was captured by the Ottoman empire, the first fiscal census (1523) found not a single taxable household; by 1540 the city had a total taxable population of 21 households.⁷⁵ When a province of Erzurum was finally set up in 1535, the *beylerbeyi* or governor did not reside in the city, but in Bayburt.⁷⁶ The city had to be built up for 13 years before he could move to it.

This picture of decay and diminution hardly consists with the picture of a great trading city which we might expect from Pegolotti's itinerary and from the knowledge that caravans on two active trade routes, one from Sivas, one from Trebizond, came together in the city and continued to Tabriz. However, the conclusion that the struggles taking place within the city, the destruction of churches, etc. led to loss of trade by the city would be unfair and misleading. It may be that exchange in goods from Iran, India, Venice, Genoa and other places was carried on, and the merchants themselves were accommodated in the caravansarays and settlements either side of Erzurum (the westerly caravansarays would have served both the Trebizond and the Erzincan traffic) rather than in the city. As argued earlier, it is possible that some of the traffic, whether bound for Erzincan and Sivas or bound for Trabizond, never entered the city: it may have stayed north of the river the whole way. It could have stopped at Karaz (for which, however, there is no attestation in the period) and been taxed only at Kağdarıç and at the *bagni d'Arzerone verso Torisi*/Hasankale, the first station to the east of Erzurum. Here the track coming out of the city on its easterly side would converge with the track staying north of the river and so bypass Erzurum and the stations on the plain immediately west of the city. Moreover, some trading may have been carried on in Bayburt, 2 days' walk away on the track towards Trebizond.

Furthermore, the apparent loss of control, in certain periods, over the city itself by the Il-Khanid administration did not necessarily mean damage to international traffic passing through the city. As we have just noted, the administrative functions of Erzurum were eventually devolved to Bayburt, and the same may have been done in favour of Avnik, which as we shall see lay 2–3 days' journey away towards Tabriz, on the other. Both these towns were protected by secure citadels on formidable citadel rocks, and were much easier to defend. It is even possible that no particular effort was made to maintain the walls of Erzurum. However, such a retreat from the city did not mean a loss of control over the roads; moreover, it is clear that even when a faction rivalling the Il-Khanid regime did for a time gain control over the city, this did not mean a more than temporary disruption in the trade. Pegolotti's text hints that the foreign merchants made accommodations with any faction which had temporarily ousted the regime's representatives in the city.

But to an extent the city was genuinely the battleground between two groups, and this was its undoing. Ibn Battuta's estimate that these two groups were composed of Turcomans is most unlikely to have been correct. Oderic of Pordenone's 'Tartars' and 'Saracens' are a better clue. Erzurum was fought over by the Sutay, who came to it from their pastures in the L. Van region, and other groups in the Il-Khanid state, even perhaps the governors of Rum themselves. The 'Saracens' would be the Sutay, and the 'Tartars' whomever in the Il-Khanid establishment they were at grips with in the city. One such contest took place in 1327, as soon as Eretna took over the effective government of Rum. An Inanch Noyan captured Erzurum, no doubt taking advantage of the interim before Eretna had fully established his authority, but was soon defeated by Eretna.⁷⁷ The Chobanids seem to have had pastures in the district and further west. In 1341, an incident took place in which the Sutay, who had occupied the city, were expelled by Hasan, son of Choban. Hasan pillaged the city before retiring.⁷⁸ Another raid took place in 1346: the inhabitants and even their animals were forced to leave the city. Here, unfortunately, we do not know the identity of the attackers.⁷⁹ It was such incidents which led to the city's diminution and decline.

Notes

- 1 On the Erzurum plain, Abich 1878–87: 2.71–78, 85–86, 94–100.
- 2 Clavijo, ed Lestrada: 95 "Xaboga". Le Strange turns this into "Shah Bagh" ("King's Orchard") (Clavijo, tr Le Strange: 137–38). But in reality the name represented as "Xaboga" by Clavijo is a version of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*'s name "Aegae". The large blocks found there by Morier must have been reused to build a small castle sometime after the Classical period. See p 248.
- 3 That of Newbery: see our appendix, p 311.
- 4 P 239.
- 5 Newbery 1625: 1418; our appendix, p 313.
- 6 Hacı Halfa, *Cihannüma*, Mütferrika ed: 428, 627; Appendix I: 311.
- 7 For the bridge, n 11 below and for the continuation of the track, pp 241–44.
- 8 In Matrakçı (ed Yurdaydın: pl 23b), the bath is shown as an octagonal pool within a shelter with tiled roof, but no village features in Matrakçı's illustration. By Morier's time (early nineteenth century) two of the springs had been enclosed within separate walls so that men and women could bathe separately. (Morier 1812: 325.)
- 9 The easterly bridge, the Karas Köprü, was rebuilt in the sixteenth century. The rebuilding was started by Ali Paşa, beylerbeyi or governor of the Erzurum province from 1563 to 1572, and finished under his successor. See Afyoncu 2001: 1026; Morier 1812: 325.
- 10 Pp 241, 244, 249 n 9.
- 11 On the bridge, Sinclair 1989: 250–51; map p 240. A fort also lay on a mound at some distance from the road. The village of Kötür stands around 2 kilometres southeast of the bridge.
- 12 After the district as a whole (basically the Upper Euphrates plain – both sections – and the surrounding heights). Armn. *Derjan*.
- 13 On the caravansaray and mausoleum, Ünal 1968: 129–42, 146–52; and bibliography in Sinclair 1989: 251. On Mama Hatun, Turan (O) 1973: 17–18. The two buildings' decoration and the style of the mausoleum's inscriptions fit very well with a late twelfth-century date. Later tradition made Mama Hatun an Ak Koyunlu princess: Evliya, ed Kurşun: 2.193.
- 14 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 95; Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya, ed Lugal. Sümer: 1.128.
- 15 Ibid: 95.
- 16 Ibid: 95.
- 17 Miroğlu 1975: 100.
- 18 On the castle, see, n xiv. Clavijo insists that it was within the territory of Erzincan. The settlement was known in the pre-Turkish period (Honigsmann 1935: 156). See also Morier 1812: 329–30; Taylor 1868: 282–83; Sinclair 1989: 250, 251.
- 19 On the latter, Appendix I: 317–18.
- 20 On Şirinli Kale, Sinclair 1989: 246–50; Işık 1987; *Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılında Tercan*: 235–39. The route is mentioned by Bryer, Winfield (1985: 35).

- 21 On this as a caravan route, Koch 1846–47: 2.290, 369–71.
- 22 K-n-t-r/k-n-d-l: t/d, r/l. In the late eighteenth century, Ker Porter (1821–22: 2.674) noticed a building at 19 miles/30 kilometres from Erzurum, which according to him was locally called “The Tomb”. If this was a *kümbet* or mausoleum with bulging dome in the Persian manner, it may well explain the name *Kandilli*, “Place with the Candle”.
- 23 Argued in Sinclair 1989: 277–78. After the Byzantine capture of Erzurum (949), David of Tayk⁴ was in 979 given, among other places, Kaldoyarič “with the Kleisoura”, Č‘ormayri and Karin (the city of Erzurum). (Honigmann 1935: 150–51; Grousset 1947: 505–06.) These places seem to define the plain of Erzurum as a whole and to define, too, its principal settlements, not only at a point shortly after the Byzantine capture of the district, but also during the Arab occupation. Č‘ormayri we know from elsewhere to have been Šalałom (pron. “Shaghaghom”), in other words Šolaýn, the stretch of the Upper Euphrates valley downstream of Kaldoyarič. The *Kleisoura* might be the castle of Kaldoyarič itself or else the pass leading towards Trebizond. Under Byzantine occupation, Kaldoyarič continued to be maintained. (Honigmann 1935: 164–65.)
- 24 Konyalı 1960: 498.
- 25 On the Çiftlik caravansaray, Ünal 1973: 116–19.
- 26 Miller 1916: 676–77.
- 27 P 258.
- 28 Hultgård 1982: 131–14. *Bag*, “god”; *arič*, “joy of”.
- 29 Sinclair 1989: 250; *Cumhuriyet’in 75. Yılında Tercan*: 239–45.
- 30 Manandian (1965: 100), suggests “Bagara”, but a genitive is needed.
- 31 Taylor 1868: 281–87; cf Bryer, Winfield 1985: 36.
- 32 For the identification generally, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 34–35.
- 33 For the identification and working out of some aspects of the track, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 34–35.
- 34 Bryer and Winfield cogently identify Karakulak also with Ptolemy’s Tareina (*Geography*: V.12.110). In addition they also suggested Karakulak as one possible location for Procopius’ *Horonon* (*Buildings* III.vi). Procopius states that Horonon was at the crossing-place of three roads on the borders of Romania [the East Roman Empire], Persarmenia and Tzanika, the Gümüşhane basin. Allowing for some exaggeration in Procopius’ geographical indications, Karakulak would fit them, and there is some phonetic correspondence (r-k-n/r-h-n). However, the town of Varzahan, 10 kilometres on the road towards Trebizond from Bayburt, would appear a better candidate. Three Armenian churches and an Armenian cemetery are known here (Lynch 1901: 2.233; fig 173, p 234; and references). In general see Winfield, Wainwright 1962: 137–38; Bryer, Winfield 1985: 35.
- 35 Fraser 1840: 349.
- 36 Appendix I: 318, 319.
- 37 On Satala, Lightfoot 1998. Even given the commonplace nature of the name *Elma Dağ*, it is possible that it preserves some of the consonants of the original place name which comes to us as that of the next station after Satala, “Salmalasso”, in the TP.
- 38 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 35. *Bel*, “waist”, therefore a pass: but the Otluk Beli is both pass and ridge.
- 39 For the possible phonetic relationship, S/Ç; l/r; s/z; m/m.
- 40 Post route: p 242. Pegolotti: pp 242, 243–44. TP: 247–48.
- 41 Morier 1812: 329–30.
- 42 P 239.
- 43 The name *Aegae* might perhaps be related to the district name, Armn. *Terjan*, Gr. *Deroxene*. It is tempting, too, to equate the *Aegae* of the TP with the *Elegeia* at which Trajan in AD 114 tricked Parthamasiris, the Arsacid king of Armenia put on the throne by the Parthian king (on this, Lightfoot 1990: 117–18). Pekerç would be a much better candidate, but then the identification of Pekerç and “Lucus Basaro” would be shattered. That apart, it is tempting to place *Aegae* at Pekerç and find another site for “Lucus Basaro”, bearing in mind that the latter is unlikely to be exactly identical with Bagariç/Pekerç. One possibility, which I over-confidently proposed in Talbert 2000, is that *Aegae* is Pekerç and “Lucus Basaro” is at Mamahatun/Tercan. The TP’s road would then lead up to ‘Calcidava’/Kaldoyarič more or less along the line of the modern main road.
- 44 He proposes an original *Chalchdiara; however, the correspondence of sounds is adequate in any case: ch-l-d-r/k-l-d-r. The second -ch- of “Chalchdiara” is pleonastic, if it is an attempt to render “Kaldoyarič” in Greek characters, subsequently Latinised. (Ch- very likely represents Gr. -χ- in some original, which is unlikely to be Ptolemy.) Or else, if the second -ch- is taken to represent the -l- of “Kaldoyarič”, the -l- of the same name is pleonastic. See Manandian 1965: 99.

- 45 See n 41.
- 46 P 317.
- 47 For example those names wrongly copied on to the road from Tigranocerta to Artaxata from that between Artaxata and “Gobdi”/Khoy – including Anteba, Sorue and Catispi – might have supplied some of the elements of “Autisparate”. For the copying, Manandian 1965: 101–03, 110–12.
- 48 On Du and the Pegolotti route, p 258.
- 49 Grousset 1947: 583, 588; Inčičean 1822: 35–36; Arakelyan 1958: 1.111–12, 123; 2.161–62; Howard-Johnston 1995: 90.
- 50 Sümer 1967: 135–36.
- 51 P 253 below.
- 52 Koşay, Turfan 1959: 349–413; Sinclair 1989: 222.
- 53 It would naturally be in Book V, Chapter 12, on Greater Armenia.
- 54 For this difficulty, Appendix I: 000.
- 55 Pp 241, 243.
- 56 On the bishops, DHGE ‘Erzeroum’, 15.831–36 (P.Ananian): 833; Fedalto 1973–78: 2.50–51; Richard 1977: 170–71. On the monastery, Fedalto *ibid*: Richard 1977: 203, 204.
- 57 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 95: very likely the same as that observed by Clavijo in the early fourteenth century (ed Lestrada: 96).
- 58 DHGE ‘Erzeroum’: 834.
- 59 Oskean 1951: 117–23; 125–40. Strictly Surb Step’anos is attested only in the twelfth century; it is reasonable to suppose, but not by any means provable, that it survived into the early fourteenth century. On the USAF 1:250,000 map, the village of Xandamluc’ is marked as Kamberköy, and that of Arcat’i as Arzuti. On the other hand a separate village of Haçkevank’ is marked 7 kilometres west of Arcat’i/Arzuti.
- 60 For bibliography, Sinclair 1989: 202.
- 61 Arakelyan 1958: 2.110.
- 62 For bibliography on the madrasa, Sinclair 1989: 197; Blessing 2014: 130–42 (with tentative attribution to late thirteenth or early fourteenth century AD). On the Mongol capture, Ibn Bibi, tr Duda: 223–24; Matuz 1973: 188–89; Arakelyan 1958: 2.110. On the reconstruction, DHGE, ‘Erzeroum’, 15.831–36: 833.
- 63 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.96.
- 64 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 97, under Qaliqala, evidently not understanding the identity with Arzan al-Rum (*ibid*: 95).
- 65 For bibliography, Sinclair 1989: 200; Blessing 2014: 142–58.
- 66 In Yule 1866: 2. Appendix, ii.
- 67 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.294.
- 68 Colophons, fourteenth century: no 135, pp 101–02. I am grateful to Rachel Goshgarian for bringing this reference to my attention.
- 69 P 74.
- 70 Colophons, ed Hovsep’ean: 532.
- 71 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 29: ‘di gratia del signore’. No such thing is said in respect of other cities.
- 72 Paviot 1997: 76.
- 73 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 96.
- 74 Woods 1999: 53, 63, 66.
- 75 Jennings 1976: 47.
- 76 Miroğlu 1975: 24, 28; DüNDAR 1998: 59–61.
- 77 Göde 1994: 34–35.
- 78 Best explained in Album 1985: 49, 73–74.
- 79 Colophons, fourteenth century, no 433, p 346: ‘... azgn Hagaru’, “the nation of Hagar”, and ‘Ismayelac’oc’n’, “the Ismaelites”, presumably the Muslims.

6 Erzurum to Tabriz

Pegolotti's stations:

bagni d'Arzerone verso Torisi: diritto, 1 asper per load

Polorbecch: diritto, 3 aspers per load

Sermessacalo: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Aggia: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

a mezzo della piana di Aggio ("in the middle of the plain of Aggio"): diritto, 3 aspers per load; tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Calacresti: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

3 chiesi: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

sotto l'Arcanoe: diritto, 3 aspers per load; tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Scaracanti: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Locche: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

piana di Falconieri: tantaullaggio for two tangauls, 1 asper per load; 'per tavola, cioè per uno segnale del signore', ½ asper per load

li Camuzoni: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

piana del Fiume Rosso: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Condro: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Sandoddi: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

Torisi: tantaullaggio, ½ asper per load

A. The *Tabula Peutingeriana*

To understand the final sector of Pegolotti's route, it is convenient to begin with the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (TP), whose stations along the relevant route have mostly been located by Manandian.

Autisparate xv Tharsidarate xx Datamisa x Adconfluentes xxx Barantea xxvi Andaga xii
Armanas xvii Chadas xxiv Colchion xxiv "Raugonia"¹

Of these, *Adconfluentes* has been identified as KöprükÖy, a village on the plain of Pasin, the next plain eastwards from that of Erzurum. It lies near the confluence of the Aras and a minor western tributary. KöprükÖy, as is well known, takes its name from the Çoban Köprüsü, a seven-arched bridge attributed to Choban, a powerful *amir* in the Il-Khanid empire of the early fourteenth century.²

Andaga was at or near the village of Endek, still in the Pasinler plain, but shortly before the valley which leads to the Tahir pass, route of a modern road from Erzurum to Iran. “Raugonia”, properly written **Bagauna* or a similar name, has been securely identified as Üç Kilise (“Three Churches”) at the east end of the plain of Eleşkirt and Ağrı. The *Tabula*’s route therefore traverses the Pasin plain from west to east, climbs over the Tahir pass and crosses the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain, again from its west to its east end.

Given the secure equation of Adconfluentes with KöprükÖy, the two stations between Autisparate – Karaz; but Sinara on the original TP – and Adconfluentes can be placed. The easterly of the two, Datamisa, must be Hasankale, now renamed Pasinler after the district. Lying on the course of the road to KöprükÖy, the combination of a strong fortress site with an Urartian past, just above the plain, and hot springs cannot have failed to give rise to the creation and continued existence of a settlement of some sort, probably a market town, in the Classical and Late Classical periods.³ Tharsidarate probably corresponds to Dü, now Tüy, a village known both in the fifth and in the eleventh century. In the fifth century, Sasanian forces pursuing the pro-Roman Armenian leader, Vahan Mamikonian, stopped here: the incident is highly suggestive of an established track leading through the village.⁴ As Tüy is northeast of Erzurum, the track must have bypassed Erzurum, or its future site, to the north: we have argued that at the time of the TP’s initial compilation, Theodosiopolis, future Erzurum, had not been founded, but the track would have continued in use up to the fifth century, and we know that traffic passed Karaz in the tenth and eleventh and in the early fifteenth centuries.⁵ In the eleventh century the village of Dü/Tüy lay in the path of a Turkish invading force which sacked it and went on to sack Arcn/Karaz, which suggests again an established track or at least line of movement. The village is named here as the *glux*, “head”, of Basean, i.e. the district’s chief settlement.⁶ Both incidents give the impression of a large village, a market centre of sorts and, perhaps, one which lived to an extent off passing trade.⁷

The next station east from Adconfluentes/KöprükÖy, Barantea, is hard to place accurately. The distances in the *Tabula* (30 Roman miles from Adconfluentes, 26 to Andaga/Endek) are much too long, so distances are little help. However, the TP shows Barantea near the crossing of the river Aras, which would suggest that the track did not cross the Aras at KöprükÖy, but by the alternative crossing at the east end of the Pasinler plain, where the river is bridged by the modern road to Kars and Erzurum. The settlement by the crossing would then be Barantea. The mere fact that an intermediate stage between Adconfluentes and Andaga is shown at all suggests that the TP’s track does not cross at KöprükÖy and hug the edge of the plain as far as Andaga, but instead continues on the north bank of the Aras to the modern crossing of the eastwards road at Horasan. The TP’s track would then turn right to cross the plain, passing Andaga and subsequently entering the gorge which leads to the Tahir pass. If the crossing were at KöprükÖy, it is hard to see either the need for an intermediate station or where the intermediate station would be. There was no bridge at KöprükÖy and fording the river there was too difficult; hence the necessity of fording at Barantea and then turning south. Conceivably the name “Horasan” is a relic of the local name current in the Roman period, whose name, after repeated mishearings and repeated miscopyings, was cast ashore in the TP as “Barantea”.

Although the precise site of Andaga cannot be pinned down, it must have been at or near the entrance to the gorge along whose base the modern road passes until it starts the climb to the Tahir pass. A Chalcedonian bishopric of Andaka is known in the eleventh century, during the short-lived Byzantine re-occupation of the region.⁸ The TP shows two towers by Andaga, which suggests a fort or fortified settlement, possibly an Urartian one, or else a substantial

settlement with a particular function in the road system. But such a fort or settlement has not been found.⁹

Thereafter a probable course for the road can be worked out as follows. If we start from “Raugonia”/Üç Kilise at the east end of the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain and come backwards, Colchion would most logically lie at Ağrı, formerly Kara Kilise or Karaköse. The town of Ağrı stands in the middle of the plain, at the junction with another road, that coming from the Malazgirt plain to the south, ultimately from Van or from Khoy along more southerly lines. Name and location will be further justified later, where we shall comment on the name “Colchion” in connection with Pegolotti’s name “Calacresti”.

Chadas, the next station backwards along the route, has been put by Manandian at the modern village of Hanzır (Turk., “Hog”, but from Armn. *Xasdar*, *Xazdar*, pron. “Chazdar”). The identification is very rational. In the late nineteenth century an inscription of the Urartian king Menua was found here. Remains of a fortress were also known until the First World War. The distance of 72 kilometres also agrees with the TP’s 48 Roman miles from “Raugonia”/Üç Kilise. Very probably the fortress was one of the main Urartian settlements in the Ağrı plain, and it may have continued to be so in the Classical period.¹⁰

The identification of Chadas with modern Hanzır provides a pointer for the course of the TP’s road between the Pasin and the Ağrı plain. From the Pasin plain the modern road advances through a gorge, then turns up a side valley and at a certain point begins to climb out of this side valley in zig-zags. At the base of a cliff overlooking the start of the zig-zag climb is an inscription, known as Yazılıtaş (“Inscribed Rock”), of the Urartian Menua (c. 810–c. 786 BC) recording his conquests over various nations and cities. The inscription must have overlooked a settlement, or at least been near a settlement. Such a settlement – which would have been on or near the site of the nearby village of Eşek İlyas (“Donkey Elias”) – might have been the TP’s station of Armanas. In fact it is possible that Menua’s name itself was preserved in “Armanas”, whose Armenian name was *Aramanay* in the fifth century AD.¹¹ This location fits well with the TP’s distance of 12 Roman miles, or c. 18 kilometres, between Andaga and Armanas. One difficulty in the opinion that Armanas lay at Eşek İlyas is that the source narrating the events of the early fifth century in which the village of Aramanay plays a role (the westward journey of Vardan Mamikonian, during which he rests at Aramanay), puts Aramanay in the district of Bagrewand (pron. “Bagrevand”).¹² The latter was the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain and surrounding heights; Eşek İlyas is clearly beyond the watershed between Bagrewand and Basean, the district of the Pasin plain. However, the village lay just below the watershed; some latitude can be given where authors’ geographical knowledge is concerned.

The problem is not so much that Eşek İlyas lies a short way beyond and below the boundary of Bagrewand, but that within Bagrewand, on the approach to the Tahir pass, there exists no village which answers to Armanas/Aramanay. Nor could there be, assuming that the equation of Chadas with Xasdur/Hanzır is right. Any such village would have to fulfil within the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain, or the skirts of the hills delimiting the plain to the west, the function which Eşek İlyas fulfils on the other side of the pass: the function of the stop immediately before or after the climb to the pass or immediately after the descent from the pass. This function, within Bagrewand, is already carried out by Chasdar/Hanzır, which stands only 2 or 3 kilometres from the nearest outlier of the hills. Eşek İlyas would therefore appear very likely as the location of Armanas/Aramanay. The *Tabula*’s distance of 17 Roman miles would also agree reasonably well with the distance required in order to cross the watershed from plain to plain (from Eşek İlyas to Hanzır), although the actual route taken is not clear. There remain other possibilities, such as the village of Tahir at the top of the pass.

The viability of the route was not confined chronologically to the second century AD. The Tahir pass was the route taken by the army of the Ottoman sultan Selim I in H 920/1514 to reach the battlefield of Chaldiran (Turk. orthogr. “Çaldıran”) to the south of Maku. Certainly the building of the Çoban Köprüsü meant that the plain could be crossed in a straight line due east rather than by following the Aras to a ford at Horasan and then turning southwest to the pass. Selim’s army, after the Çoban Köprüsü, stayed at the villages of Şevsik (not marked), Alagöz, and Sökmen (Sekmen) before beginning the climb. After the pass it called at the town of Alashkert (“Toprakhisar”, on which see later) before proceeding to the end of the Ağrı plain and issuing on to that of Ararat. The same route was taken, as far as the Ağrı plain, in 955/1548.¹³

In conclusion, the *Tabula*’s track rises from the village of Aramanay/Eşek İlyas south-eastwards to the village of Tahir and the pass named after it. Thereafter it wound down to the plain of Eleşkirt and Ağrı, probably along the line of the present road, and probably hitting the plain at the present-day village called precisely Eleşkirt (the name was inherited from the site of Alashkert/Toprakkale, to be discussed later, on the northern boundary of the plain).¹⁴ We have already placed Colchion (but so far only on grounds of position in the sequence of stations) at modern Ağrı/Karaköse and “Raugonia”, more correctly *Bagauna or similar name (Arm. *Bagavan*), at Üç Kilise.

Thereafter the *Tabula*’s route turns northeast to cross a pass in the mountain range west of Mt. Ararat into the plain of the river Aras, where it reaches the ancient Armenian capital of Artasat/Artaxata.¹⁵ Pegolotti’s route, however, continues east and then southeast towards Khoy in Iran.

B. Pegolotti’s route

1. Arzerone to 3 Chiese

Pegolotti’s *Bagni d’Arzerone* cannot fail to be Hasankale, where *hamams* are known to have been founded in the mid-sixteenth century and where there are said to have been seven separate bath buildings in the mid-seventeenth century as well as eight open baths.¹⁶ A mosque seems to have been rebuilt here in the late fourteenth century.¹⁷ The latter *refoundation* implies the existence of a settlement here in Pegolotti’s time; it would have lived in part off the custom for the baths fed by the sulphur springs. Pegolotti identifies the town as “Bagni d’Arzerone”; in other words the town is identified by reference to the baths rather than to the castle.¹⁸ This in turn suggests that the castle amounted to little at the time. Even in 1548, when the French ambassador D’Aramon passed through the plain on his way to the sultan’s army attacking Tabriz, he saw only a wooden castle.¹⁹ In 981/1573–74 the powerful castle of three concentric enceintes that now crowns the hill outside the town was under construction.²⁰ If the castle was small or flimsy, the place itself probably had little importance, and was not the administrative centre for the Pasin plain. This role, it may be suggested, was played in the early fourteenth century by Avnik.

Moving forward somewhat in Pegolotti’s itinerary, his 3 *chiese* can certainly be equated with Üç Kilise (“Three Churches”), alternative name for Bagawan (pron. “Bagavan”), the “Raugonia” of the *Tabula*. Before the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, Bagawan had been the site of a Zoroastrian temple dedicated to Ahura Mazda.²¹ After the conversion, a monastery was eventually built. The church which stood here in the first decades of the fourteenth century was a large structure built during the years 631–639, whose massive, layered, piled configuration and aspect perhaps gave rise to the name *Üç Kilise*.²² Pegolotti’s

Calacresti, which immediately precedes 3 *chiese*, can be put, partly on common-sense grounds, at Ağrı/Kara Kilise, the *Tabula*'s Colchion.

Thus the route certainly comes through the plain of Pasinler and reaches the westerly half of the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain. As regards the intervening stations, a question now arises: Does the route, as Manandian has argued,²³ follow the exact line of the *Tabula*'s road over the Tahir pass and into the western side of the Eleşkirt plain?

Pegolotti's *Sermessacalo*, not hitherto identified, is certainly Avnik,²⁴ a castle and administrative centre of some importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Pegolotti's name for Avnik derives from "Sermanc'" (a genitive plural form, pron. "Sermants"). The Armenian name for Bingöl Dağ is *Sermanc' Learn*, lit. "Mountain of the Sermans", where "Serman" would be the singular form of a local name; possibly the plural form functioned as a district name. "Calo" derives from Arabic "qal'a", Turkish "kale", "castle".

The high rock of Avnik was fortified with an upper enceinte and two walled ledges on the north side – the precipitous south side did not need man-made defences. Within the fortifications were a spring and plentiful storage space.²⁵ The fortress and the town below lay hidden in a tributary valley of the Aras which leads down into the Pasin plain. Bingöl Dağ lies at a distance of 70 kilometres to the southwest, separated from Avnik by the broad vale of the upper Aras valley and its tributaries. But the castle known in Armenian as *Sermanc'* cannot have lain on Bingöl Dağ, which is broad, spreading and, in summer, covered in lush pastures. The mountain is well-known, but for its pastures rather than its castles; the snow lying on the mountain for six months of the year would preclude a castle with an administrative function.²⁶ The name "Sermesso calo" or its original in local speech would therefore mean "Castle of the Sermans", where "Sermans" would refer to a population, or else "Castle of Sermans", where "Sermans" (plural in Eng. as well as in Armn.) would mean a district, wider than the mountain and including the valley of Avnik.

Avnik is twice attested in Byzantine sources under a name clearly derived from "Sermanc'". First it occurs, under the name τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τζεμματζοῦ, as the seat of an *amir* who, along with his brother the amir of Mantzikert/Malazgirt and others further south in the Van region, submitted to the Byzantine emperor in AD 914. The estates of the amir of Mantzikert would seem to have comprised the whole of the great plain of the Lower Euphrates on which the city of Mantzikert/Malazgirt was situated.²⁷ This would suggest that the territory of the amir of *Τζεμματζόν lay in the great vale of the upper Aras descending northwards from Bingöl Dağ and in the upland watershed plains extending between the northeastern edges of Bingöl and the heights to its northeast, the Çakmak Dağ. From this plateau, delimited by spreading massifs to southwest and northeast, a slope descends rapidly to the Lower Euphrates plain. Secondly, Avnik is listed under the name ὁ τοῦ Σερμάντζου or το Σερμάντζου or else ὁ Τσερμάντζου as a bishopric in the diocese of Trebizond after the Byzantine empire had acquired this part of Armenia in AD 1000, on the death of David of Tao.²⁸

The castle was also known as Avnik or its graecised equivalent in the same period. Paradoxically, the first source to mention the castle as Avnik (in a graecised form) rather than Sermanc' is the same as that which informed us of the *amir* of the κάστρον τὸ Τζεμματζοῦ. This source is the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (reigned 927–57), historian, among other things, of events taking place in his own reign. The subject is the claim of the Georgian *curopalate* (local prince, given a Byzantine court title) to Theodosioupolis/Erzurum, Ἀβνίκον and Μαστάτον after the conquest of Theodosioupolis in 949. The author points out that the Georgians played no part in the Byzantine raids on these districts in 922 and 927–28. After the Byzantine raids, no village in the district of Phasiane (τὴν χώραν τῆς Φασιανῆς) or around the castle of Avnikon (τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου, also Ἀβνικίου)

and that of Mantzikert had been left unpillaged. But the Georgians had always maintained good relations with the (caliphal command of) Theodosiupolis, Ἀβνίκον and Mantzikert. The κάστρον τοῦ Ἀβνίκου was governed by its own *amir*, who in the end submitted to the Byzantine empire.²⁹ Ἀβνίκον, between Phasiane (Arm. *Basean*), the plain of Pasinler, and Mantzikert, is the same as the κάστρον τὸ Τζεμματζοῦ of the previous discussion; the territory of its emirate will equally be the vale of the Aras as it flows towards the Pasinler plain and the plains extending from the northeasterly skirts of Bingöl Dağ. This territory cannot extend into the plain of Pasinler or into the plain of the Lower Euphrates further south, as these districts are accounted for by the names *Phasiane* and *Mantzikert*.³⁰ Strictly there is no linguistic or territorial clash between the two names κάστρον τὸ Τζεμματζοῦ and κάστρον Ἀβνίκου or Ἀβνίκον. The one presents the castle as the centre of a particular district, the other gives the castle's own name. But it is noteworthy that no castle equivalent to Avnik is mentioned as the centre of Phasiane.

After the Byzantine raids of the early tenth century and the capture of Theodosiupolis/Erzurum in 949, the castle is known, under the name Avnik or (Gr.) Ἀβνίκον, as a fortress of the *theme* or military province of Theodosiupolis.³¹ Again during the Byzantine tenure of the region, in the second wave of Turkish raids on Armenia in 1054–55, the castle was passed by Tughril, brother of Alp Arslan, on his way from Malazgirt to Basean (the Pasinler plain). Seeing that it was so well manned and provisioned, Tughril concluded that it could not be taken. The event confirms the castle's formidable natural strength, without which men and provisions would be of little use. It also informs us that the territory of Avnik was still separate from the district of Basean, especially as the event's narrator, Aristakes of Lastivert, implies that the large village of Du (Turk. "Tüy") in the plain's northwest corner was in some sense the capital or at least chief settlement of Basean.³² Tughril's itinerary, in which Avnik is passed on the way between Malazgirt and Basean, also confirms what the picture of allied emirates (Avnik, Mantzikert) and the direction of Byzantine raids (Phasiane, Avnikon, Mantzikert) suggested, that the saddle of plains between Bingöl Dağ and Çakmak Dağ (northwest of Bingöl Dağ) and the valley of Avnik were used in the Middle Ages as a corridor to connect the great Mantzikert/Lower Euphrates plain with that of Basean (the Pasinler plain) and so Erzurum.

Thereafter we have, it seems, no information until the period of the Pegolotti itinerary. In this period, Avnik comes into view as a castle directly controlled by the Il-Khanid administration, though as we shall see it sometimes fell into the hands of the Sutay tribe, whose summer pastures lay in the Bulanik district further south and which controlled the Il-Khanid province of Diyar Bakr, the regions of Upper Mesopotamia immediately beneath the Taurus mountains (Amid/Diyarbakır, Mardin, Nusaybin, Mosul).³³ Coins were minted here in the reign of Abu Sa'id and, apparently with greater frequency, in the short-lived reigns of certain of his weak successors, none of whom ruled the whole empire.³⁴

If we can rely on information pertaining to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Avnik now played a role as administrative seat of a wider district than before. In addition to the upland districts north and northeast of Bingöl Dağ which were attached to it in the time of Byzantine incursions and post-*reconquista* administrative dispensations, the fortress now controlled Basean, the Pasinler plain, to the north of and somewhat lower in height above sea level than Avnik. At the same time a town at the base of the castle appears. This, again to judge from later evidence, was Armenian-populated and administratively independent of the fortress and its now wider district.³⁵ At the time there was still no fortress in Basean capable of playing the same role as Avnik. Pegolotti knows Hasankale as a settlement next to a bath, not one beneath a castle. The roles of Hasankale and Avnik were not reversed until

the formidable Ottoman castle with three rings of walls was constructed at Hasankale in the mid-sixteenth century.³⁶

In the late fourteenth century, soon after the death of the Jalayrid Uways (776/1374), Avnik, along with Erzurum, was taken from the Jalayrid empire by the Kara Koyunlu.³⁷ It and its territory became an estate allotted to members of the Kara Koyunlu rulers' families. By the time of Timur's attacks on the Kara Koyunlu in these regions in 789/1387 and 796/1394, it was held by Mısır Hoca, one of the sons of the Kara Koyunlu ruler Kara Mehmed. In 1387, however, Timur, on grounds of its defensive strength, passed by the castle and went on to capture Erzurum in a single day: a sure indication of the relative strength of the two fortresses and of the perceptions of them by contemporaries.³⁸

When it was taken in 796/1394, Avnik and its territory, including Pasin/Basean, were handed to one of Timur's amirs, Atılmış, as a governorship.³⁹ By the time Clavijo passed through the Pasin plain in 1404, Atılmış had been replaced by a Duladay Beg.⁴⁰ On Clavijo's return from Samarkand and Tabriz in 1406, the governor was Duladay's son.⁴¹ But with Timur dead, the Kara Koyunlu recaptured Avnik in the same year.⁴² The whole sequence of events illustrates well the manner in which Avnik and its dependent territories functioned as an apanage in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Avnik functioned also as a local strong point, lying on the track between Erzurum and the Ala Dagh, which Timur and the administration could rely on, while Erzurum was never used as such.⁴³

As he returned in 1406, after Timur's death, Clavijo found Alashkert, in the plain of Bagrevand (the plain of Ağrı), in ruins, and was told the story which led to the destructive attack. A great lord had divided his territory in Greater Armenia between his three sons. The eldest had received Alashkert, considered the strongest of the three fortresses, and its dependent territory. The second had received Avnik with its estate, and the third Erzurum. (After Timur's contempt of Erzurum, the relegation of that city to third place is no surprise,⁴⁴ though the preference for Alashkert over Avnik does somewhat surprise.) The prince of Erzurum sought an alliance with the Turcomans, presumably those of the region. The other two brothers (Avnik and Alashkert) then allied against him, but asked for help from what Clavijo calls "the Turks of the border". The latter, however, who were tied by linguistic bonds (among others) to the Turcomans, decided to make common cause with them rather than with any of the local princes. They captured Alashkert, ruining it, then defeated the princes of Avnik and Erzurum. Then, runs Clavijo's story, the Muslims entered Armenia and now hold all of it. Most of Armenia's Christian inhabitants were massacred.⁴⁵

The whole story is perhaps a double calque, the conflation of two real episodes which themselves have been transmuted by retelling and misapprehension. In the first place, the Kara Koyunlu leader Kara Mehmed genuinely did divide his territory between his three sons. But secondly, Kara Mehmed was defeated and killed by the Turkish chieftain of a Turcoman group called the Eastern Turcomans.⁴⁶ In Clavijo's version, these persons and elements are presented differently. In place of the Eastern Turcomans, Clavijo talks of Turcomans, who seem in his version to be local tribes of loose allegiance rather than regular members of the Kara Koyunlu federation. The real analogue of Clavijo's "Turks of the border" would then be Timur and the Chaghatay: the ruination of Alashkert took place probably during Timur's first expedition into Kara Koyunlu territory in 1387, rather than immediately before 1406 as Clavijo had thought. Clavijo may have associated the circumstance that the three princes of the Alashkert story were princes in Armenia with the notion that Avnik was held by Armenians in 1404. The reality may have been that the town at the foot of the castle of Avnik had its own governor, an Armenian, while the estate as a whole was controlled by Duladay from the castle. However, the story illustrates the role of Avnik under early Kara Koyunlu

rule and under Timur's regime it was important as a castle because it was easy to hold and difficult to capture, and important as the administrative centre of a district. To bring the story of Avnik as a castle and settlement further forward in time, when the Ottoman sanjak of Pasin (essentially the Basean plain) was constituted, its sanjak bey at first resided in Avnik, because at the time there was no other suitable fortress.⁴⁷ In the 1570s, a castle with three rings of walls, and covering the whole of the hill, replaced the previous wooden construction at Hasankale, and the sanjak bey's residence was transferred there.⁴⁸ Within the sanjak of Pasin, whether with capital at Avnik or with capital at Hasankale, there was a *nahiye* of Avnik, and the castle of Avnik was still garrisoned after the transfer of the sanjak's seat.⁴⁹

Let us summarise Avnik's historical role. From the tenth to the fifteenth century, Avnik is a strong castle, with a town at its foot, from which the administration of an estate takes place. In the tenth century this estate, regardless of overlord or local ruler, seems to have consisted of the vale of the Aras as it flows northwards from Bingöl Dağ and the rolling upland saddle stretching northeast of Bingöl Dağ to the Çakmak Dağ. By the Il-Khanid period, the estate probably included the Pasin plain as well.

Secondly, within the Il-Khanid period, Avnik played the role of a strong point which Erzurum, for reasons we discussed earlier, could not fulfil: Erzurum was enfeebled, and there is no sign of a strong castle, as yet, at Hasankale or elsewhere in the Pasin plain. We saw how the same was true of Timur's administration. During the Il-Khanid period, Avnik evidently fulfilled a different but related role, that of secure stopping-point on the east–west track between Tabriz, Erzurum and beyond.

The castle itself consisted of an inner circuit of walls at the top of the rock and other walls fortifying two stepped ledges. On these ledges houses once stood. There was said to be room for 500 houses within the walls; parts of a mosque survive. Clavijo in the early fifteenth century mentioned both a spring within the walls and plentiful provisions: the latter suggests well-conceived storage space, probably in the form of caves.⁵⁰ The castle's situation in a narrow and somewhat secluded valley and the natural and man-made defences of the rock rising steeply out of the valley were truly formidable. During Timur's siege of 796/1394, the two lower walls were taken, but Mısır Hoca was still able to retreat to the upper enceinte. The fortress was only taken when Mısır Hoca's followers themselves climbed over the ramparts of the upper wall to present themselves to Timur, at which point Mısır Hoca himself was forced to surrender.⁵¹

Now that we have elucidated the identity and likely role of Pegolotti's *Sermesso calo*, the previous station, *Polorbecch*, must be looked for. This was identified by Heyd and Manandian with Köprüköy. Their reason was that the Boloropahak, "where the Murc' [presumably the western tributary] and Erasx unite" which features in Sebēos' narrative of events in the late sixth century, must be a forerunner of Polorbecch. On this argument, travellers would then have crossed the Aras by the Çoban Köprüsü and continued toward the Tahir pass. "Boloropahak" can be etymologised as *bolor*, "round" or "whole", and *pahak*, "lookout post", "guard post".⁵² A village of Bekbad ("becch") marked on an early twentieth-century Russian military map 5 kilometres west of Köprüköy would then be the inheritor of the name.⁵³

Certain doubts about the location are in place, however. The full name is not attested on any map. Nor do we know of any round lookout post at Köprüköy.⁵⁴ We have no guarantee that the bridge had been built by the third decade of the fourteenth century, though a bridge here must have been built here by the time of Timur, who approached Erzurum via the Çoban Köprüsü.⁵⁵ A bridge at this point is not mentioned in Pegolotti, even though before Erzurum, the *ponte a Cantieri* did feature as a toll post.

With or without the bridge, but especially without, it would be more logical to posit the location of a toll post at the settlement which inherited the name “Polorbecch”, or at least the equivalent name as pronounced on the ground. This settlement is Bekbad itself. At Bekbad two tracks converge. The first is that continuing in an easterly direction over the plain, always to the north of the river Aras. From the end of the plain, if the river were followed, this track led to Maku and eventually Tabriz; if a northeasterly course were struck from the end of the plain, the track would lead to the cities of Kars and Ani and so, via Nakhchevan, the river Aras further downstream and, finally, to Marand and again to Tabriz.

The second of the two tracks starting from “Polorbecch”/Bekbad is that by which Avnik could be reached on a more direct course than the detour required by the bridge. The track crossed the plain southeastwards, and climbed into the valley of Avnik (the river is a tributary of the Aras, but the valley descends to the Pasin plain somewhat to the east of that by which the Aras reached the plain. The river in the Avnik valley consequently unites with the Aras only in the plain). Traffic approaching from or continuing along both the one and the other of these tracks could therefore be taxed at a single post sited at modern Bekbad.

The likelihood, then, is that the *Polorbecch* of Pegolotti lay at what later became Bekbad, 5 kilometres west of Köprüköy itself. A castle stood here in the Middle Ages; here tolls were extracted both from merchants travelling the Aras route over the plain towards Maku and on the track southeast into the Avnik valley and so to Avnik itself. And it is somewhat doubtful if the Çoban Köprüsü at Köprüköy had been built by the third or fourth decade of the fourteenth century.

Where does the route as a whole go after Avnik and why does go it go via Avnik rather than over the Tahir pass? Pegolotti's next two stations, *Aggia* and *a mezzo della piana di Aggio*, should both lie on the same plain, if we take the logic of the names seriously. It is tempting to assume that this plain is that of Eleşkirt. The plain and its district were known in the Middle Ages as Bagrewand, which perhaps underlies the Turkish name “Ağrı”. (The latter denoted primarily the district, but was then transferred in the Republican period to the district's capital, Karaköse or Kara Kilise.)⁵⁶ However, the identification presents certain difficulties.

Of the two stations following *Aggia* and *a mezzo della piana di Aggio*, *3 chiese*, as we said earlier, has been securely identified with Üç Kilise, a monastery and settlement at the east end of the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain.⁵⁷ The settlement is known as a stopping-place in the subsequent period. Timur stopped here on his way from Aydın Kalesi/Doğubayazıt to Avnik, i.e. as he rode west along the Pegolotti route from the two stations east of Üç Kilise (*sotto l'arcanoe* and *Scaracanti*) towards Avnik.⁵⁸ The monastery was a place of pilgrimage, but by it there were exceptional pastures, stopping-place, among others, of the Ottoman Selim I's army on its march towards the battle of Çaldıran in 1514.⁵⁹ The station immediately preceding *3 chiese*, Calacresti, should on grounds of convenience and distance be put at Karaköse/Kara Kilise, now renamed “Ağrı”. The latter settlement, capital of the whole plain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, lay at the junction of two tracks. One was the east–west track through the plain, line of the *Tabula*'s road; we have already seen (pp. 259, 265–66) that the *Tabula*'s Colchion probably lay here.

The identification of Calacresti with Karaköse/Kara Kilise is argued, not only by topographical and logistic, but also by linguistic, considerations. The -Col- of “Colchion” would correspond neatly to the -Cal- of “Calacresti”. The -Kar- of “Karakilise” and “Karaköse” could easily be the phonetic successor of such an element (l/r). The k-r-s of -cresti- correspond well to the k-l-s of -Kilise-, of which “-köse” would be a further corruption. The element “-kilise” is unlikely to derive phonetically from Turkish *kilise* (“church”), though

the Turkish word may have played a part in the final formation of “Karakilise”. The second-century name rendered as “Colchion” by the *Tabula*, probably with much lost in the name’s latter part,⁶⁰ could not have contained the element “kilise”. Nor did the church of late-nineteenth-century Karakilise amount to much.⁶¹ The district centre, certainly until the seventeenth century, was not here but at Vałaršakert (pron. “Vagharshakert”; Turk. “Alashkert” and “Toprakkale”) near the northern border of the plain.⁶²

A geographically awkward situation thus arises: the district centre, Vałaršakert/Alashkert, lay at the edge of the plain away from the route, whereas the settlement at the centre of the plain which did lie on the route and does feature in the itinerary is not the district centre. Numismatic evidence explains the situation. The mint of Valashjird, where coins were struck at various points during the reign of Abu Sa‘id (716–36/1316–35) and under Sulayman in 741/1340–41, is Vałaršakert/Alashkert. But a mint called Bazar-i Valashjird (“Market of Valashjird”) is also known, at which an issue was struck under Uljaytu in 714/1314–15.⁶³ Bazar-i Valashjird must have been the town at the plain’s centre, “Calacresti”/Karakilise/Ağrı. Here travelling merchants could trade some of their goods, while the strongly defended district centre, Vałaršakert, lay too far from the track to be viable as a market serving the transit trade. And “Calacresti”/Kara Kilise did lie on a crossroads, as we shall see.

Given the location of Calacresti at Karakilise/Ağrı, it would then seem that positions for *Aggia* and *a mezzo della piana di Aggio* have to be found on the Bagrewand plain. The route must proceed from Avnik (on a tributary of the Aras) over a low watershed into the valley of the Güzeldere.⁶⁴ The latter leads steadily down and eastwards into the Bagrewand plain. Thereafter *Aggia* might be placed at Hanzır, the *Tabula*’s Chadas. *A mezzo della piana di Aggio* would then fall somewhere between Hanzır and Karakilise/Ağrı. There is, however, no natural site, nor any corresponding place name. The distance from Hanzır to Karakilise is only 26 kilometres, hardly enough to justify an intermediate station. Calacresti could be moved eastwards, though it is not clear where, in which case a distance of approximately 60 kilometres would be available for two stations – three stages – between Hanzır and Üç Kilise. But we should still be stuck with no naturally acceptable site for *a mezzo della piana di Aggio*. Although the routing through the Bagrewand plain is not impossible, the attempt always appears to result in a forcing of the evidence.

A more basic problem also arises: if the route is to descend into the Bagrewand plain in any case, why is the Tahir pass line not being followed, as preferred by the *Tabula* and by Ottoman military planners? The Avnik–Güzel Dere line has its logic: it appears easier and shorter than the Tahir pass route. Yet we have adequate documentation in other periods of the use of the Tahir pass line, and none of the use of Avnik and the Güzel Dere.

Another plain exists which Pegolotti’s route could traverse; its inclusion in Pegolotti’s route is much easier to understand once it is known that Avnik figures in the route as one of the toll stations. This plain is the Karayazı Düzü, a high plain to the south of Avnik. The name *Karayazı*, however, appears to have no linguistic connection with Pegolotti’s *Aggio* (Turk. *yazı*, in addition to its much better known meaning of “writing”, can mean “plain”; *Karayazı*, “Black Plain”).

The plain is a three-way watershed. To the west, streams flow into the Aras. (The valley of Avnik, descending northwards, equally contains a tributary of the Aras, but the tributary joins the Aras further downstream, in the Pasin plain.) To the southeast, streams flow down towards the plain of the Murat Su, and tracks descend towards Malazgirt and Erciş, from which in turn Khoy and Tabriz could be reached. To the northeast, the ground descended into the valley of the Güzel Dere, which, as explained earlier, flowed into the Bagrewand plain. The deserted town at Bayro, on the southern edge of the plain, at a height of 2,500

metres but beneath the heights of Kazbel Dağ, an outlier of Bingöl Dağ, is evidence of a life on this high plain different from that of the present day: small towns could flourish when the plain functioned as a crossroads of routes coming ultimately from Iran (the plain of the Murat Su to the southeast), from northeast Armenia and Georgia (the Pasin plain, on to which the roads from Kars and the Aras valley further downstream debouched), from Anatolia (again the Pasin plain, but as a carrier of routes from Erzurum and the west) and from Upper Mesopotamia (via the Hınıs and Muş plains). Even in the mid-sixteenth century, when the late medieval world of which Pegolotti's itinerary forms a part was disintegrating, there was a *nahiye* (district) of Karayazı in the Ottoman sanjak of Tekman (whose centre of gravity lay further to the west), showing that the high watershed plateau had not lost its identity as a focus of settlement.⁶⁵

The Karayazı Düzü was the ancient district of Tuaracat'ap ("Shepherd District": pron. "Tvaratsatap"): the name is attested until the eleventh century. Further east was another plain, dreary this time, whose streams flowed north into the Elmalı Deresi or Elmalı Dere. The latter was an eastward-flowing tributary of the Murat Su/Lower Euphrates; the point of confluence was, however, upstream of the Malazgirt plain, so the Elmalı Dere cannot be considered along with those streams which flow directly from the Karayazı Düzü southeast into the Malazgirt plain. The plain under discussion just now (that coasted by the Elmalı Dere, not the Karayazı Düzü) was anciently known as *Dalar*.⁶⁶ The old name, *Tuaracat'ap*, of the Karayazı Düzü seems later to have been transmuted into *Tult'ap*, pron. "Tughtab". That part of the plain which extends from Bayro westwards in front of the outliers of Bingöl Dağ, over which the track to Hınıs led, was, at least until recently, known as *Toktap*.⁶⁷ The heights (western neighbour of the Kazbel Dağ) overlooking the point where this extension of the plain comes to an end are known as the Tahtab Dağ.⁶⁸ The name has probably affected that of the Altuğtaht Tepesi, again a kind of terminal bastion of the Kazbel Dağ, this time at its eastern extremity.⁶⁹

The deserted town 1½ kilometres west of Bayro was formerly known as *Kangha* or *Kanga*, according to local inhabitants.⁷⁰ The name apart, this town would from certain points of view have been the ideal customs post. As outlined earlier, it was the crossroads between tracks from the Pasin plain via Avnik (ultimately from Georgia, etc. and from Anatolia), from the Malazgirt plain (ultimately from Tabriz) and from the Hınıs plain (ultimately from Upper Mesopotamia). But the names *Kangha* and *Kanga* are not ideal originals for Pegolotti's *Aggia*. To make matters worse, other place-names offer a better phonetic accommodation: *Karaağıl*, 10 kilometres north and somewhat west of Bayro, and certainly on the track from Avnik; and *Yagiaia*, marked by one map only, 14 kilometres southeast of Bayro and certainly on the track towards Malazgirt and the Malazgirt plain,⁷¹ but not on the eastwards track through the Elmalı Deresi plain which will take one eventually to "Calacresti"/Karakilise and the Ağrı plain. *Yagiaia*, although onomastically the ideal original for *Aggia*, cannot be considered topographically suitable.

Gathering all this contradictory and confusing data together, we shall propose a site and a rough etymology for Pegolotti's *Aggia*. We propose, despite the contrary indications, that *Aggia* is the town just west of Bayro. It was also the site of the minor mint called Tabrud where coins were struck over the short period 723–26/1323–25.⁷² -Tab- of the mint name evidently has connections with the /t'ap/ of *Tuaracat'ap* and *Tult'ap*; *rud* in Persian means "river". Pegolotti's form is related to the town's local names *Kangha* and *Kanka*, but we do not know how the latter were pronounced in the fourteenth century, six centuries before they were recorded. Possibly the /h/ of *Tultap*, the district name, has crept in and influenced the town's name (for example in the /γ/ of "Kangha"); possibly the names are genetically related.

“Yagiaia”, the name attested 14 kilometres southeast of Bayro, may have migrated from the town near Bayro in the dispersal of its population, but the names “Kangha” and “Kanka” are already attested on the site, and “Yagiaia”, on the wrong road, at such a distance, does not help the argument. The similarity of names in the case of “Yagiaia” may be pure coincidence, and given that only one out of the three maps marks the name, the other two putting *Yekmal*, “Yagiaia” is not certainly the name of the relevant village at all.

The Bayro site, at a three-way crossroads, is nevertheless 8 or 9 kilometres south of the most direct track, if the Elmalı Dere or its plain is subsequently to be followed towards “Calacresti” and the Ağrı plain. From this point of view, Karaağıl, where a putative track eastwards towards the Elmalı Dere would branch off from that headed south towards the Bayro site, is better placed as a customs post. But *Karaağıl* is common as a village name; *kara* means “black”, *ağıl* “sheepfold”, hardly unexpected in upland districts, and the name seems unlikely to lie behind Pegolotti’s *Aggia*.

The *piana di Aggio* will then be the Karayazı Düzü, on which Aggia/Bayro lay. The mystery here is not the plain’s name in the text: the plain’s name seems to derive purely and simply from the town’s name (the different final letters are surely accounted for by a copying mistake) and to have nothing to do with the plain’s present name, *Karayazı*. The conundrum requiring explanation is why Pegolotti’s text should say both that the *tantaulaggio* or security levy is extracted at Aggia/Bayro, and that both taxes (both the *tantaulaggio* and the *diritto* or transit tax) are levied ‘a mezzo della piana di Aggio’ (“in the middle of the plain of Aggio”). Later in the itinerary, Pegolotti’s text refers to two more plains, the *piana di Falconieri* and the *piana del Fiume Rosso*, without specifying ‘a mezzo ...’. The latter specification here is due to the need to contrast town with plain. The contrast seems to be that between the town and the open plain rather than between the town and any particular position in the centre of the plain.

The explanation lies in the nature of the traffic crossing the Karayazı Düzü. Traffic coming from Erzurum and Avnik and then continuing to the Malazgirt plain (with many possible destinations thereafter) would certainly need to pass through Bayro, where the *tantaulaggio* would be levied to pay for the security of the merchants’ baggage at night. However, those continuing to Tabriz along the Pegolotti route can take a track which passes 8 or 9 kilometres to the north of the Bayro site; this then brings them into the plain of the Elmalı Dere, the next stage of the journey. Similarly those coming from the Malazgirt plain and wishing to turn east into the Elmalı Dere can pass at a certain distance east of the Bayro town. Such passengers could not be taxed at a precise site.

We suggest that all passengers would pay the *tantaulaggio* and *diritto* ‘a mezzo della piana d’Aggio’. Those wishing to stay at Bayro would in addition pay the *tantaulaggio* there. The tolls paid ‘a mezzo della piana ...’ would be paid to a roving officer, responsible for the whole district, perhaps for the supervision of its semi-nomadic tribes and certainly for the safety of merchants. The toll would then be paid wherever the caravan and the officer met. This is the picture implied by the use of the district name to identify the toll station. We shall bear it in mind in the discussion of other district names.

Let us move forward along the Pegolotti itinerary. From the Karayazı Düzü, hills are crossed where the plain peters out towards the east; the Elmalı Dere plain is now entered. The route would have descended the Elmalı Deresi valley as far as the latter’s sharp bend towards the southeast, after which the stream flows into the Murat Su. The track would climb over a low watershed, reason of the valley’s bend, to reach Tutak. The latter is the ‘Ayıntāb (عينتاب) of the mid-sixteenth century Ottoman documents, centre of a *nahiye* of the sanjak of Malazgirt.⁷³ At Tutak, Pegolotti’s track turns northeast up the Murat Su/Lower Euphrates

defile until it emerges on to the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain at the latter’s southern edge. From there it is another day’s walk over the plain to Calacresti/Karakilise.

At Tutak, another *Tabula Peutingeriana* route has been joined. This comes up ultimately from Amida/Diyarbakır in the Tigris basin, follows the south and east shores of Lake Van and crosses the Murat Su plain.⁷⁴ From Tutak, the *Tabula*’s route follows the defile of the Murat Su upstream to modern Hamur, at the southern edge of the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain. But there it turns east along the southerly edge of the plain instead of continuing northeast to the plain’s centre, where it would have joined the Adconfluentes–Andaga–“Raugonia” road at Colchion/Karakilise. Following the plain’s southern edge, the *Tabula*’s route passes through the settlement of Didima (represented by the modern village of Didem) before joining the track through the centre of the plain not far short of “Raugonia”/Üç Kilise. The ancient “Acachia” may well be Tutak (compare the *‘ayn* of *‘Ayintāb*), and ancient “Indua” could on general grounds of distance and location – a junction of the tracks to Colchion/Karakilise and to Didima/Didem and thence “Raugonia”/Üç Kilise – be placed at Hamur.⁷⁵

In sum, therefore, Pegolotti’s route does not advance the full length of the Pasin plain to a crossing of the Aras, probably at Horasan, then climb over the mountains via the Tahir pass, finally descending past Alashkert/Toprakkale in the plain’s northeastern district. Nor does it take the somewhat more southerly pass through the mountains, descending to the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain at its western edge, then advancing eastwards over the plain. In both of these cases Colchion/Calacresti/Karakilise, in the centre of the plain, is reached, and the tracks then continue to Üç Kilise at the plain’s eastern extremity. These are the routes of the TP and of Ottoman armies in the sixteenth century. Instead, Pegolotti’s route climbs out of the Pasinler plain to reach Avnik in a side valley, then crosses the Karayazı Düzü. From there it descends the Elmalı Dere to Tutak, after which it turns northeast and follows the Murat Su valley upstream into the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain. Rejoining the TP’s route at Calacresti/Karakilise, it then makes a sharp turn eastwards to arrive at 3 *chiese*/Üç Kilise.

Why such a roundabout route? In the first place, the route is much easier. There are no steep climbs or descents, as on the Tahir and associated passes. There are towns and villages the whole length of the route: Avnik, the villages of the Karayazı Düzü, probably a small town at Tutak, etc. The Karayazı Düzü offered access to many other cities and regions. To it came tracks from Erciş and Malazgirt: from those cities this was an easier and quicker way of reaching Erzurum than via Hınıs.

Nevertheless, the presence of towns and villages was to an extent the product of the route: the towns and villages which provided the infrastructure, made the route attractive to merchants and decided the authorities to site the toll stations along it, had sprung up or grown precisely in response to the use of the route. Given that the Tahir pass had formerly been and was again to be in use in future, it is appropriate to ask not merely what were the advantages of Avnik and the Karayazı Düzü, but what the authorities were trying to avoid on the Tahir route.

The latter was in fact well enough supplied with towns, apart from the bare and difficult climb and descent over the pass itself. Once arrived in the Bagrewand plain, merchants would find a town on the northwestern edge of the plain which could easily function as an intermediate station before Calacresti/Karakilise. This was Alashkert, formerly Vafarşakert. In a parallel nomenclature of a kind we have noticed already at Kadirli in Cilicia, it was also called “Sand Castle” (Arab. “Ḥiṣn al-Ṭibn”) and “Earth Castle” (Turk. “Toprakkale”).

Alashkert was certainly a functioning town in the first half of the fourteenth century. Coins were minted there under Abu Sa‘id and Sulayman.⁷⁶ When, in the late fourteenth century, Il-Khanid power had collapsed and the whole territory from Erzurum to Erciş was under

the direct control of the Kara Koyunlu, Alashkert features in Clavijo's story of the three Kara Koyunlu brothers who each held an apanage: one held Avnik, one held Alashkert and the other Arčēš/Erciş. Clavijo himself visited Alashkert in 1405: he found it devastated, but his description of the destroyed or tottering buildings makes it clear how recent the damage was and how functional the fortifications and other buildings had been immediately before Timur's attack. Clavijo's description breathes the activity and health of the town before the ruinous attack. In addition to the town wall there was also a citadel. As a stage intermediate between the Tahir pass and Calacresti/Karakilise, it would have served excellently. In fact the town's evident good health before Timur's attack shows that some traffic did pass through it in the late fourteenth century.

Alashkert supplies the clue to the choice of Avnik and the Karayazı Düzü rather than the Tahir pass as the path of the imperially maintained commercial itinerary. The early fourteenth-century coins and the story of the three Kara Koyunlu brothers in the late fourteenth century suggest the true position. Alashkert was the centre of a small local political entity, inevitably subsumed in a succession of wider and more powerful overlord states but, *de facto* at least, internally autonomous. A number of other cities in the Van region and the Diyar Bakr, like Alashkert, suddenly begin to mint in the years 714, 715 and 716 (AD 1314–17). Over this short period the Il-Khanid authorities evidently granted minting rights to a whole series of minor local princes in these districts. The reasons are various, but would include both the attempt to ensure these princes' support as the Il-Khans watched Mamluk campaigns in Upper Mesopotamia, which greatly expanded the territory directly subject to the Mamluk administration (Urfa, Malatya, etc.); and the attempt to bring the minor principalities within the tax net. Later, in Clavijo's story, the minor principality itself comes into view, this time as an apanage belonging to the controlling dynasty. Still later, in the early sixteenth century, we again find Alashkert as an apanage granted by the Safavid authorities to a Kurdish tribe formerly subject to a much larger, but still local, principality, that of Bitlis in the Van region.⁷⁷

Although the Il-Khanid authorities granted minting rights to the local prince at Alashkert, they could not rely on him when it came to guaranteeing the passage of caravans. They preferred the Avnik route. The whole route was directly controlled and administered by them. In Avnik they possessed a secure and militarily formidable base which stabilised their hold over the whole section of the route between Erzurum and 3 *chiese*/Üç Kilise.

Summing up, Pegolotti's route between Erzurum and 3 *chiese*/Üç Kilise follows the *Tabula Peutingeriana* at the beginning and at the end, but diverges from it in the middle. This it does partly for commercial reasons – to avoid the steep climbs and descents of the Tahir pass – and partly for political reasons, which can be considered commercial too – to avoid Alashkert and its minor ruler, who could not be relied on to protect the caravans. But at Calacresti/Karakilise, perhaps a small town at this stage, the route came back into territory directly controlled by the Il-Khanid administration and on to the line of the *Tabula*'s road.

2. 3 *chiese* to Tabriz

East of Üç Kilise, beyond a range of low hills, lies a plain stretching up to the first slopes of Mt. Ararat, well to the north, and abruptly bounded to the east by the rocky massif in which is hidden Bayazid. This is now the more or less deserted town site opposite a partly ruined citadel and the better-known but artistically phantasmagorical late eighteenth-century palace of a Kurdish *sanjak bey*. Later Bayazid and Maku were to be established as principal stops on the way to Tabriz, but this was a line which did not pass through Khoy. Pegolotti's route comes into the plain, but turns in front of the Bayazid massif. As far as the plain of Chaldiran

(on which see later), the line followed is that of the Ottoman sultan Selim I's army on its way to the battle of Çaldıran, and at certain points information from that army's march is helpful in identifying or explaining the stages in the Pegolotti itinerary.

*Sotto larcano*e and *Scaracanti* will be, respectively, somewhere, at least, on the plain below Ararat ('larcano'e'), and the village of Karakent (Turk., lit. "Black Town"), which lies in the south part of the plain. It seems likely that the track followed the line of the present road, which leaves the valley of the Murat Su/Lower Euphrates by a gap in the hill ridge. Diyadin, sometimes a candidate for *sotto larcano*e, lies on a side road further up the Murat Su valley from Üç Kilise, and somewhat to the south of the present main road.⁷⁸ The same caution can be expressed in regard to *sotto larcano*e as in regard to *a mezzo della piana di Aggio*: was it genuinely a settlement, or does the name designate merely a district for which a Mongol-appointed officer was responsible, and somewhere in which the toll would be paid to that officer? Given that Karakent lay on the plain of Ararat, it is cogent to hypothesise at least that *sotto larcano*e indicates the district, not an individual settlement, and that the *tangaul* or Mongol guard was responsible for the plain as a whole; he would collect the relevant tax at whatever point suited him and the travelling merchant.

That the *tangaul* in the plain of Ararat rode from place to place within the plain to collect taxes and protect caravans and other travelling parties looks more likely when we remember the position of the plain of Ararat, the importance of the traffic passing through it and the accessible destinations with which it is connected; these include, but are by no means confined to the Erzurum traffic (west) and Khoy–Tabriz traffic (southeast). Directly to the north was a pass in the saddle immediately west of Mt. Ararat: this gave access to towns in the Aras basin further north, such as İğdir. Another track led over the broad range of hills which progresses westwards from Mt. Ararat; it passed a caravansaray, probably of the early thirteenth century, on the descent into the Aras plain. This track led immediately to the Aras basin, though this time a little further west, where it would serve the town of Surmari/Sürmeli. Further north it would give access to a number of towns on the Kars–Ani plateau, including those on the plateau's lip (Bagaran and Mren); beyond lay the city of Ani itself, still commercially active. From the east, more truly east-southeast, came tracks from Maku and other more distant settlements; eventually Tabriz could be reached this way. Finally the track from the Van basin, and more immediately from the plain of Çaldıran (false modern toponymy: to the Il-Khans the Ala Dagh plain), rising over the shoulder of Tendürek Dağ, comes down into the south part of the Ararat plain. The point where it meets the track towards Khoy which we are about to follow is Karakent (Turk., lit. "Black City", but *kent* is often used of villages), recorded as Karaköy by the Ottoman diarists.⁷⁹

The next four stations (*Locche, sulla piana di Falconieri, gli Camuzoni* and *piana del Fiume Rosso*) are hard to localise as individual settlements, but the general alignment between *Scaracanti*/Karakent and *Condro*/Khoy is absolutely clear. The road crossed from the Ararat plain to a small plain, surrounded by hills, whose river, the Aq Chay (one of several "White Rivers" in the western extremities of Azerbaijan) flows out to the northeast.⁸⁰ It then crossed, continuing a southeasterly direction, to a considerably larger basin, that of a branch of the Rud-i Zangemar. This basin was formed on an oval plain 12–13 kilometres long from north to south and around 5 kilometres in breadth. The secretary of the British embassy in Tehran, James Morier, on his return (mentioned earlier in connection with "Moss"/Mans, p. 248) to Constantinople and ultimately Britain in 1808, noted how the plain's economy was dominated by sheep- and horse-rearing; much of the otherwise excellent agricultural land was waste.⁸¹ The plain is, of course, that of Chaldiran (according to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century nomenclature), of which more will be said later.⁸² Continuing in the same direction,

the route crosses a pass into a long, broad basin oriented northwest–southeast. This, too, is flat-floored and well-defined on all sides by bulky hill ranges which start up from the plain in easy slopes and sweep upwards in slopes of continually increasing gradient. Again Morier noted the different character of this plain's economy: all parts of the plain were cultivated.⁸³ The outflowing river, another Aq Chay, accepts feeders from all parts of the plain.⁸⁴ Rising out of the plain by a low pass, the track issues on to the plain of Khoy.

Pegolotti's first station, *Locche*, is elusive onomastically but, as we shall see, comparatively easy to identify in a topographical sense. For the identification of the second, Manandian has produced an excellent argument. Part of the floor of the second basin described earlier, the district of Chaldiran, was a swamp. Wild duck and other birds lived in the swamp. Manandian argues that the 'piana di Falconieri', the Plain of the Falconiers, is here. The name "Plain of the Falconiers", however, was evidently a traditional one, because even in Lewond's history of Armenia, concerned with the seventh to eleventh centuries, the name *Bazujor* ("Valley of the Falcons"; pron. "Bazudzor") is applied to a valley in this vicinity. Lewond, describing the Arab invasions of Armenia in the mid-seventh century AD, relates how one part of the army captured Artaz, the district around and dependent on Maku, then attacked a Byzantine general in Kogovit, the great plain south of Ararat which has already been crossed by the Pegolotti route. Kogovit is described as being near the borders of Bazujor and Marduc'ayk ' (pron. "Mardutsayk"). The latter district lay among the heights and plains, west of the great watershed which now divides Turkey from Iran, centred on the upper Erçek Çay (flowing westward) and the upper Kotur Çay (flowing eastwards into Iran). Neither Kogovit (to the north) nor Marduc'ayk ' (to the west) was contiguous with Bazujor, but Lewond's narrative confirms accurately enough the location of Bazujor.⁸⁵ Consequently, Pegolotti's 'piana di Falconieri' is the flat-floored basin, drained by the Rud-i Zangemar, of Chaldiran.

Again "gli Camuzoni" is a name which seems to correspond to none of the settlement names marked on the map, and it is wise to proceed for the time being to Pegolotti's last station before Khoy, the 'piana del Fiume Rosso', the "Plain of the Red River". The river running through the plain of Khoy and passing right in front of that city was known as the *Karmir Get* (Armn.) or *Qizil Chay* (Turk.), the "Red River". The plain around Khoy (whose name in Armenian was *Xer*, pron. "Kher") was known as *Xerdašt* (pron. "Kherdasht") and the name of the district, as opposed to the geographical feature, was *Xerakan*, or simply *Xer*. The name in Pegolotti, 'piana del Fiume Rosso', the "Plain of the Red River", therefore identifies not only a geographical feature but also a recognized human entity with implications for administrative organization in successive periods.⁸⁶

It is striking how the two toll posts roughly located on the ground so far have been identified in Pegolotti's itinerary by district names or at least by names which themselves identify districts: the Plain of the Falconiers, the Plain of the Red River. Perhaps it would be fruitful to investigate if the other two names in the sequence are also district names rather than those of settlements or caravansarays.

Pegolotti's *Locche* certainly fell in the first, small basin, that drained by the northerly Aq Chay. Between Karakent, on the Ararat plain, and the Valley of the Falcons, there is nowhere else for it to be, unless we posit that the relevant toll station lies on one of the two passes. Perhaps 'Locche' refers to the basin; or perhaps, with suitable ellipses in the reporter's hearing and memory, to the river itself, the Aq Chay, with the addition of the Italian definite article. The name recorded in an Ottoman account of the march of Selim I's army in 1514, *Ovacık* ("Little Plain"), again with the addition of the Italian definite article, seems the most likely as well as the one attested at a point nearest in time to the compilation of the Pegolotti itinerary.⁸⁷

The third name, “[g]li Camuzoni”, will be that of the long valley drained by the second Aq Chay. Again it is possible to see in “gli Camuzoni” a form, thoroughly scrambled and transmuted in the misperception, of “Sukmanabad”. The latter is a district name known in the Il-Khanid period and during subsequent periods of the Middle Ages.⁸⁸ In the mid-sixteenth century, Sukmanabad was an apanage claimed by different Kurdish tribal principalities and, after application to him, allocated by the Safavid Shah to one or the other.⁸⁹ After the Ottoman conquest in the campaign of 1578, Sukmanabad was first made a sanjak and granted to the local tribal principality, the Dunbeli; soon it was made a *nahiye* in the wider sanjak allocated to the Dunbeli.⁹⁰ Thus Sukmanabad, the valley drained by the upper Aq Chay, was a recognized geographical and administrative entity, whose name would be used to identify a district where a Mongol officer would stand ready to protect merchants and extract tolls from them.

From the plain another path started in a westerly direction. After a pass it descended into the Çaldıran plain, as it is now wrongly called. Since the Ala Dagh palace, the Il-Khans’ summer hunting base, lay somewhere on that plain, it was logical that an officer should be stationed on the Sukmanabad plain. From the Çaldıran plain, further destinations could be reached: the city of Arçēš/Erciş and others on the shore of L. Van and thus the cities of eastern Upper Mesopotamia.⁹¹

We have now argued for a sequence of toll stations identified, for reasons which are at first sight hard to explain, by the districts in which they lie: ‘Locche’, in the upper basin of the northerly Aq Chay; the ‘piana dei Falconieri’ or plain of Chaldıran, in the flat-floored basin of the upper Rud-i Zangemar; “[g]li Camuzone”, in the long valley drained by the southerly Aq Chay; and the ‘piana del Fiume Rosso’, the plain of Khoy. The sequence appears to be one of day stops, something which in Pegolotti’s itinerary has so far occurred only in the three immediately preceding stops (‘3 chiese’, ‘sotto larcanae’ and ‘Scaracanti’). The reasons are at first sight hard to discern. None of the stations seems vulnerable to bypassing, that is to say easy for travellers to avoid, with the result that the authorities would then site another station at the next night’s stop in order to catch the evaders. With the exception of “[g]li Camuzone”/Sukmanabad, from which traffic could easily cross to the Kara Dere, the Ala Dagh palace and eventually Erciş,⁹² the plains and river basins in question do not seem likely crossroads for traffic approaching from one side or other of the line of the track.

The relevant clues are that the stations’ names are those of districts and that the *tantaulaggio* or protection toll is levied at each one. We argued that as with *a mezzo della piana d’Aggio* and *Aggia*, *sotto larcanae* and *Scaracanti*/Karakent were not mutually exclusive: Karakent lay within the plain beneath Mt. Ararat. Moreover, whereas one could not avoid paying the tolls (both *tantaulaggio* and *diritto*) to the officer responsible for the plain *sotto larcanae*, one paid the toll at Karakent only if one actually stayed the night there. The principal explanation for the closely spaced toll stations which follow *sotto larcanae*, the plain of Ararat, is that in a different type of country, dominated by Turcoman, Mongol and Kurdish tribes, supervision is necessary on each day of the journey. When the Ottoman army approached Tabriz in 1534 it found a tribe living in tents on the plain of Sukmanabad.⁹³ In the plain beneath Mt. Ararat, Morier, secretary of the British Embassy in Tehran, noticed in the early nineteenth century the black tents of the Elaut tribe from a distance; further on he stayed the night with the Jelali tribe.⁹⁴ Jaubert, at a similar date, was followed by fierce-looking Kurds all the way from Hasankale (the ‘bagno d’Arzerone’ on the Pasinler plain) to Üç Kilise/‘3 chiese’.⁹⁵ The task of the *tangaul* or officer was to ensure that the tribes let caravans pass; he may have done this by constantly liaising with the tribes, even when a caravan was not expected. That there were no settlements in the relevant districts where one would want to site a toll station is a circumstance closely tied to the presence of tribes and the need for security. We have argued that

the duties and functions of the officer at *Scaracanti*/Karakent did not overlap with those of the officer responsible for the plain *sotto l'arcanoe*. The village of Sukman or Sukmanabad might have been a suitable position at which to station a *tangaul*. But it lay west of the line taken by the merchants.⁹⁶

A further consideration is the proximity of the palace on the Ala Dagh, the present wrongly named Çaldıran plain. This lies to the west of the Sukmanabad plain and more or less south of Karakent. The stations lie, loosely speaking, in an arc centred on the Ala Dagh palace; the high watershed mountain belt at present forming the border between Turkey and Iran meant, however, that apart from *sotto l'arcanoe* and Sukmanabad, the districts were not directly accessible from the Ala Dagh palace in a spoke-like arrangement of radial links. Nevertheless, proximity to the Ala Dagh palace facilitated the provision of so many *tangauls*. The security of the palace itself may have carried some weight in decisions about the geographical posting of the officers.

From the pass, the track makes its way over the Kızıl Çay plain for around 20 kilometres before arriving at the town of Khoy, the toll station of “Condro”. The latter form seems a perverse accretion of consonants to an otherwise simple half-consonant, but one of the ancient forms of the town's name was *Gobdi*, suggesting that the /d/ is not merely an Italian epenthesis.⁹⁷ The plain essentially harboured a series of pastures watered by natural streams and artificial conduits. In its immediate vicinity, however, the city itself was environed by cornfields and orchards. It was surrounded by a brick wall; the population was mainly Armenian.⁹⁸

Between Khoy and Tabriz, over flat or rolling country, there were two tracks. One, the more northerly, led through Marand. It involved an easterly traverse to Marand, followed by a section tending southeast as far as Tabriz. Yet, although this line was technically available, the Marand–Tabriz link seems more closely associated with journeys from Tabriz to the Aras cities of Julfa, Nakhchevan, etc. and then, depending on period, to Erevan or Ani and so to Kars, Erzurum and westward. The more southerly line, between Khoy and Tabriz, which runs close to the north shore of L. Urmia, seems the more likely for Pegolotti's itinerary.

The first night's stay on this track would be Tasuj (translit. “Tasuj”, pron. “Tasudj”), and this is very probably Pegolotti's “Sandoddi”. The correspondence of consonants (s/s; t/d; j/d; /n/ added) is reasonable, but a metathesis (between the first two consonants of “Tasuj”) has occurred. Tasuj was a populous town surrounded by well-watered gardens and orchards.⁹⁹ The journey from Khoy to Tasuj was not a simple day's stage: it took more like a day and a half. Clavijo, in the early fifteenth century, started from Khoy on a Sunday, presumably in the morning, and arrived at Tasuj on the Monday at midday.¹⁰⁰ From Tasuj it was 3, or 2½, days' travel to Tabriz.¹⁰¹

Tasuj was the last stage before Khoy on Morier's journey from Tabriz to Erzurum and Istanbul in 1808: from Tasuj to Khoy took him 12 hours. About 5 miles/8 kilometres before Tasuj (i.e. on the previous day's journey), Morier passed a customs post; there seem to have been no other customs posts between Tabriz and this (5 miles short of Tasuj), although the distance clearly required two or even three stages rather than one.¹⁰² Tasuj, therefore, will be Pegolotti's *Sandoddi*; and as far as journeying is concerned, we are at the end of Pegolotti's itinerary.

C. Tabriz and Sultaniyya

1. *Tabriz*

Physical form. The extensive city occupied a flat site leading on some sides to low hills. It was made the capital of the Il-Khanid empire by Abagha (1265–82) and grew at a fast pace

thereafter.¹⁰³ A commercial as well as a political capital, it was also the empire's leading mint.

The city wall which had existed before Abagha made Tabriz his capital lay wholly on the plain. The wall was 6,000 paces or about 3 kilometres in circumference. So much new population settled outside the walls that the Il-Khan Ghazan (1295–1304) built a new wall to enclose the new suburbs. The area surrounded by the new wall was many times greater than that of the first enclosure: the wall, 25,000 paces or about 12½ kilometres in circumference, enclosed several pre-existing villages on a hill to the northeast, Mt. Vahiyan. The new wall had five principal gates and eight subsidiary gates.¹⁰⁴

The commerce carried on in Tabriz was chiefly in silk, raw and woven; in precious stones – Ibn Battuta was dazzled by the jewels; and in spices and scents. Cloth was also woven and embroidered here, sometimes in gold.¹⁰⁵ The markets which attracted so much new population did not lie only in the old walled area: some at least lay within the newly enclosed belt.¹⁰⁶ At least one market was just inside the new wall, to the west, as one entered from Ghazan's "funerary suburb", the complex just outside the walls which included the Il-Khan's mausoleum. Incoming merchants had paid their taxes in the Shanb-i Ghazan (the "funerary suburb") itself.¹⁰⁷ Ghazan himself was responsible for constructing a shop complex, caravansaray and hamam just inside each of the new wall's five principal gates.¹⁰⁸ The new wall enclosed the city's gardens as well as housing, markets, etc.; the gardens were watered by an extensive system of underground channels.¹⁰⁹

Not content with the new wall, Ghazan went on to construct, over the years from 697/1297–98 to 703/1303–4, a "funerary suburb", west of his own new wall and centred on his own gigantic mausoleum. This was essentially a diverse complex of buildings, mostly with religious purposes, and included a mosque, two *madrasas*, a *dar al-siyada* or college for descendants of the Prophet, an observatory, a hospital and a library. Each of the *madrasas* housed legal experts from a single school of law, the Hanafi in the one case and the Shaf' i in the other.¹¹⁰

To balance this, the extraordinarily wealthy vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) built, in the first and second decades of the fourteenth century, an equally extensive "funerary suburb". It was constructed to the northeast of the city rather than diametrically opposite Ghazan's suburb. Moreover, it was within the new wall, on the lower slopes of Mt. Vahiyan, rather than outside the walls altogether. Rashid al-Din's foundations here resembled, in their collectivity, a minor city rather than merely a suburb. The principal buildings were constructed within the complex's upper and stronger walled area: the wall exploited a hill to the east and a low ridge to the west. The central building, known as the *rawdha* (lit. "school", pron. "rawza" in Pers.), was planned around a courtyard. Rashid al-Din's mausoleum was erected behind the *iwan*, or open-sided vaulted space, in the courtyard's northerly wall. The southerly *iwan* served as a summer mosque and *madrasa*. The building housed a library, and copying of the Qur'an and hadith (traditions concerning the Prophet's life) was carried on here. The second most important building was the *khanqah* or convent to house Sufis. Again it was a four-iwan building, this time constructed around a roofed-over court, but the permanent residents amounted only to 20. The hospital lay somewhere on the hill to the east; it was open only to the residents and guests of the upper walled area, which was named the Rab' -i Rashidi.¹¹¹ A hospice for travellers stood towards the west of the walled area.¹¹² Besides these buildings there were a second, free-standing pharmacy, a *hammam* and a fountain-house.¹¹³

The complex's second and lower walled area (the Shahrستان) was residential in character. Here a Friday mosque and three smaller mosques were constructed; so was a *qays-ariya* or central market, in which was incorporated a kitchen for the poor. Other buildings

financed by Rashid al-Din and maintained out of his *waqf* or pious foundation included *ham-mams*, a paper mill and a washing establishment.¹¹⁴ Elsewhere in the wide circle protected by Ghazan's new city wall, Rashid al-Din built another caravansaray, another Friday mosque and a *hammam*.¹¹⁵ Rashid al-Din ensured an underground water supply to each of the upper walled area's buildings and elsewhere.¹¹⁶ Later tradition said that there were four villages near the suburb, each inhabited by a particular nationality (Georgian, Ethiopian, etc.); the inhabitants did work of various kinds in the new buildings.¹¹⁷ The Rab'-i Rashidi, as the upper walled area was called, even had its own mint for a time. Although it was attacked by the mob after Rashid al-Din's fall from favour and execution in 1318, the suburb was subsequently restored under the vizier Ghiyath al-Din (1328–36).¹¹⁸

Further investment in the city took place when a subsequent vizier built a citadel, known as the Arg, attached to and extending outwards from the original walled area, towards the south. Besides the citadel's extensive mosque attached to the citadel there was a *madrassa* to one side of it and a *zawiya* or Sufi gathering-place to the other.¹¹⁹ There were several cemeteries outside the new wall. One of these was at the village of Surkhāb (Pers. *Surkhāb*), and it numbered among its monuments the mausolea of poets.¹²⁰

Communities. Beside the Muslims, there were several native Christian communities. There was a Nestorian metropolitan of Azerbaijan in the second half of the thirteenth century: part of his flock, and probably the seat of the diocese, were here.¹²¹ The Nestorians had a church in Tabriz in the year 1262.¹²² A Syrian Orthodox bishop of Azerbaijan is known from 1264 to the very beginning of the fourteenth century. The seat seems to have been transferred to Tabriz in 1272 or soon after.¹²³ The building of the Syrian Orthodox church was started by merchants who had been attracted by new opportunities for commerce. The building work was taken over by Severus, the bishop who took up residence in Tabriz around 1272. The building, eventually finished around 1282, included a small residence for the bishop beneath the church itself and cells for visitors.¹²⁴ The city's Greek Orthodox community was provided with a bishop in the late thirteenth century. It, too, possessed a church; Despina Khatun (as she was called), a Byzantine princess married to the Il-Khan Abagha (1265–82), had an Orthodox bishopric set up in Tabriz, and brought artists from the Byzantine empire to paint the episcopal church's interior.¹²⁵ Some Armenians lived in Tabriz, and must have built churches, if not monasteries; however, the evidence comes very late, in the 1330s and 1340s.¹²⁶

Italian merchants were resident in Tabriz by 1263, in other words just before the city's history as a political and commercial capital began. Their presence is known from the will of an Italian, Pietro Viglione, which was witnessed by eight other Italians, all resident in Tabriz.¹²⁷ The Genoese seem to have arrived and formed a small permanent trading community somewhat earlier than the Venetians. The first evidence of a Genoese merchant installed in Tabriz comes in 1280; Genoese trading activity in the years 1289–93 is known.¹²⁸ By 1304 the Genoese had a consul, who was assisted by a council of up to 24 members, and a commercial tribunal: council and tribunal suggest a relatively large community.¹²⁹ The Genoese were especially distinguished for their diplomatic missions to western countries on behalf of the Il-Khans in the late thirteenth century.¹³⁰ By 1311 the Genoese had a *fondaco* or lockable building which housed shops and storerooms.¹³¹ A group of Venetians – hardly describable as a permanent trading community – is known in 1288: Venetians were among the nine Europeans living in Tabriz to whom a Papal letter of that year was addressed.¹³² Later on the Venetians, too, had a consul: the treaty of 1320 which gives the Republic of Venice the right to appoint a consul here, as well as other privileges, is probably a renewal rather than being the first agreement with Venice; nevertheless the Venetians are likely to have first negotiated such a treaty somewhat later than the

Genoese. The first date at which a consul is attested is 1324. By this year the Venetians, too, had acquired a caravansaray, which must at least have performed the essential functions of a *fondaco* even if it acted as a hostel for travelling merchants as well.¹³³ Besides the two principal Italian communities, there were Pisans, Florentines, Siennese and Piacenzans.¹³⁴

The Dominican order maintained a monastery here, the Franciscans two. Some at least of the Catholics in these monasteries were Armenians.¹³⁵ A Catholic bishopric of Tabriz, a suffragan see of the metropolitan diocese of Sultaniyya, was founded, along with the metropolitan see, in 1318.¹³⁶

Conclusions. From the information on building in the city and on the influx of communities it can be seen that Tabriz' period of growth under the Il-Khans runs from about 1260 to around 1320. It started somewhat before Abagha's accession in 1265, as the date of the Viglione will (1263) proves; i.e. the influx of Italian merchants had started before Abagha's reign, which means that commercial activity had started to increase, thus pulling in merchants from Europe, before Abagha's accession. This is not to say that Abagha and other Il-Khans did not help in promoting Tabriz' role as a commercial hub; however, many natural and commercial factors contributed towards making it such a hub even without government intervention and guidance in the city. Chief of the commercial factors was the setting up of the Ayas route. The date of 1263 fits well with the known trading history of Ayas, where our first evidence for commercial activity comes in 1259. Equally the subsequent growth of Tabriz is partly explained by the appearance of western merchants in Trebizond in the year 1266.

In the early 1260s, Syrian merchants – both Nestorian and Syrian Orthodox – were drawn into the city by its opportunities for exchange and enrichment. Others arrived, including the Genoese, of whom the first news dates from 1280 and who had a consul in the city by 1304. The Venetians came somewhat later: the first evidence of Venetian merchants appears in 1288, and a Venetian consul is first attested in 1324. Ghazan's wall to accommodate new suburbs was built at the turn of the thirteenth century; the new markets in the belt enclosed by the same monarch's wall, Ghazan's "funerary suburb" of roughly the same date and Rashid al-Din's somewhat later "funerary suburb" tell the same story.

The years of Il-Khanid infighting (1335–40) must have caused something of a hiatus in Tabriz' trading activity, and the contraction of trade generally with Europe itself made for a commercial decline. However, Tabriz' commercial role by no means came to an end with the demise of the Il-Khanid empire, and the city functioned as capital or regional capital of several subsequent dynasties. For the Jalayrids of Baghdad (1338 onwards) the city was the regional capital of Azerbaijan after their conquest of the latter in 1359. The conqueror, Uways, built a palace, allegedly containing 20,000 chambers. From 1406 to 1436, Tabriz was again a regional capital, this time of the Kara Koyunlu: the Kara Koyunlu Jahan Shah made it the capital of the whole Kara Koyunlu empire (1436–68). It is during Jahan Shah's reign that one of Tabriz' most notable buildings, the Blue Mosque, was put up. Under the Ak Koyunlu, Tabriz was the capital (1468–1501) of a wide empire. Uzun Hasan, the sultan responsible for the adoption of Tabriz as capital, built here a madrasa, the Nasriyya. Uzun Hasan also had garden, known as Sahibabad, laid out. In the garden a magnificent octagonal palace was constructed, the Hasht Bihisht ("Eight Paradises").¹³⁷

2. Sultaniyya

This city, around 250 kilometres southeast of Tabriz, was originally founded by the Il-Khan Arghun (1284–91), but was enlarged and effectively refounded by Uljaytu (1304–16), who

made it the capital of the Il-Khanid empire. To be more accurate, Sultaniya was Uljaytu's chief seasonal residence, to and from which he regularly migrated.¹³⁸ It was in effect, however, another of Tabriz' "funerary suburbs" (Uljaytu's vast mausoleum, some of which still stands, was built in the middle of a small walled enclosure right in the centre of the city) as well as a city taking the overspill from Tabriz. But, growing rapidly, it had the function of an overspill city because it carried out the same function as Tabriz – trade – in a location which lay some distance along the track towards the principal source of the goods traded in Tabriz (in the direction of the Persian Gulf). The city also functioned as a collection-point for silk arriving from the mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea.

Uljaytu's mausoleum stood in the middle of a complex of buildings enclosed by a wall describing a square. Other buildings in the complex included a mosque, *madrassa*, *khanqah* (again a Sufi lodge) and a palace built around a courtyard. It was thus similar to Ghazan's and Rashid al-Din's "funerary suburbs" in Tabriz, but this time enclosed in such a way that the public had no access: the wall had only one gate, and was surrounded by a moat.¹³⁹

The city wall built under Arghun measured 12,000 paces in circumference (around half that of Ghazan's city wall for Tabriz). Uljaytu began a wall of 30,000 paces – 5,000 more than the circumference of Ghazan's wall at Tabriz – though it was completed only after his death.¹⁴⁰ Commercial activity took place in the wide ring between the Il-Khan's walled complex in the centre and the city wall. In the city as a whole there were more than 10,000 shops and a number of hostleries for merchants. Trade in cloth played a prominent part in the city's commercial life. Among the merchants resident in the city were Genoese, Venetians and Armenians.¹⁴¹

Uljaytu ordered the more powerful and wealthy members of the state establishment to build palaces and gardens. Rashid al-Din, somewhat as in Tabriz, built a whole quarter centred on a *madrassa*, hospital and *khanqah*. Taj al-Din 'Ali Shah, builder of the Arg in Tabriz, founded a palace and a market building.¹⁴²

As we saw earlier, Sultaniyya was made the seat of a metropolitan bishopric of the Latin church in 1318. Essentially its suffragan bishoprics covered the Catholic communities of Iran-- as for example those of Tabriz -- of the Chaghatay khanate in Central Asia (including, for example, Almaligh) and of India.¹⁴³ A Dominican monastery is known here in 1321, as is a Dominican church in 1328.¹⁴⁴ At Sultaniyya resided an Armenian hiwpatos, apparently a secular leader, so there must have been a community and a church building here.¹⁴⁵

Notes

- 1 Miller 1916: 677.
- 2 On the bridge, n 55 on p 280.
- 3 An Urartian inscription was found here: König 1957: no 44; cf Lehmann-Haupt 1910–31: 2.ii.731–73. The three rings of fortifications which at present cover the fortress site were built in the mid-sixteenth century: pp 260, 262–63, 264. On the remainder of the town's antiquities, mostly of the Ottoman period, nn 16, 17 on p 279.
- 4 Grousset 1947: 222; Adontz 1970: 21, 383 nn 38c, 39.
- 5 Pp 249, 250.
- 6 Aristakēs Lastiverte'i, *Patmut' iwn*, Venice 1901: 79–80; Honigmann 1935: 180–84.
- 7 The functions of Tuy may in the Turkish Middle Ages have started to transfer to Ezirmik, around 15 kilometres from Hasankale. Ezirmik is the only village with any antiquities between Erzurum and Hasankale; here are the ruins of a medieval *türbe*, inside which were several gravestones: one of the surviving ones dates to 686/1287. See Konyalı 1960: 456–58; Beygu 1936: 203–04.
- 8 Honigmann 1935: 193. This suggests more than a village.
- 9 See p 22. Possibly the fort should be drawn by Chadas, the station next but one after Andaga, the identification of which with an Urartian fort is highly plausible: p 259.

- 10 On the fort: Lehmann-Haupt 1910–31: 2.ii.742; 17, 178–85. For the identification, Manandian 1965: 97.
- 11 On the inscription, König 1957: no 23; Lehmann-Haupt 1910–31: 2.ii.739–41; fig p 778. On the name “Aramanay”, next note.
- 12 Łazar P’arpec’i, ed Tēr Mkrtč’ean, Malxaseanc’: 2.xxx; cf Manandian 1965: 97.
- 13 Kırzioğlu 1976:106–07, 184–85; for the date, p 182.
- 14 There exists, however, an alternative way, the possibility of which is opened up by the location of Chadas at Hanzır, somewhat to the south of the present road. This way crosses southeast, but on a more southerly course than the Tahir road, to the valley of the Güzeldere (the stream within the valley, rather than the valley itself, is known as the Güzeldere [“Beautiful Valley”]). The latter simply descends gradually in an eastwards direction until it reaches the Eleşkirt plain at a point somewhat to the south of modern Eleşkirt, but in a direct line for Hanzır.
- 15 Miller 1916: 677. The *Tabula*’s “Paracata” and “Coloceia” (the latter probably a corrupt form: *Ravenna Anonymous*, “Zotozeta”) can be very satisfactorily identified as Bulakbaşı and Colakert (pron. “Tsolakert”), Turk “Çolakert”, respectively. The preceding station, Hariza (Ptolemy’s *Chasira*, V.12.5) was put by Manandian at Aruç on the pass, which seems a reasonable, though not certain, identification. On the three stations, Manandian 1965: 91–96.
- 16 The larger of the two *hamams* now standing was founded sometime in the years 1535–39 or 1540 by the Dulgadir Mehmet, first *beylerbeyi* or governor of the Ottoman province of Erzurum. The smaller of the two *hamams* was founded by Mirza Ali, sanjak bey of Pasin from 1535 to 1590, and brother of Mehmet. On the hamams and the two officials, Konyalı 1960: 464–70; Beygu 1936: 207–08. On Mehmet, DüNDAR 1998: 54–55, 60–61, 87–90. On Mirza Ali, *ibid*: 249. On the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya, ed Kurşun: 2.112–13.
- 17 The mosque is now known as the Sivaslı Camii after the İbrahim of Sivas to whom the rebuilding inscription attributes the founding of the mosque in 1388. See Konyalı 1960: 472–76.
- 18 Locally the building of the castle is now attributed to Hasan “the Small”, would-be kingmaker in the turmoil after Abu Sa’id’s death and grandson of Choban, influential *amir* of the Il-Khanid empire. See Konyalı 1960: 106–07, 109, 463, 491, 496. Since Pegolotti’s information pertains to a date before Hasan’s (highly destructive) visit to the area in 1340, it is not surprising that he does not know the town as Hasankale.
- 19 D’Aramon, ed Schefer: 76–77.
- 20 MD 22, no 118, p 57. For the present castle, Sinclair 1989: 228–31.
- 21 *Epic Histories*, tr Garsoian: 452.
- 22 Cuneo 1988: 1.626–27; and see esp the terms of Jaubert’s description (1821: 23–24). The church was demolished in 1950 to provide material for the main mosque in Ağrı (Alpaslan 1995: 279).
- 23 Manandian 1965: 193.
- 24 Armn. *Awnik*, but pron. “Avnik”.
- 25 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 242.
- 26 For Honigmann’s views (1935: 147, 197) see nn 27, 28. For a description of Bingöl Dağ, Evliya, ed Kurşun: 3.143–44. Nevertheless there does seem to have been a castle on Bingöl Dağ in the late Middle Ages: see *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Sümer, Lugal: 228. This would have been a minor castle for the policing of tribes on the mountain in summer; perhaps it was a base, too, for collecting taxes. On the geography of Bingöl Dağ, Abich 1878–87: 2.86–90, with mention, nevertheless, of a Turkmankalassi (2.87).
- 27 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed Moravcsik, Jenkins: 44/39–42, 61–105. Hübschmann (1904: 331 n 1) and Honigmann (1935: 147) put the castle in the district of jermajor (pron. “Jermadzor”) in the wider district of Mokka, essentially a broad valley in the massif south of Lake Van. They relied perhaps on the similarity of name and on the locations of the other amirs’ estates along the north shore of Lake Van.
- 28 *Hieroclis Synecdemus*, ed Parthey, 120, 217, 259; Honigmann 1935: 197, cf 191–92, this time putting the territory of the diocese on Sermanc’ Learn/Bingöl Dağ.
- 29 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed Moravcsik, Jenkins: 45/43–66, 95–104, 127–42.
- 30 Strictly *Mantzikiert* in the text.
- 31 Honigmann 1935: 80–81.
- 32 Aristakēs Lastiverte’i, *Patmut’iwn*, Venice 1901: 79–80; Honigmann 1935: 181; Grousset 1947: 599.

- 33 On the definition of the province, p 70; on the Sutay, e.g. Album 1984: 74.
- 34 Appendix II, pp 000–00.
- 35 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 92. Of the variants of the town’s name, “Abasjur” (pron. “Abasjur”) seems the most likely. Armn. *jor* (pron. “dzor”; “valley”); in Abas-, probably a phonetic connection with “Awnik”. For the town’s independence, Clavijo, ed Estrada: 96.
- 36 Pegolotti, ed Evans: 30. Clavijo’s village of “Partir Jawan” must be Hasankale: “Partir” from Arm. *berd* (“castle”; but pron. “pert”); “Jawan”, pron. “Khavan”, from “Hasan”. Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 92 for myths revealing that the Sutay association with Avnik was known at the Il-Khanid court. Mustawfi knows of the siege of the Sutay in Avnik by Shaykh Hasan the Chobanid (1341). By the early fifteenth century, the story of the attack by Shaykh Hasan had already been transferred to Hasankale. On the Ottoman construction work at Hasankale, p 260 and n 20; on the transfer of Avnik’s role, pp 262–63, 264.
- 37 Sümer 1967: 43.
- 38 Sümer 1967: 49.
- 39 Khwandamir, *Habibu’s-siyar*: 1.460–61; Sümer 1967: 57–58. But other sources claim different appointees. See *Sharafnama*, ed Véliaminoff-Zernov: 1.373, 376 (also 2.199, notes p 581); *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Sümer, Lugal: 1.145–46, 2.462 (cf Sümer 1967: 66–67).
- 40 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 96. On Duladay, Sümer 1963: 66–67.
- 41 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 242.
- 42 Khwandamir, *Habibu’s-Siyar*, ed Husayni: 1.568–69, but putting Duladay as the governor from whom Avnik was taken.
- 43 Previous paragraph.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 241–42.
- 46 Sümer 1963: 53–54.
- 47 Kırzioğlu 1976: 162–63.
- 48 N 20.
- 49 On the nahiye, Dündar 1998: 250. On the garrison, MD 23: no 601, p 281, of 981/1573–74.
- 50 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 242. He explicitly mentions three consecutive walls, but in reality only the top one ringed the whole rock.
- 51 Khwandamir, *Habibu’s-Siyar*, ed Husayni: 1.460–61; Sümer 1963: 57–58.
- 52 For Bolorapahak, Sebēos, ed Abgaryan, 1979: p 71; Heyd 1923: 2.116; Manandian 1965: 193. On the etymology, Hübschmann 1904: 415.
- 53 For Bekbad, Allen, Muratoff 1953: Map 24, prepared from Russian maps. But “Nekabat”, 7 kilometres west of Köprüköy on the USAF 1: 250,000, 340 A II, 41° 48′ x 40° 31′.
- 54 Unless it is the hill on the bridge’s south side, where now the *türbe* of Çoban Aptal stands. But in the sixth century, with no bridge, it would be illogical to name a village on the north bank after a lookout post on the south bank. On the *türbe*, Konyalı 1960: 442–43.
- 55 Yücel 1971: 695; cf Sümer 1967: 135. For a later incident, *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Lugal, Sümer: 1.112. Traditionally the bridge’s name is derived from Choban, a powerful lieutenant of the Il-Khans in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century: Evliya, ed Kurşun: 2.199; Kırzioğlu 1953: 1.449; pp 84–85, 87, 90, 96; however, Evliya elsewhere (ed Kurşun: 5.26) attributes the bridge to a Sultan Melik Gazi, of the Chobanid house. The view of Beygu (1936: 221) is mysterious. But the name would more plausibly derive from *Çoban Aptal* (“Shepherd Fool” – but “aptal” implies a dervish), the name of the Sufi buried in the türbe. And the attribution to a shepherd, if not to a dervish, goes back earlier than Evliya. Newbery (travelling here in 1581–82) was informed that the bridge had been built by a shepherd (Newbery 1625: 1417). Smith and Dwight, passing through in 1830, were told that the builder of both bridge and türbe was a wealthy shepherd (Smith, Dwight 1834: 75–76). On the türbe, previous paragraph. The bridge as we have it is the product of several rebuildings and restorations of the Ottoman period. One was undertaken in the early seventeenth century by an Armenian *vardapet* or teacher, Karapet, at the order of the *beylerbeyi* (Kamaxeç’i, ed Nšanecan: 402–03). Another took place in 1727, according to an inscription (Konyalı 1960: 440). The other two inscriptions are so worn as to be illegible. Abich (1878–87: 2.66) thought the bridge a masterpiece of Armenian architecture. The architectural decoration was certainly carved for a building of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century, but that building may not have been a bridge, and if it was a bridge it was not necessarily upright at the time of composition of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary. On the bridge, Ünal 1968: 153–57.

- 56 Turk. *Ağrı*, “Pain”, is unlikely to be an original, as opposed to a derivative, appellation. The name was applied to Mt. Ararat: “Ağrı Dağ”, “Pain Mountain”.
- 57 Manandian 1965: 194; Heyd 1923: 2.116; Yule 1866: 301.
- 58 Sümer 1963: 57–58.
- 59 Tekindağ 1968: 64.
- 60 Pp 265–66.
- 61 Wagner 1856: 3.43; Lynch 1901: 2.9: ‘His [the priest’s] church at Karakilise is little better than four stone walls.’
- 62 On the location and history of Vałaršakert, pp 269–70. Note that there is little possibility of the name “Vałaršakert”’s underlying “Calacresti”.
- 63 Appendix II: 372.
- 64 Lit. “Beautiful Valley”, but the name of a stream.
- 65 On the *nahiye*, Dündar 1998: 281, 282.
- 66 On the districts, Hübschmann 1904: 327–28. For the etymology of *Tuaracat’ap*, ibid 476: *tuarac*, “shepherd”, and *t’ap*, “plain”. Note again that it is the river which is called *Elmalı Dere* or *Deresi*, not its valley.
- 67 Koşay 1968: 30.
- 68 Ibid, and see the USAF 1: 250,000.
- 69 Shown on USAF 1: 250,000.
- 70 Koşay 1968: 27, 30.
- 71 *Yagiaia* on the British ETA 1: 250, 000, but *Yekmal* (Kurd. “very friendly, intimate”) on the USAF 1: 250,000 and Turkish 1: 200,000.
- 72 Appendix II: 372.
- 73 Dündar 1998: 289 for the *nahiye* of ‘Ayıntab, basing himself for the identification with Tutak on a map in Ottoman script of the early Republican period and for the *nahiye* of this name, essentially the Elmalı Dere valley.
- 74 For a summary, Sinclair 1996–97: 51–80. Dr R. Hewsen, however, prefers to run the road round the west and north shores of the lake.
- 75 In the TP’s route from Amida round the shore of Lake Van to “Raugonia”, the last four stations are clearly an import from another road. The three stations discussed here (Acachia, Indua, Didima) can be supplied from the *Ravenna Anonymous*. See Manandian 1965: 103, and cf n 88 on p 28; n 15 on p 279 here. On the placing of Acachia and Indua, Sinclair 1996–97: 68.
- 76 Tübingen 92-110-24; cf Sinclair 2000: 47.
- 77 *Sharafnama*, ed Véliaminoff-Zernof: 1.328.
- 78 Manandian also places *sotto larcanae* further east than Diyadin, while Heyd preferred Diyadin. On this and Scaracanti, Heyd 1923: 2.116, Manandian 1965: 194.
- 79 On the way north to the caravansaray and Ani, and on the pass into the Van basin, Sinclair 2010b: 177-78. ‘Karaköy’: Tekindağ 1968: 64.
- 80 On this plain, Morier 1812: 305.
- 81 For the plain’s dimensions and economy, Morier 1812: 303–04.
- 82 Marked as such on the British ETA 1:250,000 map, sheet 13.
- 83 On the character of the plain, Morier 1812: 301.
- 84 The principal feeder in the northwest half of the plain is the Kara Dere, known from a battle between two factions, each supporting rival claimants to the Il-Khanid throne: see *Tarikh Uwais*, ed Van Loon, 1954: 62; Album 1984: 66–67. But the Kara Dere was the passage to the shore of L. Van at Band-i Mahi and then to the cities of the lake’s northern shore. See Matrakçı, ed Yurdaydın, 1976: 104.
- 85 Manandian 1965: 194; on the swamp, Morier 1812: 305 (‘innumerable flocks of ducks and other wild-fowl’), cited by Manandian; see the USAF 1: 250,000. On Bazujor, Lewond 1887: 2.7; on the plain below Mt. Ararat, p 271. Manandian translated “Plain of the Falcon Hunt”. In the nineteenth century the centre of the district defined by the plain was the village of Kara Eyne, Morier’s “Cara-ainéh” (1812: 304) and the “Siyah Cheshmeh” of the USAF 1: 250,000 map: *Kara* (Turk.) and *Siyah* (Turk., Pers.), “Black”; “Eyne”, from a Semitic language, and “Cheshmeh” (Pers.), “Eye, Spring”. By Morier’s time, in the year 1808, there was a fort at Kara Eyne.
- 86 For the identification, Kiepert 1882: 912, followed by Manandian 1965: 194. I have been unable to find the Russian map of 1829 to which he refers, where the river is marked as “Kyzyl-tschai”. For the names *Xerdašt*, *Xerakan*, Adontz 1970: 248–49. As with “Aq Chay” I spell “Qizil Chay” as if transcribing from Persian. The Q is pron. “gh”.

- 87 On Ovacık, Tekindağ 1968: 64. For the addition of the Italian definite article, “Lajazzo” itself would be a parallel. The ancient name for the Aq Chay, *Tlmut* (pron. “Tēghmut” – half-syllable between /t/ and /gh/), seems phonetically too distant. (On the name, Hübschmann 1904: 344, and for the equation with the Aq Chay, Adontz 1970: 248.) It is possible that the name “Locche” was an Italian distortion of the name for a wider district. That of Artaz was the district dependent on Maku: it embraced both the basin drained by the Aq Chay and the hilly land stretching further east up to Maku itself. The name *Artaz* was current at least down to the thirteenth century (Hübschmann 1904: 344). Ovacık, the “Little Plain”, was made a sanjak, along with many other districts, after the Ottoman campaign and conquests of 1578 (Kırzioğlu 1976: 318–19). Alternatively “Locche” has somehow been formed from the name *Maku*, but this would not mean that Maku itself was the toll station: it lay too far off the line of the track. A further possibility: Kogovit, at least down to the eleventh century, comprised the Ararat plain east and northeast of Dariunk/Bayazid/Doğubayazıt. This plain’s southerly lobe has already been traversed by Pegolotti’s route (pp 271–73). But if the name had moved to our basin of the Aq Chay by the fourteenth century, it would supply the hard -cch- of “Locche”. -vit- < *hovit*, “valley”: *Kog* even occurs in the sources as an independent name. See Hübschmann 1904: 36–65.
- 88 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 100–02; *Kitab-i Diyarbakriyya*, ed Lugal, Sümer: 1.96; 2.408 as a yayla. Mustawfi mentions the village of Sukman (see n 96).
- 89 *Sharafnama*, ed Véliaminoff-Zernov: 1.305, 316.
- 90 MD 56, n 315, p 1064. See also *Sharafnama*, ed Véliaminoff-Zernov: 1.312–13. One of the principal settlements in this valley-plain was the village of Sukman or Sukmanada. The latter lay at a point where the track up the Kara Dere and over a pass towards Bendimahi and Erciş on the shores of L. Van took off from the main north–south track through the plain. On the village, Hammer, tr Hellert, 1835–43: 5.498, 509.
- 91 On the Ala Dagh palace, Sinclair 2010b: 177. The English king Edward II’s mission to the Il-Khan in 1292, on its return from Tabriz, came through Khoy, the Çaldıran plain and Erciş. In the itinerary the next point mentioned after “Coyea”/Khoy is “Nosseyā”, Noshar (mod. Turk. “Noşar”) in the southeast corner of the Çaldıran plain (see Sinclair 1987: 261, but ignore “city” of Sukmanabad). But after Erciş, the delegation turned north to Malagirt and must have rejoined the Pegolotti route on the plain of “Aggio”, the Kara Yazı Düzü. See Paviot 1997: 72; pp 266–67.
- 92 See previous paragraph.
- 93 In Matrakçı, ed Yurdaydın: pl 26b, one yurt-style tent surrounded by an outer barrier which may well have been permanent. Around the central tent are shown four smaller, circular tents.
- 94 Morier 1812: 308–09. Cf Clavijo, ed Estrada: 103 for a Chaghatay encampment on the road east of Tabriz.
- 95 Jaubert 1821: 18–24.
- 96 On the village, n 88.
- 97 Hewsen 1982: 139–40.
- 98 Clavijo, ed Estrada: 104.
- 99 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 80–81; Clavijo, ed Estrada: 105.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Clavijo, having arrived in Tasuj at midday on a Monday, came to Tabriz in the evening of the following Wednesday: Clavijo, ed Estrada: 105–06. Barbaro (86: “Tessu”) also came through Tasuj. For a different journey involving Tasuj as a stopping-place, Kırzioğlu 1976: 187.
- 102 Morier 1812: 296–97, see also 293–96.
- 103 Jahn 1968: 208; Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 76.
- 104 On the new wall as a whole, Hoffmann 2000: 108–11.
- 105 Marco Polo, ed Moule, Pelliot: 1.104; Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.129–30 (he notes the women outdoing each other in the purchase of scents); Bratianu 1929: 185 on the Viglione will that was drawn up in 1263 – an early date – which mentions precious stones.
- 106 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 76. On the whole complex, Pope, Ackermann 1935–2005: 3.1054–55.
- 107 Ibn Battuta, ed Défrémery, Sanguinetti: 2.129 (markets); Hoffmann 2000: 112–13.
- 108 Hoffmann 2000: 109; Jahn 1968: 207.
- 109 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 76, 77.
- 110 Jahn 1968: 207; Melville 1981: 166; Hoffmann 2000: 112.
- 111 Ibid: 120–29.

- 112 Ibid: 121.
- 113 Ibid: 128, 129.
- 114 Ibid: 129–31. On the waqf and the duties of the pious establishment's servants, *ibid*: 147–239. On the Rab'-i Rashidi as a whole, Pope, Ackermann 1935–2005: 3.1055–56.
- 115 Hoffmann 2000: 132.
- 116 Ibid: 133–40.
- 117 Togan 1953–54: 34; on the tradition, n 131 on p 193. According to the text, the population attracted to the whole city-like complex amounted to 30,000 houses; 6,000–7,000 students from other parts of the empire were educated in the various learned institutions. Rashid al-Din intended to build a village for Greeks from Asia Minor. See Jahn 1968: 210–11.
- 118 On the mint, Blair 1982: 223. On the plunder of 1318, and another after Ghiyath al-Din's replacement in 1336; on the restoration, Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 76. On both 1318 and 1336, Hoffmann 2000: 141
- 119 Melville 1981: 164–65. Mustawfi (*Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 77) emphasizes the lavishness of the construction materials. On the mosque, Pope, Ackermann 1935–2005: 3.1056–61.
- 120 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 77.
- 121 Dauvillier 1948: 278.
- 122 Fiey 1973: 413, cf 415.
- 123 Fiey 1965: 2.340, 352–53; Richard 1977: 112; Fiey 1973: 428–29.
- 124 Fiey 1973: 428–30.
- 125 Richard 1977: 102; Fiey 1973: 430.
- 126 Colophons, fourteenth century, no 348, p 283; no 360, p 292; no 409, p 331.
- 127 Petech 1988: 173–74.
- 128 1280: Balard 1978: 1.138–39; Paviot 1997: 80. 1289–93: Bratianu 1929: 189, 320–23.
- 129 Bratianu 1929: 187–88; Bautier 1970: 285.
- 130 Petech 1988: 176–79, cf 174–75.
- 131 Bautier 1970: 285. Its name in the document is *Nantoxia*. Cf *ibid*: 326.
- 132 Bratianu 1929: 186; Ashtor 1983: 58–59.
- 133 Heyd 1923: 2.124–28 (in the relevant document the caravansaray is called *delle Telle*). See also Ciocyltan 2012: 133.
- 134 Petech 1988: 179–82. Piacenzans: Ashtor 1983: 59–60.
- 135 Richard 1977: 170–71. For an Armenian Franciscan and an Armenian Dominican, *ibid*: 209–10, 220–21.
- 136 Richard 1977: 175–77.
- 137 EI², 'Tabriz', 10.41–50 : 44–45 (S.S.Blair). The Hasht Bihisht appears to be that featuring in an illustration by Matrakçı (ed Yurdaydın: pl 27b, 28a). This shows a wall surrounding the whole complex. The compound was entered by a monumental gateway. At one end was a pool. There were fruit trees within the enclosure.
- 138 Melville 1990: 60 and *passim*.
- 139 Blair 1986: 142. The *khanqah* was probably no different in function from the *zawiya* of Ghazan's suburb.
- 140 Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 55; Blair 1986: 141.
- 141 On the Genoese, Heyd 1923: 2.130; on the Venetians, Ashtor 1983: 59. Armenians: Colophons, fourteenth century: no 404b, p 328 (date 1351); no 486, p 406 (date 1354). In both, a *hiwpatos* (lit. "consul", also described as a *sparapet* (lit. "general-in-chief") of the Armenians is mentioned. The *hiwpatos* was probably a kind of secular leader of the Armenians in Iran, and it is at least possible that he resided in Sultaniyya. I am grateful to Peter Cowie for bringing the two colophons to my attention.
- 142 Blair 1986: 141–47; Pope, Ackermann 1935–2005: 3.1063. On a mausoleum built in 710/1310, *ibid*: 3.1099.
- 143 Loenertz 1937: 138–39; for the bishopric's history, Richard 1977: 176–77, 180–86.
- 144 Loenertz 1937: 165.
- 145 See n 141 on p 283.



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Part C

Conclusions



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Conclusions

Commercial significance of the Ayas–Tabriz line. We concluded earlier that during the period of activity along the Ayas–Tabriz line (mid-1250s to 1337), trade in general between Europe and the east (principally China and India) enjoyed an intensity not paralleled until the modern age. The Ayas–Tabriz line was, of course, one of a number of avenues along which such long-distance commercial movement took place. It could be argued that after the severe enforcement of Papal bans on trade with the Mamluk sultanate in 1322–23, the Ayas route, for a decade and a half, achieved pre-eminence over the others. Regardless of this, the total volume of trade along the four avenues of the Ayas–Tabriz period surpassed the total volume of the equivalent networks in the preceding and following periods.

The Ayas–Tabriz period seemed also to be a transitional period in which a change took place in the productive roles of Europe on the one hand and, on the other, of the whole region, in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, with which Europe traded. European industry became not only more efficient but also more self-sufficient, and it increasingly manufactured goods, such as silk cloth, which it had formerly had to import from the east. This increase in the manufacture of luxury goods during the Ayas–Tabriz period was reflected to an extent in an increase in the export of such goods to the east. But, in the period, European manufacture satisfied mainly an increased European demand. This meant that despite its greater scale, the nature of the exchange between Europe and the east was unchanged. Silk continued to be imported from China; the fact that Iranian silk was now sold in Europe is an indication of expansion in European demand. Spices continued to come in via Ayas, Trebizond and Alexandria, ultimately from India. Europe continued essentially to export raw materials such as iron and wood or light manufactures such as soap and cloth. It was in the period after the closure of the Ayas–Tabriz route that the trading relationships changed. In recession conditions, European demand seems to have been more limited, and its manufacturers found markets in the more prosperous cities of the eastern Mediterranean area: Constantinople, Bursa and Cairo and smaller cities, for example on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor.

With these considerations of general change in mind, let us summarise our findings concerning the place of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary in east–west trade over the four centuries from 1100 to 1500.

In the first period (1100 to mid-1250s), Asia Minor was traversed by the line connecting Antalya, Konya, Sivas, Erzurum, Ani and Nakhchevan. This line then led to northern Iran, Central Asia and China. The track northwards from Sivas to Amasya and Sinop, better supplied with caravansarays than the continuation eastwards from Sivas, must have been intended to carry goods traded with the Crimea, and it seemed likely that some of the goods transported to Sinop from the Crimea originated further east. In Upper Mesopotamia, goods

travelled towards Aleppo along the line from Mosul through Dunaysir and Harran or through Amid and Ruha. We emphasised the importance of studying not merely the two major lines (Konya, Sivas, etc. and Aleppo–Upper Mesopotamia–Baghdad) but also ones which join them or cross them: these are parts of a wider system, including settlements, which affects and is affected by the two major lines. The same consideration applies, naturally, to our analysis of the Ayas–Tabriz period and of the third period, that ending in 1500. In particular, we pointed out the existence of various “cross-routes”, though the term is inevitably somewhat misleading, which linked the two major lines. Both in the Asia Minor avenue (Konya, Sivas, etc.) and in Upper Mesopotamia, we found plentiful evidence of building in the cities, starting in the late twelfth century and continuing all through the first half of the thirteenth, corresponding to the period (1180 onwards) when growth in the European economy gathered pace. The minting of silver coins seemed similarly to take place in response to the expansion of the European economy, though earlier on the northern road (reign of Kılıç Arslan II, late 1170s to mid-1190s) than on the southern (mid-1210s). The evident difference in value between the exports of the east (silk, spices [mostly from India] and pearls [from the Persian Gulf]) and those of the west (iron, wood, some foodstuffs) required an eastward flow of silver, which, as we have seen, precisely took place.

The third route was that through the Red Sea. This at the time was the principal line taken by merchants bringing spices from India to Europe. Cairo and Damascus were enriched by that trade, a huge volume of building taking place there under the Ayyubids.

During the period which in this book is that of our principal interest, we witness a generally greater scale of trading activity. Essentially, instead of three, there are four lines. The essentially new one is that from China crossing inner Asia and reaching the sea at Tana and Caffa. The second and third are those reaching the sea at Trebizond and Ayas respectively. Tabriz was the hub to which goods from Iran, Georgia and India (spices and silk) were carried; after being traded there they were transported to Erzurum, and from there either over the passes to Trebizond, from which the journey to Constantinople and south European ports was done by ship, or else westwards to Erzincan and Sivas and then southwards to Ayas and Famagusta, where again merchants exported them to European destinations. Here the Erzurum–Sivas sector preserved the line of a route from the previous period. Those goods which had formerly come up the Persian Gulf to Baghdad and so to the Upper Mesopotamian cities now had to be diverted via Hormuz and Tabriz or else via the Red Sea and Cairo. In the Levant, Aleppo had now been knocked out as a trading centre. But the Red Sea spice trade continued, benefiting principally Cairo and Damascus.

The number of basic east–west routes (Caffa, Trebizond, Ayas and Cairo: four as opposed to three) and the circumstance that the China to Caffa route, if not completely new, was instituted essentially in this period, are significant indicators, but need to be combined with others. Certain products were exported to the west for the first time: Iranian and Georgian silk and the local products, for example buckram at Erzincan and dyed cotton at Sivas, whose production was surely stimulated by the passing trade.

The cities are a potent indicator. We noted that building continued at an impressive rate in Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks. But this continuity is nothing compared to the expansion of cities and the foundation of new ones which took place elsewhere, and particularly along the Ayas–Tabriz route. Ayas and Famagusta were typical commercial foundations, completely new cities which were built quickly in response to a radical change in commercial circumstances. Sultaniyya equally was a completely new foundation, built, among other reasons, as an emporium for silk arriving from Ghilan and other regions. Caffa, too, was a new foundation, whose main phase of growth appears to have occurred, however,

in the early fourteenth century. Other cities expanded dramatically: Tabriz particularly, with its huge expansion in surface area and two “funerary suburbs”, but also Erzincan and Sivas. In contrast to the previous period, we now find permanent trading communities from the various Italian republics in the cities along the way as far as Tabriz. The expansion and development of the cities along the road is fully comparable to that taking place in European cities during the same period.

Finally, we studied the minting of money along the Tabriz road, and concluded that the mints were highly active, partly no doubt on account of official policy, which aimed at accommodating trade. But the high rate of minting pointed to a fast inflow of western silver in the form of coins and ingots. This in turn suggested high imports of eastern goods to Europe. In general, few western manufactures reached the Levant, Cilicia and the Black Sea; despite the increases in manufacturing productivity in Europe, the trade nevertheless continued to be one in highly valuable eastern products such as spices and silk against raw materials such as iron and wood from the west, but now with a small element of western manufactured products, such as cloth, being traded in Levantine and Black Sea ports.

All these factors taken together point to the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary as that of the most intense trade between east and west within the second half of the Middle Ages. The phenomenon is distinct from its cause. The high intensity of commercial activity is explained by the booming economy of Europe, the availability of silver in Europe and the development of commercial instruments and institutions, such as the big Italian holding banks with their far-flung networks of offices, to facilitate the trade.

Opposite conditions obtained in the third period, that running from the 1340s to 1500. The European economy had crashed in the 1330s and 1340s, now sank lower, and stagnated until the 1420s, when it started to climb out of recession. The volume of silver mined in Europe remained low until the end of the fourteenth century; thereafter, it seems, mining responded sluggishly to the economic recovery. On the other hand, by the beginning of the fifteenth century some sectors of European industry such as clothes manufacture, both wool and silk, and the manufacture of glass and metalware had advanced in quality and productivity and were able to compete in eastern markets with the equivalent eastern products.

We saw that low European demand brought down the scale of imports on the Caffa–Inner Asia route; in the end, this trade was diverted to Asia Minor and Syria.

In Asia Minor and Armenia, part of the Ayas–Tabriz route was eventually to be revived, although between the closure of Ayas in 1337 and the opening of the Bursa–Ankara–Tokat route in the 1390s it would seem that east–west trade was confined to the Trebizond connection, where the volume of Iranian silk and other eastern goods carried was low in comparison with the previous period.

Bursa as a busy emporium for eastern goods suddenly emerges in the 1390s. The silk trade now took the Ankara–Tokat line to Erzincan. This meant that part of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, the sector between Sivas and Erzurum, was now revived, though with Tokat replacing Sivas. In the fifteenth-century Bursa trade, part of the demand originated, of course, from the Ottoman court, whether at Edirne/Adrianoupolis or (after 1453) at Constantinople. But part came from European buyers, who, in the aggregate, were able to pay for a proportion of their purchases with European products.

More or less at the same time as the opening of the Bursa trade, the way between Tabriz and Aleppo through the Upper Mesopotamian cities came back into use, reproducing in part a route of the early Turkish period, and here the western merchants exported little to balance their purchases of silk and Syrian cotton. Western silver therefore found its way along the Tabriz road, and surprisingly high quantities of coin were minted in the cities. On the other

hand in Egypt and southern Syria, while the Red Sea spice trade developed and boomed, European goods such as clothes and glassware were imported and to some extent offset the western imports of spices.

To sum up the whole post-Ayas period: taking one avenue of trade with another, we have the impression that the overall volume of imports from the east to the west is lower, and of this trade some would have been impossible without exports of western manufactures; at any rate, the trade has a more balanced character. The absence of Italian merchant communities on the different roads, except for those in the gateway cities (Caffa, Bursa, Aleppo, etc.), is noticeable, as is the generally lower value of coins minted.

The Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, therefore, emerges in the first place as a line with an element, the Sivas–Erzurum section, common to routes of the previous and the following period, while radical changes in routes took place elsewhere between one period and another. The middle period which it defines is that of the most intense trading activity between east and west, in which, among other things, Italian trading communities were set up along the various roads. Within the period it is hard to make comparisons, but it may be said that the Ayas route is distinguished by the heavy presence of Italian communities inland in the cities as far as Tabriz and by the exceptional influence on the cities – in the form of new foundations, expansion of built area and the construction of public buildings – which the trade exerted.

The line of the route. Pegolotti's route starts with the two fortified commercial cities of Famagusta and Ayas, founded, partly in the one case and wholly in the other, in response to the institution of the Ayas–Tabriz road as a channel of international commercial traffic. From Ayas the road coasts the eastern border of the Cilician plain and begins the climb through the Amanus, subsequently the Taurus, at the small city of “Colidara”/Kadirli. It crosses the Taurus via the Geben and Göksün route (though neither town features in the document), then turns northwestwards by a series of valleys and plains to join, at a point not far northeast of Kayseri, the easy straight track from that city to Sivas. At Sivas it finds a busy commercial city at the junction of several well-frequented roads, a city where the inception of the Ayas–Tabriz route had almost immediately provoked the simultaneous building of three substantial *madrasas*. The road then takes a well-established line, over a gentle pass, to Aqshahr/Pürk and thence through the Suşehri plain to that of Refahiye. From there to Erzincan it takes a longer but easier line through Kemah, descending gently into the valley of the Upper Euphrates and approaching Erzincan along that valley in an upstream direction.

Erzincan itself had seen rapid development and expansion, mostly by reason of commercial and manufacturing activity which seemed to be owed precisely to its position on the Sivas–Tabriz leg of the Pegolotti itinerary; Erzincan was now the leading city of Greater Armenia. From Erzincan the road proceeds into the Tercan plain, up another section of the Upper Euphrates valley and into the Erzurum plain. The city of Erzurum seems to have flourished in the early decades (1250s–1280s) of the Ayas route's commercial operation, but from the 1310s onwards underwent a decline. The latter seems to have been due to local political antagonisms rather than general commercial factors, but we have argued that not all commercial traffic passed through the city itself. From the Pasin plain the road takes a track via Avnik and the Karayazı Düzü to the Eleşkirt–Ağrı plain. From there the way lies through a series of plains and river basins eastwards and then southeastwards to Khoy and Tabriz. Spreading over an undulating plain, the city of Tabriz, again, experienced a rapid expansion in the 1260s–1290s, reaching giant proportions under the Il-Khan Ghazan (1295–1304). Growth in a sense continued after that with the assumption of the role of Il-Khanid capital by Sultaniyya and that city's fast development under Uljaytu (1304–16).

The general line of the itinerary – a roundabout, northerly route via the big commercial cities of Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum – is principally explained by the intermittent but savage Mongol–Mamluk warfare in the Euphrates basin (‘Ayntab, Bir, Urfa) between 1252 and 1323 and by the Mamluk redoubt in the Euphrates valley. For the years of Abu Sa‘id’s reign after 1323, with which we are apparently concerned, neither of these factors absolutely forced the authorities to take the Sivas–Erzincan–Erzurum line. But coupled with the inertia of infrastructure and the power of regional economic interests, these factors brought about the general northerly line of the route.

Given such a general course, the exact line taken by the itinerary along its successive sectors requires explanation of a different sort. Again and again the route twists and turns back and forth, deviating from the obvious straight line. Each time the explanation seems to be that the merchants needed easy gradients for their animals, and the route therefore took advantage of a succession of plains almost wherever it could. To an extent, plains, other open features such as wide valleys and other easy gradients offered protection against robbers, to whom a caravan toiling up an enclosed, sparsely inhabited valley offered the easiest opportunity. Moreover, to the extent that the Il-Khanid authorities guaranteed the safety of the route, its location along a series of plains and gradually rising valleys was an obvious means of facilitating their task.

At nearly all stages of the Ayas–Tabriz road, we saw that it is a mistake to conceive of that road as merely a line snaking over or past various topographical features, whether on the map or on the ground. The road is nothing without the settlements lying directly on it, whether thriving cities like Sivas, small cities such as Aqshahr/Pürk or villages such as Tabrud near Bayro. Moreover, the road cannot be understood without the roads which intersect it, especially the major commercial routes such as that between Sivas, Amasya and either Sinop or Samsun. This apart, the road is in reality part of a network of roads and settlements; some of the other roads are competitors, such as the ways from Erzurum to Kars, Ani and Nakhchevan, which were alternatives to the Pegolotti line between Erzurum and Tabriz. We have tried at all stages to present the Pegolotti line as part of a network without which the itinerary cannot be understood.

Caravansarays. Closely linked with the easy but snaking nature of the local routing of the itinerary is the notable lack of caravansarays to the east of Sivas. For the most part the toll stations are sited in towns and villages. The first of those caravansarays which do feature in Pegolotti’s itinerary lie on the approach to Sivas from Kayseri and on the approach to Kayseri from the direction of Malatya, and are known caravansarays of the Rum Seljuk sultanate. The two caravansarays on the Erzurum plain and that immediately after Erzurum are most likely to have been built by the Saltukids of Erzurum (as was the Mama Hatun Han), but could possibly have been built by the Seljuks of Rum while they occupied the district. The one caravansaray which might have been built by or at the initiative of the Il-Khanid authorities is the *gavazera sulla montagna*, the Tivnik Han. The authorities, in so far as they chose the route, preferred to let the merchants take circuitous but undemanding paths where the danger from robbers was least and provisions for travellers and their animals could easily be found from local sources. In winter the policy was less than helpful; one must conclude that, since the winter deterred most travellers anyway, the help given to winter travellers, especially during sudden blizzards, was seen as too marginally useful to be worth providing. The conclusion, though logical in its way, is somewhat paradoxical and perverse: the worse the conditions, the less help is given to travellers. Nevertheless, the point is to some extent paralleled on the Lake Van route, one of the successors to Pegolotti’s as the outlet for Iranian

goods, particularly silk, to the west. Such caravansarays as there are on the shore of Lake Van and nearby (at a height of 1,500 metres above sea level) are products of the Ottoman period.

An attempt at explaining the relative dearth of caravansarays east of Sivas may be made as follows. The Mangujakid principality of Erzincan was finally subsumed into the Seljuk dominions in 1228. By this time a whole series of caravansaray construction projects was under way in western Asia Minor – not by any means just the Antalya–Konya–Sinop line. Now if some caravansarays had already been built between Sivas and Erzincan and then between Erzincan and the Tivnik Han or the Mama Hatun caravansaray, to fill in some of the stages with new caravansarays would not have required many resources. But to make a start on a completely new road would not only have required many new resources, but would also have been so daunting that a start on the new section of road would have been delayed. Events then overtook the Seljuks: defeat by and submission to the Mongol empire, and after the mid-century an incapacity, owing to division and conflict within the state, to co-ordinate such a large-scale project. This apart, we may also suspect some difficulty over the creation of *waqfs* for the caravansarays.

Rogers has argued that there was no public system of caravansarays run by the Seljuk sultans. Staying in some caravansarays was free, he argues, because the *waqf* created by the sultan or other notable covered the expenses, whereas others were clearly founded on the basis that travellers would cover the running costs.¹ The epithet *al-sultānī* does not feature in the inscriptions of the larger, artistically more accomplished caravansarays known to have been founded by the Seljuk sultans.² In fact, with one exception, it only appears in minor caravansarays, and then only on the covered hall, which was the first part to be constructed.³

These highly cogent arguments together show that the sultans themselves did not finance the whole network of caravansarays which actually were constructed – but it is worth pointing out that a combination of free and self-financing caravansarays could be planned, just as a combination of free roads and toll-roads can be planned today. As it is, some of the founders were viziers, other notables or private individuals. But the provision of caravansarays at most stages along certain roads in Anatolia on the one hand, and the complete absence of Seljuk caravansarays along the Sivas–Erzincan track and in certain sectors beyond on the other, can hardly be the product of chance decisions. Some kind of planning or forethought must have gone into the almost systematic provision of caravansarays along the main roads of western Asia Minor. Naturally such planning or forethought might take the form of an understanding, developed over time, between sultans and their leading officials, rather than any organised staging of the successive construction projects or working out of priorities in the provision of caravansarays on particular routes. But it is difficult to imagine that the basic medium of such co-ordination, formal or informal, could have been anyone other than the sultan and his central bureaucracy. This argues that the absence of caravansarays on the Sivas–Erzincan stretch is the product of a knowing decision of some sort or other, perhaps very informal or perhaps more formal and precisely articulated.

This apart, it may be that the Sivas–Erzincan stretch was seen as particularly safe. We argue later that it is for this reason that so few *tangauls* or guards were provided here, whereas they were provided at every day's stage from Avnik/"Sermessacalo" to Khoy. Similar considerations could have played a part in the decision, however vaguely and tacitly worked out, not to build caravansarays along the Sivas–Erzincan sector or in certain other sectors after Erzincan.

Il-Khanid management of the route: the siting of toll stations. The siting of the toll stations is one of the most informative indications at our disposal of the way in which the

authorities managed and maintained the route. The first three stations within Il-Khanid territory (Gandon, Casena and the *gavazera dell'amiraglio*) are placed at intervals precisely of a day's travel. On the approach to Sivas the toll stations correspond to every second nightly stop made by the merchants. Once Sivas is left behind they become much sparser. The biggest interval is the section from "Greboco"/Aqshahr to "Mughisar"/Kemah, which must have accounted for at least four days' travel. But on the Erzurum plain ("Ligurti"/Kaḏarič, etc.) and east of Erzurum as far as *a mezzo della piana di Aggio* and then from "Calacresti" on the Ağrı plain as far as Khoy, they do seem to correspond more or less regularly to the nightly stops. To an extent the explanation lies in the connection with other routes, the traffic from which could be taxed at the nodes of intersection with Pegolotti's route. This would be true of Gandon, Casena, the Karatay Han/*gavazera dell'amiraglio*, the caravansarays up to Sivas and those on the Erzurum plain, which are designed to catch traffic coming to Erzurum by all three of the different tracks which start at Bayburt.

Those sections of the road over which the stations are placed sparsely would appear to be the ones where the danger from robbers was slight. In the succession of plains through which the tracks passed, few brigands would have been found among the settled Armenian population. After Erzurum, on the other hand, each station corresponds to a day's stage as far as Khoy. We shall see later why the latter section would have been unusually dangerous.

The incidence of the *tantaulaggio* or charge for the service of the guardians also furnishes some information on the safeguarding of the route. As far as "Sermessacalo"/Avnik, they are rare. A guardian had to be paid as one left Erzincan: the payment is not named *tantaulaggio*, but its purpose is precisely that of the *tantaulaggio*. The tax has next to be paid at the Kaḏoyarič/Kaḏarič bridge. But from "Sermessacalo"/Avnik as far as Tabriz itself, the charge is levied at every station.

At Avnik we have left the territory of the governorate of Rum, and this may be part of the explanation: a different style of management in a different province cannot be ruled out. But to a greater extent the explanation, surely, is the need for security in rural, upland districts inhabited in part or wholly by tribes in encampments. We agreed that the provision of *tangauls* was facilitated by the proximity of the Ala Dagh palace, with which, from the *piana d'Aggio*/Karayazı Düzü to the *piana del fiume Rosso*/plain of Khoy, the itinerary's route stands in a continuous relationship; from 3 *chiese*/Üç Kilise it cuts a broad arc which stays always at a certain distance from the palace.

But this seemed a secondary consideration. Over the stretch in question the great majority of the toll stations' names are those of districts. Of those which are not, "Calacresti"/modern Ağrı and 3 *chiese*/Üç Kilise are the names of individual settlements, but these lie in a cultivated plain not so much at the mercy of tribes. *Aggia* and *Scaracanti*, we have argued, are individual settlements, but lie within districts which are named in the itinerary. The remainder of the names are those of districts. No settlement name is mentioned, because the station is not a settlement. The tax is not levied at a settlement, because the officer is everywhere, including tribal encampments. He perhaps visits the tribes in all parts of the district for which he is responsible, and he levies the tax at whatever point along the road suits him and the respective travellers.

The Il-Khans' management of the route: building. So far the Il-Khans' management of the route appears cheap; in fact it does not result in a financial loss at all. No money is spent on caravansarays; the *tantaulaggio* pays for the *tangaul*; the transit taxes, net of their collection costs, gain money for the treasury. But there is one respect in which the Il-Khans and their servants did invest large sums of money in the route.

According to a text written at least a century after the Pegolotti itinerary's likely period of composition (the 1320s), a text whose trustworthiness has been put in question but which nevertheless seems to reflect the image of the Il-Khans that had been transmitted to Iranian political and bureaucratic circles over the given century, the Il-Khanid vizier Rashid al-Din advised his son, Timur Tash, who was made responsible for the civil administration of Rum in 717/1317, to construct fortified *ribāṭs* and cisterns along the road where they were needed, and *madrāsas*, *masjids*, *khanqāhs*, *muṣallās* and bridges.⁴ The *ribāṭ* of the text would appear to be in the nature of a blockhouse in which travellers could stay (something like the forts seen by the Cumonts on the Çardaklı Bel between Refahiye and Erzincan).⁵ The *muṣallā* is a large open space, enclosed by a wall, for congregational praying.⁶ The governors of Rum and other officials appear not to have carried out the first (*ribāṭs* and cisterns), but the Il-Khans and their officials did invest in the cities. They commissioned religious foundations such as *madrāsas* and ensured their maintenance by diverting the income from property, presumably their own, to the *waqf* or endowment of the respective institution (*madrasa*, etc.). The finance director Juvayni; the merchant from Barujird and the Il-Khan Ghazan at Sivas; Uljaytu at Erzurum; perhaps Uljaytu again and another officer at Bayburt; all founded *madrāsas* in the cities. It would be difficult to disentangle the religious from the commercial purpose.

Settlements; resting-places for travellers. It is hard to draw conclusions concerning the character of the settlements stayed in by the merchants except when separate information is available. Some are clearly villages, as for example (despite its name) "Scaracanti"/Karakent. In certain cases the existence of a settlement at all (which is at least guaranteed by the appearance of a name in Pegolotti's itinerary) suggests that a town known from the prosperous twelfth and thirteenth centuries – essentially the period of the Rum Seljuk sultanate – continued its existence as a town into the first half of the fourteenth. Such towns are "Gandon"/Komana and "Greboco"/Aqshahr, though in the latter case, the settlement's history as a fortified town in the late fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries helps to bolster the notion that such a town existed also in the Il-Khanid period. This in turn is some indication that the network of cities and towns that had flourished in the first period we considered (1100 to mid-1250s) were sustained by the commercial conditions of the Il-Khanid period. The case of "Colidara"/Kadirli is somewhat different: the bare mention of the name in Pegolotti's list argues for the existence of a town, rather than a village, where no literary, but some archaeological, evidence exists.

Although some of the itinerary's names are clearly those of villages, it is legitimate to ask whether any kind of provision was made for the accommodation of travellers apart from caravansarays and ordinary village houses. Earlier, in describing the use of a track from the Persian Gulf to Firuzan, we referred to the astonishing number of *zawiyas* built by one local amir and the high proportion of his income devoted to their construction by his son.⁷ Clavijo, 70 years after the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, stayed in a kind of dervish village at the east end of the Pasinler plain on his return from Samarkand. He called it *muler chemon*, explaining this as "village of the madmen". This may be considered a *zawiya*-village (i.e. a village carrying out the purpose of a *zawiya*). The sixteenth-century Ottoman tax registers reveal a number of *zawiyas* in the districts west and east of Erzincan. They mostly lie on tracks which we have discussed here. Some of them were founded by members of the Ak Koyunlu Uzun Hasan's family. For example at Balahor, a *zawiya* was founded by Seljuk Shah Khatun, wife of Uzun Hasan. At Cimin in the Erzincan plain, near

the point where Clavijo's track separated from Pegolotti's, there was a *zawiya* named after a certain Abu Ishak.⁸ On the line of the Roman road rising towards Satala out of the Erzincan plain, at Rumsaray/Mecidiye, there existed until recently a *zawiya* in which Tur 'Ali Beg, predecessor of Uzun Hasan, was buried.⁹ The Ottoman registers also reveal that the Karatay Han near Kayseri, after the volume of traffic had fallen off, had been turned into a *zawiya*.¹⁰ Within the districts traversed by the Pegolotti route, none of the evidence dates to a period much less than 150 years after the period of the Pegolotti route's use, though the *zawiyas* constructed between the Persian Gulf and Firuzan in Iran precisely do date to that period. But it is possible that *zawiyas* existed in villages along the roads, just as they did in the towns. Another possibility is *zawiya*-villages like Clavijo's in the Aras valley east of the plain of Pasin.

Conclusions of a different category can be put forward. For the most part, Pegolotti's informants talk with the local Armenian, sometimes Greek, population rather than with Mongol or Turkish officials. The name they bring back with them is not Aqshahr, but – in a highly garbled form – Ałbiwrk'; not Avnik, but, again in a somewhat transmuted form, "Sermanc' Kale".¹¹ This in turn suggests that they do business, of whatever sort, with local Armenians and Greeks; it is local Armenians with whom they trade, at least in the towns, and who sell them food and provide lodging and perhaps stables.

Local languages and their perception by Italians. Conclusions of a more purely linguistic character emerge.

In order to discuss the sources and circumstances of the mistakes in the perception or reproduction of place-names, it is convenient to start with a catalogue of the mistakes.

1. The most serious are the *metatheses* of consonants:
 Armn. Ałbiwrk', pron. "Aghbiurk": > "Greboco"
 Sukmānābād: > "(gli) Camuzone"
 Kangha, or similar: > "Aggio"
 Kadirli (or similar): > "Colidara"
 Kaldarič: > "Ligurti"
2. *Loss of sounds*
 (a) of whole syllables:
 Kamax-hisar (or similar)¹²: > "Mughisar"
 (b) of consonants
 Sermanc' Kale: > "Sermessacalo".
3. *Changes of consonants*
 Tasuj': > "Sandoddi"
 Kandilli: > "Cantieri"
 Pers. Khūy, pron. "Khoy": > "Condro"
4. *Inserted consonants*
 Komana: > "Gandon" (/d/)
 Tasuj': > "Sandoddi" (/n/)
 Σεβάστεια, normally written *Sevasto* by Italians: > "Salvastro"
 Pers. Khūy, pron. "Khoy": > "Condro". A triple epenthesis
5. The nature of the acoustic mistake is unclear in
 [?] Turk. Tatlıocak: > "casa di Jacomo"
 [?] L(i) Ak Čay: > "Locche",
 but would appear serious in any case.

The first conclusion, though not a certain one, that might be drawn from the aforementioned catalogue of the toponymic errors is that the informant or informants are probably Italian merchants reporting the place names by word of mouth to someone at the Ayas end of the itinerary, probably in Ayas or Famagusta. The treatment of the names is considerably more competent over the stretch Ayas to Sivas than after Sivas. “Colidara” for *Kadirli* or a similar local name, and “Gandon” for *Komana*, are not such serious and misleading mistakes as “Greboco” for *Albiwrk*, “Ligurti” for *Kaldarič*, “gli Camuzone” for *Sukmānābād*. The informant’s reproduction of the names is more accurate over the stretch nearer to Ayas and Cyprus, probably because he had heard the names more recently. He also understands the meaning of the name, probably Turkish, for one of the caravansarays: Sultan Han (‘gavazera ... soldano’).¹³

Secondly, let us try to elucidate the general degree of seriousness of the mistakes in reproduction of place-names, as opposed to the degree of seriousness over one stretch of the itinerary relative to the remainder. We shall do this by contrasting the Italian rendering of place-names in Pegolotti’s itinerary from Ayas to Tabriz with a different list, from the same work: that of Italian renderings of the names of wool-producing English monasteries. This, which must equally have been composed as an entity before inclusion, at some stage, in Pegolotti’s compendium, simply gives the names of those English monasteries whose products were available (not necessarily all at the same time) to Italian buyers, either in London or, more particularly, in Antwerp. We shall quote a selection of names from the list. The selection does not pretend to be entirely representative, but at least brings the whole list of monasteries within manageable bounds, and it is doubtful whether a different selection would produce radically different conclusions.

<i>Averolmo</i> : Haverholme	(ed. Evans: 265; commentary, 392)
<i>Baleo in Essecchisi</i> : Bileigh in Essex	(265; 392)
<i>Basinguecche</i> : Basinwerk	(262; 392)
<i>Bocchesella in Chenti</i> : Boxley in Kent	(xxix, 263; 393)
<i>Bortona sor Tretta</i> : Burton-on-Trent	(268; 393)
<i>Bufeltro in Cornovaglia</i> : Buckfastleigh in Cornwall	(xxix, 268; 393)
<i>Chircano</i> : Kirkham	(267; 393)
<i>Chiricchistede</i> : Kirksted	(xxix, 260; 393)
<i>Diolaccresca</i> : Dieulacres	(xxix, 261; 394)
<i>Donfermellino</i> : Dunfermline	(259; 394)
<i>Grimesbi in Lendisia</i> : Wellow (or Grimsby) in Lindsey	(267; 394)
<i>Miravalle</i> : Merevale	(xxix, 262)
<i>Nonocotono</i> : Nuncoton	(266; 395)
<i>Nostro Dama di Liuzestri</i> : St Mary du Pré in Leicester	(268; 395)
<i>Nuovoluogo in Scireuda</i> : Newstead in Sherwood	(268; 395)
<i>Ponte Roberto</i> : Robertsbridge	(xxix, 263, 264; 395)
<i>Santo Andrea di Norettona</i> : St Andrew’s, Northampton	(269; 395)
<i>Santo Andrea di Vervicche</i> : St Andrew’s, York	(265; 395)
<i>Sicchisille</i> : Sixhill, Lincolnshire	(265; 395)
<i>Spaldinghe</i> : Spalding	(268; 395)
<i>Suinsivede</i> : Swineshed (but older form <i>Swynesheved</i>)	(260; 395)
<i>Tornolmo</i> : Thornholm	(267; 395)
<i>La Trinitade di Londra</i> : Holy Trinity, London	(269; 395)

The main difference with the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary is the relative accuracy of reproduction of local place-names, especially if we make allowances for changes in the pronunciation of English since the fourteenth century. It can hardly be maintained that the sounds of English are nearer to those of Italian than are those of Armenian and Greek. The mere difference in language, therefore, will not explain the greater accuracy of reproduction of place-names.

A second difference, that the author or authors of the English monastery list know what some of the names mean, whereas the source of the information in the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary did not, is much more disputable. The informant had somehow learnt the meaning of *Borgo San Piero*, *Nostra Dama di Liuzestri*, *Novelluogo in Scireuda*, *Ponte Ruberto* and *La Trinitade di Londra*. However, there is a likelihood or possibility, varying according to individual names, that the informant had learnt the meaning from the Latin as opposed to the English name. To learn the meaning from the Latin form would have been easy in the case of St Mary du Pré/*Nostra Dama di Liuzestri*. It is less easy, though perfectly possible, to imagine an Italian learning the meaning of the name “Peterborough” (*Borgo San Piero*) from the Latin form. But it is much more difficult to imagine in the case of “Robertsbridge” (*Ponte Ruberto*), and highly difficult in the case of Newstead in Sherwood/*Novelluogo in Scireuda* (*Luogo*, “place”, “stopping-place”, sometimes “harbour”; *stead*, “place”, “stopping-place”, as in “roadstead”, meaning “harbour”). Pegolotti’s informant for the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, however, also knows the meanings of certain names, though we ourselves do not know in which language they heard them (Greek, Armenian, western or eastern Turkish or possibly Italian via an interpreter). The translations are accurate for the most part (*gavazera dell’amiraglio*, *gavazera del soldano*, *piano del Fiume Rosso*, though not exactly in *piano di Falconieri*).¹⁴

Nevertheless, the faulty reproduction of names in the Ayas–Tabriz list, with all their metatheses, ellipses of syllables and consonants, consonant changes, etc., is a considerably worse case than the equivalent in the English list. Even if we make allowance for local dialects, which might distort the form known to us from literary texts, the striking mistakes in the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary exceed in seriousness those of the English list to a significant degree.

In respect of the Italian merchants who are the basic informants on the subject of the English monasteries, the correct conclusion would seem to be either that they knew English, or else that they talked to English informants with whom they had a significantly good rapport and understanding (perhaps half in English, half in Italian) to be able to write down a list of the monasteries’ names in a form congenial to Italian pronunciation and to the Italian alphabet. But in any case, some of the Italian banking houses, including the Bardi, maintained a representation in England over more than one generation, and it would be reasonable to assume that those Italians resident in England would acquire a practical speaking knowledge of English.¹⁵

In respect of the merchant or merchants who supplied the place-names in the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary, one might wish to conclude *tout court* that these merchants did not know the local languages (Greek, Armenian, Turkish, etc.). If the merchants in question had made the journey, either there and back or even just returning along the Tabriz–Ayas route after a different outward itinerary, this would very likely be the case.

But it would be unfair to be so categorical concerning all the possible merchants who might have provided the information. A fairer conclusion would be that the Italian of Pegolotti’s informants concerning the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary did not stand in the same relation to their knowledge of local languages (Greek, Armenian, etc.) as in the English case. This relation may simply have been that their knowledge of the local languages, and therefore their ability

to pick up the sounds of names in those languages, was extremely limited. Or it may have been the other way round. This writer knows the influence of a good speaking knowledge of two foreign languages, away from his own country, on his ability to produce sounds in his own language. It is the clashes between two foreign languages rather than the mere fact of speaking a foreign language which produce the effect. The more different in character (grammar, vocabulary, phonetic behaviour, etc.) the two foreign languages are, the greater the number of mistakes, and the greater the degree of seriousness of those mistakes, made by the speaker in his own language. The mistakes include (in the present writer's case), especially in the longer words, metatheses of just the sort we have observed in Pegolotti's text. The local languages encountered along Pegolotti's road (Greek, Armenian, Turkish) are different enough from one another and from Italian to intensify the language clashes in question and so to increase the seriousness of the mistakes made by the Italian merchants in their own language. It should be observed that this is not a case of language attrition. The present author, when he goes back to Britain, has no trouble in producing the sounds of English correctly; and when Italian merchants left Ayas and went back to Florence or Venice they would have had no trouble in the correct formation of words in their own language. On the supposition of an informant who knew one or more local languages, then, the mistakes in Pegolotti's text arise from garbling in the reproduction of place-names rather than from errors in their perception.

General significance of the route. It is appropriate to end with an evaluation of the importance of the route delineated by Pegolotti and with a picture of the trading world which established itself after the route had been rendered inoperable by the insecurity and dissensions of the Il-Khanid empire of the late 1330s and the 1340s.

Pegolotti's route encapsulates a series of trading relationships which pertained over the period from the mid-1250s to 1337 and somewhat beyond: in Iran and Asia Minor this corresponds, grossly, to the period of the Il-Khanid empire (1259–c. 1350). The Ayas–Tabriz road and the contemporary commercial routes such as the Inner Asian one and the Red Sea line, we argued, represent a high point in east–west trade during the overall period 1100–1500. We can also see the period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary as the second of three stable networks, each of which took shape after shocks caused by changes in the political sphere. The routes of the third period (1340s–1500) continued beyond 1500 and constituted the two classic avenues of trading exchange between the Ottoman empire and western Europe at least until 1600.

In the first period, the commercial republics of the western Mediterranean are linked with Iran, Inner Asia, China and India via two principal channels: over the track, essentially through the Rum Seljuk sultanate, from Erzurum to Sivas, Konya and Antalya, and via Mesopotamia through Aleppo and the sea route.

The need for Pegolotti's route arose when Aleppo was devastated by the Mongols and the routes east from there were cut by warfare between the Il-Khanid empire and the Mamluk sultanate. The Ayas–Tabriz itinerary essentially served Europe's need for trade with Iran and India: it did not help substantially in commercial relations with China, the need for which was met by the Tana–Saray–Almaligh track. But the nature of Mamluk–Mongol warfare made the route invaluable, especially when the enforcement of Papal bans on exports to the Mamluk sultanate was tightened.

After the commercial viability of the Ayas route, at least as a line guaranteeing movement all the way between Ayas and Tabriz, had, in its turn, been crippled by political developments, an alternative had to be found. In the first place, while Aleppo was slowly rebuilt as a

religious and commercial capital, the old route through Upper Mesopotamia, with an extension to Tabriz through the L. Van cities, was revived and seems, from the very end of the fourteenth century, first to have carried Chinese rather than Iranian silk, though later, Iranian silk predominated.

The northerly route through Asia Minor also revived. The Ottoman sultans developed Bursa as a market where, in part, Iranian silk was traded for European cloth. Between Erzurum and the vicinity of Sivas (though Tokat substituted now for Sivas), the route was the same as Pegolotti's. Both the southerly and the northerly routes through Asia Minor were helping to substitute for the Tana–Saray–Almaligh line, which after the 1460s completely broke down as a link between Europe and China.

What are the worlds left behind and entered when such a realignment of trade routes has taken place? In the first of the steady states outlined here, Inner Asia, Iran and the Rum Seljuk sultanate communicate with the Europe of the High Middle Ages, via Erzurum, Sivas, Konya and Antalya. Equally the Aleppo of the Zengids and Ayyubids (mid-twelfth to first half of the thirteenth century) connects Baghdad and the Indies with the same Europe.

The period of the Ayas–Tabriz itinerary must be viewed as that of the most intense exchange between east and west during the second half of the Middle Ages. Small Italian merchant communities are installed not merely in the port cities but also in inland cities along the Tabriz track and on the Inner Asian track from Caffa and Tana. Here the Europe of the High Middle Ages, in its most prosperous period, trades with Iran, India, Central Asia and China through Tabriz and Ayas or Trebizond and through the cities of the Inner Asian route.

The Ayas–Tabriz period leads to the third. Here trade has been severely damaged by the European crash of the 1330s and 1340s and by the subsequent depression. The Ayas–Tabriz route itself has been cancelled, at least as a complete line, by the Mamluk acquisition of Ayas and by the violent conditions within the Il-Khanid empire; slowly a new configuration develops. Via Aleppo, in the fifteenth century, with Venetian trade at its height, the regions of the eastern Mediterranean shore (modern Syria, Lebanon and Israel) and those of Iran communicate with the Europe of the Renaissance. On the northern route, again the booming mercantile cities of Bursa and, later, Constantinople, function as the trading-place between Iran and the same Europe. In sum, Pegolotti's itinerary may be viewed not only as representing the most intense period of east–west trade in the late Middle Ages but also as a hinge between a state where the fragmented Middle East (including Asia Minor and the Levant) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries trades with the early stages of the high Middle Ages of Europe, and a state where the industries and markets of the Ottoman empire (particularly in Bursa and Constantinople) and those of the Mamluk empire (in Aleppo) connect the silk producers of Iran with the developing European Renaissance.

Notes

- 1 Rogers 1978: 410–12.
- 2 Ibid: 400–01.
- 3 Ibid: 397–400, 401–03.
- 4 Togan 1954–55: 149; n 131 on p 193.
- 5 For the military use of the term *ribāṭ*, EI², 'Ribāṭ', 8.493–506 (J.Chabbi, N.Rabbat): esp 501–03, 506.
- 6 Again see EI², 'Muṣallā', 7.658–60 (A.J. Wensinck, R.Hillenbrand): 659–60.
- 7 P 99.
- 8 Miroğlu 1975: 71 (Balahor), 76, 82, 83, 97, 105; 1990: 92, 98, 102 (Cimin).
- 9 Beygu 1936: 249–51; Şahin 1985: 563 n 18.

- 10 Turan 1948: 64.
- 11 But note, even so, that Turk. *kale*, “castle”, has been substituted for Armn. *berd*.
- 12 Armn. -x-: a vocal scrape harsher than German /ch/ or Eng. /ch/ in “loch”.
- 13 The Karatay Han is a more dubious case, since *gavazera dell’amiraglio* may have been an Italian appellation not based on any Turkish original such as *Emirhan*.
- 14 For the meaning of Armn. *Bazujor*, p 272.
- 15 Lloyd 1982: 171, 172 (living in lodgings), 174; Prestwich 1979: 100–01. On the Bardi, Lloyd 1982: 171, 181–83. Immediately after the Ayas–Tabriz period there is evidence of a scattering of alien merchants in the English provinces and of these merchants’ being obliged to live with their hosts. See Beardwood 1931: 33–35, 55–57, cf 58–75. A speaking knowledge of English would seem to have been required, in particular, by the Italians’ various contacts with the authorities. See Lloyd 1982: 167, 174–99, esp 193. Some Italians occupied official positions within the government or otherwise maintained close relations with the court or leading families: Prestwich 1979: 82–84, 87–88, 94–95, 101–02.

Appendix I: Ottoman routes of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in the Sivas–Erzurum sector

In this appendix we shall compare with Pegolotti's route the Ottoman routes between Sivas, Tokat and Niksar on the one hand and Erzurum on the other collected by Taeschner in his *Wegenetz* (Taeschner 1924–26). Of the latter, the great majority are itineraries followed by Ottoman travellers, armies, etc., but Taeschner also examined the itineraries of certain European travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For purposes of elucidation and reinforcement of our conclusions we shall include other Europeans, some of whose routes have been studied by Bryer and Winfield (Bryer, Winfield 1985).

We shall first of all lay out the routes just in the same categories as Taeschner's, which on the whole concern the purposes of travel, and in the same order. As we lay them out, however, we shall clear up any leftover problems of identification, particularly of place-names, and so place the line of each itinerary with the greatest exactitude possible. We shall then attempt a reclassification, mainly according to period, in order to understand the changes over time that took place in the three centuries in question. After this reclassification we shall be in a position to compare the Ottoman routes with Pegolotti's, and shall see that the differences in line followed can be largely explained by certain changes since Pegolotti's time, such as the decline of Sivas; by other changes taking place during the three Ottoman centuries under consideration, such as the continuing decline of Erzincan; and by those differences in purpose (military as against commercial,

etc.) which Taeschner perhaps sees as the primary determinant of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century routes.

(a) The military route ('Heerstraße')

In Taeschner's conception this is a route which runs between Sivas and Erzurum. The main route, he implies, goes via Erzincan, but there are certain detours available.

a. The main route via Erzincan (Taeschner 2.2–9)

This proceeds from Sivas to Koçhisar, then Zara (at least according to Taeschner), then crosses the Köse Dağ and arrives in the Suşehri plain via Şahna Çimen. From here the itineraries proceed through the Suşehri and Refahiye plains to cross the Çimen Dağ, then descend to Erzincan.

From Erzincan they cross the Çubuk Ova ("Rod Plain" or "Twig Plain")¹ or plain of Erzincan and rise over the Cibice pass to cut off the angle of the Upper Euphrates, taking precisely the same line as Pegolotti's route. But once they arrive in the plain of Tercan, a different line from Pegolotti's – the more direct one via Mamahatun – is taken by the Ottoman armies, as distinct from private parties. That part of Pegolotti's route which travels northwards along the river bank to Pekerîç and then north-eastwards, again upstream, to arrive at Kağdariç, is not taken by the armies. The latter climb the Eski Dere

and emerge on to the plain of Erzurum at a point further south than Kağdariç. Their first stopping-place on the plain is generally Cınıs, sometimes Pırtın a little further south-west. From these places the way lies almost invariably through İlica. The two European travellers considered by Taeschner, however, appear to have taken the Pegolotti route between the Tercan plain and Erzurum.

It can be seen already that these Ottoman routes on the whole follow the line of Pegolotti's itinerary. There are two elements of real tactical difference, at least to judge from the description so far. These are the leg from the Refahiye plain to Erzincan, where the Ottoman routes follow shorter, though not necessarily straight, and more direct lines through the Çimen Dağ massif, in preference to the gentler gradients of the detour via Kemah; and the leg from the Tercan plain to that of Erzurum. In both cases the line of the Ottoman routes, more direct than Pegolotti's, is easily explicable, *grosso modo*, by the fact that they routes are followed by armies. To armies it is an advantage, other things being equal, to follow a shorter, though steeper, line. They can camp on yaylas; the danger of robbery is scarcely even relevant. But we shall see that there are variations of route even among the Ottoman itineraries.

Let us turn to the individual itineraries.

[1] Selim I's route towards the battle of Çaldıran in 1514. (*Münşeat üs-selatin* I.399–400; Taeschner's figs. 36–37, 38–39.)

Koçhisar; Kaz Gölü; Uşkenci Kayası; Şahna Çimen; Güzeller Çayırı on the Akşehir Sahrası [i.e. plain of Akşehir or Suşehri plain]; Enderes; Suşehri Çayırı; Gökseki, opposite Ak Tepe; Büyük Yurt near Ak Tepe; Hasan Beg Çayırı in the district of Yassı Çimen, and near Kuru Tepe Çayırı; Tepe Başı near the Germane Çayırı, at the end of the Yassı Çimen; the bank of the [Upper] Euphrates near Erzincan.

From Sivas Selim's army came eastwards to Koçhisar and the Kaz Gölü (the lake of Tödürge). The next stop, at Uşkenci Kayası,

cannot be placed,² but the general direction and line are clear from the following stop, Şahna Çimen. From the itinerary of Süleyman I's army in 1548 ([3] later), we can fill in one likely detail of the route. For the next stop after Koçhisar on Süleyman's route of 1548 the source, Leunclavius, gives *Giagir* or *Zazirgui Japak*.³ In *Giagir* and *Zazirgui* one can read "Tödürge" and "Kazlu Köy": the latter would be a variation on the *Kaz Köyü* of Selim I's route. *Japak* will be modern Yapak, north of the Tödürge lake and on the border of the plain. This will have been the starting-point of the climb to Uşkenci Kayası the following day. Since Yapak is 11 kilometres west of Zara and a few kilometres north of it, it is safe to assume that the Ottoman armies cut out Zara, crossing the angle made by the eastward continuation to Zara along the floor of the Kızıl Irmak valley and the first section of the road climbing northwards from Zara. The point at which the Ottoman armies' shortcut joined the road from Zara would be that where (in Hogarth and Munro's time) the caravansaray of "Arapja Kupru" was sited. The traveller starting from Zara had climbed over a ridge and down into a valley rising up from the Kızıl Irmak plain. This spot would be close to that marked on modern maps as *Atalan* ("Horse-Taker", with a possible connection to the caravansaray). Atalan is 11 kilometres north of Zara as the crow flies.

From the caravansaray one climbed through a narrow gorge and up steeply through pine forest to the watershed between the Kızıl Irmak valley (south) and the Kelkit Çay basin. The gorge may contain the Uşkenci Kayası ("Uşkenci Rock") of Selim I's itinerary. The latter continues from the watershed downhill to the yayla opposite Keçeyurt, moved northeastwards along the contour, then dropped to Şahna Çimen. Up to this point Selim I's route has followed what we have argued, admittedly using the Ottoman armies' itineraries as evidence, to be the *Tabula Peutingeriana*'s line past "Megalasso".

After Şahna Çimen, stops are made at the *Güzeller Çayırı* (“Meadow of Güzeller [a village on the plain]”) and Enderes, then another at the *Suşehri Çayırı* (“Suşehri Meadow”). The route therefore makes a loop up to the Güzeller Çayırı, on the north edge of the plain (presumably in search of pasture for the animals), then doubles back on a somewhat more westerly course to Enderes. After Enderes the next stop would, for civilian travellers at least, be Ezbider. The *Suşehri Çayırı* will be a meadow, natural preference of an army, near the Cumonts’ ‘Sushéhir’, a collection of pools in marshy land on the western edge of the Refahiye plain, in front of Ağvanis on its small hill-ock.⁴ The pools and marshes, however, gave their name to a whole Ottoman *nahiye* (rural district of up to 20 villages) in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The villages in the *nahiye* seem to have been near Ezbider, and we shall see that Ezbider was in fact the *nahiye*’s chief village, so the *nahiye* must have included villages on the Suşehri plain below. There is no confusion in the sources between *Suşehri*/*Suşehir*, names for the marshy locality and the *nahiye*, and *Suşehri*, the modern name for Enderes at the western end of the Suşehri plain. The bulk of the Suşehri plain constituted the *nahiye* of Akşehirabad (“Plain of Akşehir”), while Enderes is registered in the Ottoman tax census or *tahrir defter* as Endiryes.⁵ For armies, at any rate, the meadow of Suşehir was a standard stopping-place: compare the itineraries of Süleyman I’s army in 1534 ([2] later): the *meadow of Gümüştekin* in the district of Suşehri) and of the same monarch’s army in 1548 ([3] later: Leunclavius’s *Susar*) and that of Selim II’s army in 1578 ([4] later: the designation “Suşehri” only).⁶

The next stop, *Gökseki* (lit. “Blue Bench”)⁷ opposite Ak Tepe, lies at the north-east corner of the Refahiye basin, in the lower stages of the valley of pass A. This for the time being suggests that the army is about to cross the Çimen Dağ massif by pass A, line of AI.3, the summer route from Nikopolis

to Satala.⁸ Of the remaining stops, the last one before Erzincan, *Tepe Başı* (“Hilltop”) near Germane Çayırı (“The Meadow of Germane”) can be located straightaway. From Süleyman I’s itinerary of 1548 (no. [3] later) we know that Germane lay 12 miles short of Erzincan. In the late sixteenth century, the inhabitants of a village of Göyne – probably the same as Germane, but at any rate nearby – were made responsible for the upkeep of bridges on the main road, and in return were granted exemption from various taxes.⁹ The stop is at the village of Tepe Başı or Göyne, where the horses would have access to the Germane Çayırı. Mustawfi’s [*Dep*]e- *Kh^wāja Aḥmad* (“The Hill of Kh^wāja Ahmad”) will be the same village as Tepe Başı.¹⁰

The next stop after Gökseki, the *Büyük Yurd* (lit. “Great Encampment”)¹¹ near Ak Tepe, which was opposite Gökseki, will be a yayla near Akşehir, the strange cemetery site in the valley leading up to pass A.¹² To locate the *Hasan Beg Pınarı* (lit. “Spring of Hasan Beg”) near the Kuru Tepe Çayırı in the district of Yassı Çimen, the few available clues must be exploited to the full. Süleyman I’s itinerary of 1548 ([3] later) has the appearance of following the same route as the present one. Süleyman’s army camps at Suşehir, then at the Aktepe Yaylası. It then passes Büyük Yurt on its way to the penultimate stop before Erzincan, the Yassı Çimen Yaylası. The latter is 12 miles before Girmene, the last stop before Erzincan, which we have located in the Çardaklı valley.¹³ Secondly, the map marks as the Çimen Dağ the line of hills separating the Çardaklı valley from the Balahu Deresi, valley of Balahor, to the north. (For our purposes it is not completely lacking in significance, moreover, that the letters of the name *Çimen Dağ* on the map also cover the watershed pass between Kurugöl, meeting of two Roman roads, coming respectively from pass A and pass B, and the Balahu Deresi valley: this appears to indicate that the Çimen Dağ embraces also the heights on the north side

of the watershed pass.) Thirdly, our text tells us that the Hasan Beg Çayırı lies in the district of Yassı Çimen and that Tepe Başı, last stop before Erzincan, lies at the end of the [district of] Yassı Çimen. This “end” would appear to correspond to the end of the Çimen Dağ, which does not extend to the very tip of the hill ridge, but stops in the vicinity of Ahmediye, just above Tepe Başı.

We might hypothesise that the modern Çimen Dağ corresponds to the district of Yassı Çimen as intimated by the text. If so, the Hasan Beg Çayırı should not fall far from the watershed pass between the Balahu Deresi (east) and Kurugöl (west). Kurugöl itself would be a logical position, and the Hasan Beg Pınarı was near a Kuru Tepe Çayırı (*Kurugöl*, “Dry Lake”, as opposed to *Kuru Tepe Çayırı*, “Meadow of the Dry Hill”). But “Kurugöl” may be a deformed name: there is no evidence for lakes nearby, whether dry or wet. The Yassı Çimen Yaylası of Süleyman I’s itinerary of 1548 may also be placed in the vicinity of Kurugöl: it is probably not the same meadow as the Kuru Tepe Çayırı, but again the location by the junction of two ways through the Çimen Dağ massif is highly plausible.¹⁴ That the Hasan Beg Çayırı of Süleyman I’s itinerary of 1548 lay 18 miles after the previous camp at Aktepe Yaylası would fit very well with the proposition that both Selim I’s army and Süleyman I’s of 1548 simply followed the Roman road of Akşehir and pass A, taking a high but even line overlooking the bowl which lay to the southwest of the road, and then camped at Kurugöl. Here not only does the Roman road of Melikşerif and pass B join that of pass A, but the more direct route from the Refahiye plain taken by Selim II’s army in 1578 (probably) and Murat IV’s army in 1635 (very likely) also arrives here, continuing subsequently to the Balahu Deresi’s valley.

Selim I’s army therefore camps at a yayla, the Büyük Yurt, beyond Akşehir on the pass A Roman road (AI.3), traverses the rim of a great bowl whose centre is to the southwest,

and camps at the end of the Roman road’s traverse of the mountain bowl and at the point where the valley of pass B rises towards the valleys of its ultimate feeders, including that which flows from the watershed with the Balahu Deresi valley. From this camp it climbs to the ridge of the Çimen Dağ, follows the ridge for a matter of 8 kilometres or so, then takes one of the Çimen Dağ’s southerly spurs to descend to Tepe Başı in the base of the Çardaklı valley.

Erzincan to Erzurum. The village of Çubuk opposite Baş Nelek [?] (نلك باش); Dada Tepe; Ci[bi]ce Gedüği Zirun Hanı; “Kağızman”; Kötür Kalesi; in front of the Mamahatun Han; the Eski Dere or Eşkinici; in front of Benak; Cınıs; Ilıcalar (“Hot Springs”) [instead of the usual “Ilıca”]; Çermük; Çayır-ı Kan near Erzurum; in front of Erzurum.

From the camp by Erzincan, the route crosses the Erzincan plain to the village of Çubuk. Other names for the latter village, or at least for its location, are given by the text. One of these is *Derbend Ağzı* (“Mouth of the Narrows”). The village evidently lay at the broad debouchment of a pass on to the plain, but the pass in question is to the northeast, and must lie on the path taken by Clavijo in 1405 (p 239). Selim I’s army takes the Pegolotti route, passing first southwest over the plain, then rising up the valley of Dalav and crossing the Cibice pass (p 240). No other clues seem to be available for *Dada Tepe* (another name for the stop: *Orta Viran*, “Middle Ruin”), but it will lie somewhat further back from Dalav towards Erzincan along the track, after the first rise out of the plain, or perhaps at the very beginning of the rise. Since “Kağızman” is probably a mistake for *Kargın, the *Ci[bi]ce Gedüği Zirun Hanı* (“the Zirun Hanı of the Cibice Pass”) cannot be the Tivnik Han just east of the Cibice pass. This han lies only 2 kilometres from Kargın, and on a track which is aimed at cutting out Kargın.¹⁵ Despite the name, the *Ci[bi]ce Gedüği Zirun Hanı* must be the Dalav or Keşiş Han. This

in turn means evidence for the existence of the Keşiş Han in the sixteenth century.¹⁶ After “Kağızman” (Kargın), a stop is made at Kötür Kalesi, which probably means a stop in front of the castle of Hoybar/Hubnar mentioned in [2] and [3] later. (On the Kötür Köprüsü, a bridge over the Upper Euphrates crossed shortly before Hubnar, p 240.) The Mamahatun Han is then passed. The route then climbs the Eski Dere and stops are made at Eşkinçi, somewhere in the Eski Dere, and Benak (the Penek of other itineraries, and itself a yayla) before rising to the Erzurum plain at Cınıs. The itinerary clearly distinguishes the village of Çermük from the springs called Ilıca, though the village is normally known by the name *Ilıca*.

[2] Route of Süleyman I’s army in 1534: the Azerbaijan campaign. (*Münşeat üs-selatin* 1.585, 586; Taeschner vol.2, figs. 36–37, 38–39.) [Matrakçı, ed Yurdaydın: 224–25.]

Sivas to Erzincan. Meadows outside Koçhisar; the Kaz Gölü; climb over the Gürboğa Dağ (“Mountain of the Deep-Voiced Bull”) to Şahna Kayası (“Rock of the Commandant”)¹⁷ opposite Koylu Hisar; the Kabkaçak Sahrası (“Pots and Pans Plain”); the Marlem Çayırı (“Meadow of Marlem”) in the Akşehir plain; the meadow of Kumuş Dekin [Gümüştekin] in the district of Suşehri; Ak Tepe; Büyük Yurd; Germane; Erzincan.

Evidently the same, or practically the same, line, is followed as that of Selim I’s army. The Gürboğa Dağ (“Mountain of the Deep-Throated Bull”) must be the western extension of the Köse Dağ: its whereabouts are fixed by the village marked as Kurbağa (perhaps wrongly: “Frog”) on the map, at the watershed and just west of the road. The *Şahna Kayası* (“Rock of the Police Chief”) would logically lie somewhere near the Şahna Çimen. I would suggest it is among the bare rock faces seen by Hogarth and Munro to the east of the vantage point, lip of the upland massif, from which they were

able to observe the steep drop of the land towards the Kelkit Çay basin. From this vantage point one descended in 35 minutes to the meadows, by a rivulet, which are probably the Şahna Çimen of other Ottoman itineraries. The previous itinerary (Selim I) described Şahna Çimen as opposite (i.e. in view of) Koylu Hisar/Koyluhisar. The rocks above Şahna Çimen, visible from the vantage-point at the lip of the descent into the Kelkit Çay basin, would *a fortiori* command a view of Koylu Hisar.

After the Suşehri and Refahiye plains, Ak Tepe, the Büyük Yurd and Germane are passed: in Selim I’s itinerary, the Büyük Yurd was described as being near Ak Tepe. This implies again the line of the pass A Roman road: a camp at or near Kurugöl, as in the previous and following itineraries, must have been made.

[Matrakçı’s text, ed Yurdaydın: 225 and pls. 20b, 21a, 21b, 22a. Koçhisar; Kazlı Gölü, otherwise known as Kuşcu Hasan; Sultan Çimeni “opposite” Koyluhisar; Azim Çayırı, near the village of Çeribaşı; the village of Baru, otherwise known as Gümüş Teğin; Kabaklu Ova, otherwise known as Aktepe; Yassıçimen; Karaviran; Erzincan.

Matrakçı’s text is elliptic compared to that of the *Münşeat üs-selatin*. The Kazlı Gölü, the lake of Tödürge, is clearly a common element. The Sultan Çimeni “opposite” Koyluhisar is probably the same as the Şahna Çimen, given that it is described as “opposite” Koyluhisar in the same way as the Şahna Çimeni of Selim I’s itinerary. (And compare the Şahna Kayası of the *Münşeat*’s version of the present itinerary.) The Azim Çayırı is difficult to place: it will be either the Kabkaçak Sahrası or the Marlem Çayırı. Baru/Gümüş Teğin agrees more or less with the *Münşeat* version, though the text specifies that the Ottoman army passes through the village rather than that it stops at the meadow, known sometimes as that of Suşehri ([1] earlier), sometimes as that of Gümüştekin. The Kabaluca Ova/Aktepe also agrees with the *Münşeat*

version. Yassıçimen we have argued here (pp 209, 210, 212), on the basis of Süleyman I's itinerary, to be in the vicinity of Kurugöl, at the junction of two Roman roads. It is after Büyük Yurd and before Germane.^{18]}

Erzincan to Erzurum. The Çubuk Yurdu at the Derbend Ağzı; after the most difficult track since İstanbul, [camp] in front of the Zirun Hanı; in front of "Kars"; by the ruins of Hoybar (Höybār, خويبار) short of Mamahatun; Penek;¹⁹ Cınıs;²⁰ Çermük; Erzurum.

The route is the same as Selim I's. The stops at the *Çubuk Yurdu* and *Zirun Hanı* are evidently the same as ones made on Selim I's march; that of Dada Tepe is missed out. "Kars", like "Kağızman", is probably Kargın. The name "Hoybar", possibly "Huybar", must survive in Humlar, name of a modern village lying about 3 kilometres southeast of the track as the crow flies, and present-day Humlar supplies the rough location of Hoybar. However, the relevant illustration in Matrakçı shows a Kala'-i Huban, an inhabited castle among tooth-like crags (see later), but does not intimate any suggestion of ruination. The relevant crags lie further up the route, whereas modern Humlar lies on the plain. The sixteenth-century village of Hoybar, then ruined, must have lain at the site of modern Kızılkaya ("Red Rock"), which genuinely stands in front of the crags from among which rose a castle. "Kars" of the *Münşeat üs-selatin* must be a corrupt form of a name for the castle, in front of which lay the ruined village. The Ottoman army's camping-ground in front of the castle was 5 or 6 kilometres short of Mamahatun on the track following the north bank of the Tuzla Suyu. The castle of Hoybar is mentioned not only in Matrakçı's version (later) but also, as "hubnar", in Süleyman I's itinerary of 1548 ([3] later).²¹ The present-day name, *Humlar*, which is also that of the sixteenth-century Ottoman tax registers, indicates that the "Hubnar" of the 1548 itinerary is nearer to the sixteenth-century pronunciation.²²

The army then takes the Eski Dere route to Cınıs and crosses the Erzurum plain.

[Matrakçı's text, ed Yurdaydın: 225 and pls. 22b, 23a, 23b. Çubuk Boğaz; Derbend-i Subha Hanı Yurdu; Kal 'a-i Huban ("the castle of Huban"); Mama Hatun; Cınıs; Ilıca-ı Erzurum; 'Erzurum'ı geçüb, Boğaz' ("bypassing, or passing through, Erzurum, a pass").

The Çubuk Boğaz must be the same as the Çubuk Yurdu at the Derbend Ağzı ("Mouth of the Strait") of the *Münşeat*, i.e. the debouchment on to the plain of the valley leading to the pass. Derbend-i Subha Hanı ("The Subha Hanı Pass"): evidently the pass on which the Subha Hanı lay. The Subha Hanı could be the Dalav or Keşiş Han, but on phonetic grounds the Şavşek Han seems more likely: thus a reasonable argument that the Şavşek Han was already in existence by the sixteenth century is supplied. Matrakçı's text specifies, what we have already deduced, that the Ottoman army goes past Mamahatun. The army must in some sense have passed through Erzurum, otherwise the artist would not have been able to draw the sketches on which the colour illumination in Matrakçı is based.]

[3] Süleyman I's itinerary in the campaign against Iran, 1548. (Leunclavius 1590: 422–23; Taeschner figs. 36–37, 38–39.) The German scholar Leunclavius translated a number of Ottoman narratives in his *Neuwe Chronica* of 1590; the originals of some of these Ottoman works are known, but the original of Süleyman I's itinerary of 1548 is not. The place-names are represented in the conventions of German spelling. Distances between camping-places are given in miles.

Sivas to Erzincan. Cozi-hissar-gui [Koçhisar Köy]; 15 miles; Giagir or Zazirgui Japak; 26 miles, past Esekgi Caiasi [Eşekci Kayası], and crossing the Cuiu-hisar stream [perhaps a stream flowing towards Koylu Hisar]; Jailazi Papas; 15 miles, over mountains; Sahine-Gemeni [Şahna Çimen]; 8 miles; the plain of Axar; 26 miles;

Susar, opposite the village of Baruail; 26 miles, crossing two bridges; *Aktepe Jailazi*; 18 miles, past *Buiuk Jurdi* and *Giblack Jailazi* [“Çıplak Yaylası”]²³; *Jazigimen Jailazi* [“Yassı Çimen Yaylası”]; 12 miles; *Girmanı*; 12 miles; in front of Erzincan.

The identification of *Giagir* with Tödürge and *Zazirgui Japak* with Kaz(lı) Köy and *Japak* has been argued in the context of Selim I’s itinerary. Evidently the same route is taken; however, Selim I’s camping-ground of Uşkenci Kayası (probably the same as the “Eşekci Kayası” here) is passed without a night’s stop being made, whereas camp is pitched at the *Jailazi Papas*, 15 miles before Şahna Çimen. The crossing of the *Cuiuhisar* stream will be the ford over the tributary of the Kelkit Çay noted by Hogarth and Munro and by Boré in the nineteenth century; Hogarth and Munro followed, downstream of the ford, this tributary’s valley, and learnt that the track within the valley led towards Tokat. At this point, however, a track descending northwest would be a shortcut not only to Tokat but also to Koyulhisar. Moreover, the Kelkit Çay, which the stream would eventually join, flows right beneath Koyulhisar.

Judging by the distances, the *Jailazi Papas* will be Hogarth and Munro’s yayla, near which was a caravansaray, opposite the village of Keçeyurt. The yayla (not the village) will be the *TabPeut*’s “Megalasso” (p. 201) and the *Ayaş* of Murat IV’s 1635 campaign and the *Cihannüma* ([5] and [6] later), natural stopping-place on the route, where later the Ottoman authorities built a caravansaray.²⁴

Jailazi Papas might be construed as “Yayla-yi Papaz”, “Yayla of the Priest”, where the -z- of *Jailazi* has perhaps crept in from the alternative form of the Turkish *izafet*, “Papaz Yaylası”.²⁵ The name “Ayaş” suggests that a sound /ay/ was to be found in the place-name itself as opposed to the generic noun *yayla*. The name current on the ground which is reflected in Leunclavius’ text as *Jailazi Papas* would, of course,

contain the element “yayla”, but the syllable /ay/ in the place name would account for a muddle in the order and pronunciation of consonants which resulted in the form registered in Leunclavius’ text.²⁶ The name current on the ground would contain the word *yayla*, probably as the last element (“... Yaylası”).

In “Ayaş” the sound /y/ might well correspond to the /γ/ (pron. /gh/ or /y/) of the TP’s “Megalasso”, and the /s/ to the /z/ of *Jailazi*, perhaps also to the -s- (pron. /z/) of *Papas*. The -s- might also be linked to the -ss-, perhaps originally -s-, of “Megalasso”: this would imply that the -asso was not extraneous to the name, though in “Dagalasso” it might well be extraneous. Equally the /p/ of Leunclavius’ *Papas* may descend from the /m/ of “Megalasso”, and the /l/ of the latter name may have been preserved in Leunclavius’ *Jailazi*. Boré, camping at the same yayla, heard the name “Heibesche”,²⁷ where again the sounds of “Megalasso” are preserved (/m/ > /b/, /ss/ > /š/, perhaps /εγ/ > /ey/); in “Heibesche” there are clear but separate crossovers with, on the one hand, “Jailazi Papas” (/ay/ and /ey/; /p/ and /b/; /s/ and /š/), and on the other, “Ayaş” (/ay/-/š/ and /ey/-/š/).

The next stop, the plain of *Axar* [“Aşkar”], appears to be a point at the beginning of the Suşehri plain not far from Enderes/Suşehri. After another 26 miles, the army camps at *Susar*.²⁸ This is the meadow near the Cumonts’ “Soushéhir”/Suşehir, in front of Ağvanis at the beginning of the Refahiye plain, which has been discussed in the context of Selim I’s itinerary. Leunclavius’s *Baruail* is one or other of the present villages of Yukarı and Aşağı Baru, which genuinely are opposite Ağvanis and the marshy area known as *Suşehir*.

In the Çimen Dağ massif, camps are pitched at the Aktepe Yaylası and the Yassı Çimen Yaylası. The first of these must be nearer to the site of Akşehir, in the valley of pass A, than the *Büyük Yurt* of Selim I’s itinerary; it cannot, however, be exactly the

same, since in the present itinerary the *Büyük Yurt* is passed after the Aktepe Yaylası. The remaining two yaylas are the Çıplak Yaylası and the Yassı Çimen Yaylası. Camp is pitched at the latter, which is 12 miles from Girmane/Baş Tepe. We have argued here that the army follows the Roman road of pass A. *Büyük Yurt* is somewhat beyond Akşehir along the road: the Yassı Çimen Yaylası is somewhere in the vicinity of Kurugöl. Thereafter the army climbs to the Çimen Dağ ridge, descends along the line of the ridge for a while and, leaving the top line of the ridge, takes a spur which leads it to Girmane/Baş Tepe in the Çardaklı valley.

Erzincan to Erzurum. In front of Erzincan; 12 miles; *Zibuc-oua* [Çubuk Ova], on bank of Euphrates; 28 miles; a *Jaila*; 8 miles, over a mountain; the *Karkin Han*; 8 miles, crossing a bridge over the Euphrates near *Giutur* [Kötür]; *Kelai Hubnar* [Kale-i Hubnar, the “castle of Hubnar”]; in front of *Mamahatun Han*; 28 miles; *Peik Jaila* [the yayla at Penek]; 18 miles, over a mountain; *Zenzis* [Cınis]; 16 miles; *Iligie*; 6 miles; opposite Erzurum.

The way is familiar, though the stops are a little unusual. The stop named as *Zibuc-oua* (the Çubuk Ova) is unlikely to be the debouchment of the valley to the northeast (the Derbend Ağzı), but somewhere further towards the middle of the Erzincan plain. The yayla 8 miles before Kargın may well be that surrounding the Zirun Hanı/Keşiş Han. The position of the castle of Hubnar, 5 or 6 kilometres before the Mamahatun Han, has been argued here.²⁹

[4] The Georgian campaign of 1578 (Selim II). (*Nusretname* fol. 116 r and v. Taeschner figs. 36–37, 39, 40.)

Sivas to Yassı Çimen. Koçhisar; Ergenud Özü; Şahna Çimen; Akşehir Ovası; Suşehri; the Örçil Deresi; Yassı Çimen.

Given the stage at Şahna Çimen, the route here can hardly fail to be the same as the previous three as far as Yassı Çimen. Ergenud Özü can be placed between the watershed ridge

and the yayla, opposite Keçeyurt, of Hogarth and Munro’s description, since it is mentioned in Hacı Halfa’s itinerary ([6].A later) between a high pass and the Ayaş Yaylası. In our discussion of the Hacı Halfa itinerary later, we argue for a probable identification with the crossing of the tributary stream of the Kelkit Çay.³⁰ The stop named as the *Akşehir Ovası* is probably near Enderes/Suşehri, whereas that named here as *Suşehri* will be the meadows by the marsh and pools, known as Suşehir, in front of Ağvanis/Lat. “Olotoedariza”, as argued here.³¹ But if the Örçil Deresi, valley of pass B, is taken, the army probably comes straight over the Refahiye plain and into the Örçil Deresi, ending at the [yayla of] Yassı Çimen, where Süleyman I’s army camped in 1548. This lay near Kurugöl, at the junction of two Roman roads, those of pass A and pass B.

Yassı Çimen to Erzurum. Balahor, Çamur Şiha, Tulus, Ak Değirmen, Mamahatun, Penek Beli, Cınis, Çermük, Erzurum: a completely different alignment.

Balahor lies in the valley of the same name, on TP 1, AI.1 and TP 2, which head towards Satala. *Çamur Şiha*, however, must correspond to present-day Çamur (“Mud”), around 14 kilometres southeast of Satala. The name is probably a mistake for the *Çamurlu Şahna* of the next itinerary (Murat IV, 1635). The Ottoman route, therefore, once it emerges on to the plain of Satala at Sipanazat, takes an easterly direction, bypassing Satala to the south, rather than continuing northeast to Satala. *Tulus* will be the twin villages of Yukarı and Aşağı Tulus to the south of the Karakulak valley. From Çamur, therefore, the Ottoman army probably took a line, eastwards at first, to enter the Zekleler Deresi about 7 kilometres east of Çamur, but finds a way out of the valley to the south, perhaps via Yukarı Gelengeç: it would leave the base of the valley at the junction of valleys 2 kilometres before Gelengeç. After clearing the watershed to the south of the Zekleler/Gelengeç valley, the army traversed east and probably a little north to the Tuluslar. From there the way to Mamahatun

is clear: the line of march proceeds southeast, joining the Dorum Deresi, and crosses the Upper Euphrates, probably opposite Pekerîç. The point which requires explanation is the reason why the army had to go as far south as Mamahatun, when a shorter and easier route (Clavijo's and Pegolotti's) up the Kara Su valley, starting at Pekerîç, was available.

Between Yassı Çimen and Mamahatun, the army takes an alignment which bypasses Erzincan to the north. A steep range of hills lies along the north edge of the Erzincan plain; from a point half-way along this range another starts northeast, heading directly away from Erzincan itself, and tending towards the knot of valleys centred on Gelengeç. Once the decision to avoid Erzincan has been taken, a way must be found through the latter ridge: the way taken by the Ottoman army in 1578 is one of two, the other being further west, over a pass which debouches at Başköy. The latter would appear more direct; it is hard to say why the army preferred Çamur and Tulus. It is clear from other texts (to be discussed later) that the route to Erzurum which stayed north of the ridge just mentioned, and which proceeded through the plain of Bayburt past the villages of Sünür and Pulur, was considered an alternative to Çamur, Tulus and Mamahatun. The main obstacle to the Sünür–Pulur route is the formidable Kop pass, or nearby passes in the same range, which have to be crossed in order to gain entry to the Upper Euphrates valley and then to the Erzurum plain.

[5] Murat IV's Erevan campaign of 1635. (*Münşeat üs-selatin* II.409; Taeschner figs. 36–37, 39, 40.)

Sivas to Yassı Çimen. Koçhisar; the village of 'Azpecef ('Āzpecef); Ayaş; Şahna Çimen; the village of Güzeller; Çoban Yazı; Yar Pınarı; Yassı Çimen; Büyük Yassı Çimen. (The route continues down the Balahu Deresi valley: see the continuation.)

The first element of the name 'Azpecef probably reflects *Kaz*, the name of the

Tödürge lake. Ayaş is probably the *Jailazi Papas* of Leunclavius, opposite the village of Keçeyurt (under itinerary [3], Süleyman, 1548). Güzeller: the two villages of Büyük and Küçük Güzel ("Large Beautiful" and "Little Beautiful") lie against the north edge of the Suşehri plain, around 8 kilometres northeast of Nikopolis/Akşehir/Pürk. The Ottoman army therefore does not camp at either Enderes/Suşehri or Akşehir/Pürk. It makes a detour through the Suşehri plain, first north, then east, very likely for the sake of the pastures at Güzeller. These were also visited by Selim I's army ([1] earlier): however, the route here is not the loop back to Akşehir/Pürk of that itinerary, but more probably a more direct way eastwards through the Suşehri plain and up to the plain of Refahiye.

After the Suşehri plain, the Ottoman army camps at a westerly point on the Refahiye plain, which the itinerary calls *Çoban Yazı* ("Çoban Plain", "Plain of Çoban", "Shepherd Plain"). In the seventeenth century there may have been nothing more at this spot than the Çobanlı Tekke known from other texts (see later). The army is likely to have stopped right by the tekke; the text of the itinerary merely identifies the stopping-point by reference to the plain surrounding the tekke rather by reference to the tekke itself. Since the other Ottoman armies whose routes we are examining stopped at Suşehir/Suşehri opposite Ağvanis, then proceeded along the north side of the Refahiye plain to the valley of Gökseki and Akşehir, it is a fair presumption that Murat IV's army took a somewhat more southerly line through the Refahiye plain, that of AI.1 and TP.3.

To locate the following three stops, *Yar Pınarı*, *Yassı Çimen* and *Büyük Yassı Çimen*, we should start with the last. The army is heading for the Balahu Deresi, in the general direction of Satala, and will camp at Balahor itself. The *Büyük Yassı Çimen* must fall at the pass east of Kurugöl, a pass guarded in Roman times by the fort near Cemallı (the Haza/"Hassis" of the ancient itineraries).³²

The slowness of the stage from here to Balahor is explained by the difficulty of the descent from the pass.

To locate the second stopping-place, Yassı Çimen, we have to argue from the location of the Kuru Tepe Çayırı and Hasan Beg Pınarı of Selim I's itinerary. Earlier, we said that the Kuru Tepe Çayırı must have lain somewhere near the junction of Roman roads at Kurugöl. This was in fact at the western end of the Çimen Dağ: the stopping-place of Yassı Çimen cannot be much further west than this, and so will have been a yayla, either identical with or near to the Kuru Tepe Çayırı of Selim I's itinerary, at or near Kurugöl.

Yar Pınarı, the third stopping-place, will be somewhere in the valley of pass B, probably towards its western end: if it were at a central point in the valley, the distance from the Çobanlı tekke would be too great for a single day's march by the army.

Büyük Yassı Çimen to Erzurum. Balahor, Sedefe, Cebrin, Sünürabad ("Plain of Sünür"), Çamurlu Şahna, Uluslar, Ak Köprü ("White Bridge") near Tercan, Mamahatun, Penek, Cımsı, Ilıca, Erzurum.

The three stopping-places after Balahor appear to represent a false start through the Bayburt plain, after which an about-turn was made. Afterwards the army returns to the line of march of Selim II's army in 1578. *Uluslar* will be a mistake for *Tuluslar*. The *Ak Köprü* is very likely a bridge over the Upper Euphrates, since none over the Tuzla Suyu was needed. This indicates a bridge over the Upper Euphrates somewhere towards the south end of the upper (northerly) lobe of the Tercan plain.

One result of our argument so far is highly paradoxical. Three of the armies in question (Selim I in 1514, Süleyman I in 1534 and in 1548) take the line of the pass A Roman road out of the Refahiye plain and follow it northeast, then southeast, to the vicinity of Kurugöl. They then continue, over the Çimen Dağ, in a southeasterly direction, and

eventually reach Erzincan. The other two armies (Selim II, 1578, and Murat IV, 1635) take the Örçil Deresi due east of the Refahiye plain, cross pass B, arrive at Kurugöl or its vicinity, but then continue eastwards to cross the watershed into the Balahu Deresi, descending that valley towards Satala. The two routes thus cross at Kurugöl, which would suggest that the first three itineraries were making an unnecessary detour by following the pass A road. However, the clue is furnished by the yaylas along that road: these provided the army with the pasture required by its animals, whereas the Örçil Deresi track did not; to take the Örçil Deresi and pass B would imply an army in a hurry, and one which was headed in the direction of Satala rather than Erzincan.

[6] Hacı Halfa's *Cihannüma*, Müteferrika
ed In the text occur three separate route segments:

- A. 627. Taeschner figs. 36–37.
- B. 627 [sic]. Taeschner fig. 40.
- C. 428. Taeschner figs. 38–39.

Times in hours are given.

- A. *Cihannüma*: 627. (Taeschner figs. 36–37.) Koçhisar; 4 hours; Altı Karye ("Six Villages"); 7½ hours, over a high pass; Ergenut Özü ('Ergenut'); 6 hours, over wooded mountains; Ayaş Yaylası; 4 hours; Şahna Çimen; 4½ hours; Akşar; 7½ hours; Barudi Ka .. (ellipse in the text: perhaps Ka<yası>);³³ 7½ hours; Yargazı Pınarı; 4 hours; Çimen Yaylası; 4 hours; Yassı Çimen.

Altı Karye would appear to be a stop equivalent to the Kaz Gölü, and the name may even be a mistake for "Tödürge". Since the high pass separating "Altı Karye" and (7½ hours' journey) and Ergenut Özü must be Hogarth and Munro's watershed ridge, *Ergenut Özü* should fall at the crossing of the tributary stream of the Kelkit Çay after the descent

from the watershed. In fact “Kürd Taşı”, Boré’s name for the village by the crossing, may be a garbling of “Ergenut Özü” (less likely the other way round, as Ergenut Özü also features in the Erevan campaign itinerary of 1578 ([4] earlier).³⁴ However, from the crossing of the stream to the *Ayaş Yaylası*, Hogarth and Munro’s yayla opposite Keçeyurt, would be less than 6 hours. The name *Barudi Ka<yası>* no doubt hides the name Baru, that of a village opposite Suşehir and Ağvanis, which was mentioned in the Süleyman I itinerary of 1548. The equally erroneous name in Leunclavius’ text describing that itinerary, “Baruail”, may equally be a distortion of some such name as *Barudi Kayası*. *Yargazı Pınarı* is clearly the same as the *Yar Pınarı* of Murad IV’s route of 1635. The *Çimen Yaylası* of this itinerary will be the *Yassı Çimen* of Murat IV’s itinerary.

B. *Cihannüma*: 627. (Taeschner fig. 40.)
Yassı Çimen; Kara Bulur [Pulur], Sünür Sahrası (“Plain”); Canik; Tuluslar; Ak Değirmen; Mamahatun.

The itineraries in the *Cihannüma* do not purport to be accounts of actual journeys done, but details of the stages along recognized routes, tracks which are available for travel. Consequently deviations from the track should be seen not as false starts followed by a return to the original trajectory, but as intrusions from other itineraries: the author was not aware of all relevant details of local topography. The two names *Kara Bulur* and *Sünür Sahrası* appear to be just such an intrusion: without them we should have exactly the line of Selim II’s army in 1578. In fact, we may suspect that Murat IV’s false start in 1635 is the source of the intrusion in the *Cihannüma*. Given the intrusion, names in the original text may have been misunderstood or miscopied. *Balahor*, if in the original text, may have been misunderstood as (*Kara*) *Bulur*, and *Çamur* miscopied as *Canik* (جامور for جانیک).

C. *Cihannüma*: 428, 627. (Taeschner figs. 38–39.) Erzincan; Karye-i Cimin; Keşiş Hanı; Tercan; Mamahatun; 5 hours; Penek; 5 hours, via Nerdepanlar; Cınıs; 6 hours; Ilıca; 4 hours; Erzurum.

This is the route familiar from Selim I’s and Süleyman I’s itineraries. The village of *Cimin* is only 4 kilometres to the west of the usual camping-ground at the first stop after Erzincan, the Derbend Ağzı. The *Keşiş Hanı* is the caravansaray known by that name in the hill massif east of the Ezincan plain.³⁵ In this period the name *Tercan* for a settlement rather than a district is a little mysterious. A village of Tercan is not known in the sixteenth-century Ottoman *tahrir defters*, in which the whole plain of Tercan was accounted for by the two *nahiyes* or rural districts of Upper and Lower Tercan.³⁶ A village of Tercan, if the name is correct, somewhere between the Keşiş Hanı and Mamahatun might be a village near the ruins of Hubnar, of which, on this presupposition, it would be the successor.³⁷ But a more likely supposition is that “Tercan” (ترخان) is a mistake for *Kargın* (کارگن). The Keşiş Hanı rather than the Tivnik Han, that just east of the Cibice pass, is mentioned because the Tivnik Han lies on a track which bypasses Kargın. *Nerdepanlar* corresponds to Nerdiban, a village 2½ kilometres west of Cınıs.

[7] *Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname ed Cevdet*: 2.374; 5.52–54 [ed Kurşun: 2.193; 5.31–32]. (Taeschner figs. 38–39.)

Erzincan; Çimin [Evrenkuş Gâzî Süleyman Efendi Köyü]; the village of the Cibice Hanı [ed Kurşun: the village of Cibice]; the bridge and village of Kötür; Mamahatun; Cınıs; Ilıca; Kan; Erzurum.

On *Çimin*, above under Hacı Halfa, fragment C (Cimin).

From the late sixteenth-century evidence of Newbery, we know there were two hans called Cibice, which we have suggested were respectively the Dalav or Keşiş Hanı to

the west of the Cibice pass and the Tivnik Hanı just below and west of the pass.³⁸ But it appears that the more authentic text of Evliya [ed Kurşun] contains no mention of a Cibice Hanı, so that the question of which han that was does not arise. Nor does Evliya's text help otherwise with the line of the route. His track is clear: it is that of Selim I's and Süleyman I's itineraries. It is striking that Evliya does not stay at the han; it is possible that the villages grew up when traffic increased on this route in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, and the hans no longer sufficed. Equally the hans may have been so evil by this time that travellers would not stay in them.

Kan is a village only 5 kilometres northwest of Erzurum, and somewhat off the direct line between Ilıca and that city.

[8] D'Aramon in 1548. (D'Aramon, ed Schaeffer: 71–76. Taeschner, who gives only the place-names, fig. 42 and 2.6–7.) This is by no means a military itinerary, although Taeschner himself discusses it in the section devoted to the 'HeerstraÙe'. D'Aramon was the French ambassador to the Ottoman court. The Ottoman sultan, Süleyman I, set off with his army on the Iran campaign (1548); after he had set off, the French king, Henri II, decided that D'Aramon should accompany Süleyman. The Grand Vizier allowed D'Aramon to join Süleyman's expedition, provided he took a different route from Süleyman's army. D'Aramon and a party of French gentlemen finally caught up with Süleyman's army at Erzurum.³⁹ The route followed is in fact different from that of Süleyman's army (no. [3] earlier). It comes from the direction of Tokat rather than that of Sivas, and consequently does not pass Koçhisar or climb over the Köse Dağ. Subsequently, it again diverges from the line taken by Süleyman's army, both in the passage of the Çimen Dağ massif and, we argue, after the Tercan plain.

[Tokat] to Erzincan. *Cogouassar* [Koyulhisar]; camp on the bank of the river

[Kelkit] within Greater Armenia [i.e. within the Kelkit basin]; a village of Armenians called *Asebids*, which has 30 villages beneath it; a wood ('bois') called *Girbanambea*; *Ardingiely*; *Agiardacaly*; *Arzingan*, recently affected by an earthquake.

Koyulhisar is on the north bank of the Kelkit Çay, around 14 kilometres northwest of Şahna Çimen. *Asebids* is clearly Ezbider, and it emerges from D'Aramon's remarks that Ezbider was the central settlement of the *nahiye* of Suşehri, which, as we have pointed out, covered only part of the Suşehri plain towards the east, the bulk of the plain belonging to the *nahiye* of Akşehirabad.⁴⁰ *Girbanambea* was cogently interpreted by Taeschner as *Çoban Emre*.⁴¹ In the late nineteenth century, this was the name of the village now called *Çobanlı*: the name betokens the existence of a local saint's tomb, perhaps the kernel of a local *zaviye* (residence of a small Sufi brotherhood). *Ardingiely* (soft -g-) was identified by Taeschner as the *Erzencek* of Evliya Çelebi, to be identified later (pp 213, 210, 322) as Melikşerif. *Agiardacaly* is the Çardaklı Dağ. D'Aramon takes the line of the Roman road to Refahiye and up the Bulgar Çay valley to Melikşerif. From there he progresses east through pass C, and takes the Çardaklı gorge down to Erzincan.

Erzincan to Erzurum. Bettaric; Dibligy, on a 'montagne fort stérile'; cross the Euphrates on a bridge near the village [sic]; Chiobane; Portary; camp three or four miles from Esdron [Erzurum]; Erzurum.⁴²

Bettaric must be Peteric, in the Derbend Ağzı where the valley issues on to the Erzincan plain (rather than on the plain in front of the valley's mouth).⁴³ Dibligy is perhaps the village of Dalav two kilometres south of the Dalav or Keşiş Hanı. It seems likely it is a settlement, not a caravansaray; if the latter, some recognition of the fact would probably have appeared in the name. Of course, the -g- of *Dibligy* appears to bring the name closer to *Cibice* (mod. Turk. spelling), the name of the pass. Otherwise, however, the correspondence with "Cibice" is

decent (d/d; l/l; b/v). But some tangled memory of the name *Cibice* may have entered into the formation of D'Aramon's *Dibligy*. In connection with Evliya's itinerary ([7] earlier) we pointed out that whereas the han was known under several names, including *Cibice*, the village was that of Dalav and probably known only under that name.

Chiobane is very likely Armn. *Šogayn* [*sic*], pron. "Shogan". This is the name of the junction point in the Upper Euphrates valley, well upstream of Pekiç, where the route from the Kelkit basin emerged from the mountains; here was built, later, the Shogayn Han.⁴⁴ *Portary* is very likely Pirtin (hardly Pekiç). The route followed was therefore Pegolotti's (with the exception that Kağdariç and the Kandilli bridge were bypassed somewhat to the south).

[9] Newbery's route of 1581–82. (Newbery, ed Purchas, 1625: 1418. Taeschner fig. 42 and 2.6–7.)⁴⁵ Newbery's first voyage was ostensibly a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but two subsequent journeys in fact included a substantial element of commercial reconnoitring and even of trading. On this, his second, journey, he went down the Euphrates to Baghdad and then Hormuz, and from there continued to Tabriz by way of Isfahan. The present itinerary is a sector of his return via Erzurum and Tokat.⁴⁶

Erzurum to Erzincan. Arserom; stay at village of *Pretton*, night of 29.12.1581; stay at village of *Shennar*, night of 30.12.1581; 1.1.1582, pass village called *Gebesse*; 2.1.1582, pass another caravansaray of the same name, and stay at a large village called *Backerreg*; 3.1.1582, to village of *Bettareg* and to *Arsingan*.

Clearly some elements have been misplaced. Backerreg must be Pekiç, and should therefore be the night's rest before *Gotter/Kötür*. Here a night (31.12.1581) is missing in any case. On 2.1.1582, from the caravansarays of *Gebesse/Cibice*, one would reach *Bettareg/Peteriç* rather than *Backerreg/Pekiç*. The latter was therefore

the night's stop of 2.1.1581. Newbery would then spend 3.1.1581 travelling across the plain of Erzincan to the city of the same name.

Pretton will be Pirtin and *Shennar* will be Šogayn/"Shogan", D'Aramon's "Chiobane", point of junction with the route from the Kelkit basin and site of a later Ottoman han.⁴⁷ Staying at *Backerreg/Pekiç*, Newbery then passed the village of *Gotter/Kötür*, crossing the Upper Euphrates on its bridge, and stayed at the Tivnik Han just east of the Cibice pass. This is the first of the hans called *Gebesse*. The second is the Keşiş or Dalav Hanı just north of the village of Dalav, which Newbery passed to stay the night at *Bettareg/Peteriç*. The *Gebesse/Cibice* hans have been identified here, p 240; cf. this page).

We can conclude that Newbery entered the valley of the Upper Euphrates from the Erzurum plain at Pirtin (bypassing the former Il-Khanid tax points at the Kandilli bridge and Aşağı Kağdariç) and descended it, crossing to Pekiç before the river's debouchment on to the Tercan plain. Thereafter he followed exactly the Pegolotti route as far as Erzincan.

Erzincan to [Tokat]. After 10 days' stay at Erzincan, to caravansaray of *Serperron* on 13.1.1582. Over mountains of *Chardalor* [the Çardaklı Dağ] in 'snow, frost and wind', to *Ardansegh*, 14.1.1582. To a village called *Shewbannig*, later spelt *Shewbaning*, which has a small church standing on a small round rock, on 16.1.1582 [*sic*]. To *Andre*, 'out of the way, ... under a hill', 17.1.1582. To *Yeoltedder*, village by the river, passing a big castle on a mountain to the north of the river [Koyulhisar], 18.1.1582. Newbery then strikes across the mountains directly to Tokat rather than continuing down the Kelkit Çay valley. (This was a shortcut taken by De Tournefort much later.)⁴⁸

The caravansaray of *Serperron* will be that at the stop we have identified in Mustawfi's itinerary (*De[p]e-i Kh^wāja Aḥmad*) and the Ottoman han close to the village of Göyne.

It will also be the Başhan between Erzenis (i.e. Erzencek) and Erzincan in Evliya's itineraries (c) [2] and [3] later.⁴⁹ Newbery then climbs up the Çardaklı gorge and over the mountains of Chardalor, the Çardaklı Dağ. *Ardansegh*, where Newbery seems to have spent a day recovering from the previous day's storms, is Erzencek/Melikşerif (p 313) and the Ardingiely of the previous itinerary. *Shewbannig/Shewbaning*: the present Çobanlı, on the Refahiye plain; the name heard by the travellers was perhaps "Çobanlı" itself, perhaps "Çoban Emre", the likely source of D'Aramon's *Girbanambea*. Newbery appears to have interpreted the Muslim saint's *türbe* on the rock as a round church.⁵⁰ *Andre*: Enderes.

Newbery's *Yeoltedder* is a horribly mangled name, but from the situation must be the town by the river described by De Tournefort. Since that town was known as *Hacı Murat*, perhaps "Yeoltedder" is an attempt at "Hacı Murat" with elements thrown in of "Yukarı Kale" ("Upper Castle"), the name for the high upper castle of Koyulhisar, noticed from a distance by many travellers. As one enters the Kelkit Çay rift valley from the broader Kelkit basin, Yukarı Kale stands on a rock high above the river, whereas the settlement of Hacı Murat lay opposite what is known as Aşağı Kale ("Lower Castle"), another 6 kilometres further west.⁵¹

Conclusions

Confining ourselves for the time being to the routes travelled by Ottoman armies, the main change taking place over the period of the itineraries examined so far is connected with the decline of Erzincan. The city had already shrunk by the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was never an Ottoman sanjak capital, but merely the centre of a *kaza*. It is possible that the armies of the earlier sultans (Selim I, Süleyman I) came through Erzincan merely for reasons of habit: nobody knew of a better route. But it was still a place of some commercial

significance, and could offer supplies, etc. to an army. However, the staff of the armies which undertook the two subsequent campaigns found a route to the north which avoided Erzincan altogether. This stays on land high above sea level, affording good pasture for animals but at the same time cutting out the savage descent from the Çimen Dağ to Erzincan and the difficult incline, described by one source as the most difficult road since Istanbul, from the Erzincan plain to the Keşiş/Zirun Hanı.

Again confining ourselves to the itineraries (both those of armies and those of civilian parties) in this sub-section of Taeschner's book, the main difference between the routes taken by armies and those taken by civilian travellers is that the armies all pass through Sivas, whereas the merchants, or at least those with commercial purposes, come from the direction of Tokat. Tokat had taken over Sivas's commercial role in the fifteenth century. Sivas, however, was in the sixteenth century nevertheless a province capital, and armies en route for a campaign were obliged to pass through it in order to collect the province's contingent.

Confining ourselves, again, to the period of the itineraries detailed in this sub-section (the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century), the stretch from the Suşehri plain to Erzincan and to Erzurum is, in its general form, not exactly a military route, but just a route. D'Aramon's party, for example, although essentially travelling for a military purpose, was merely a small group of horse-men rather than an army, and Newbery's purpose was commercial rather than military. Within the general alignment of this route, however, there is a small difference between the line taken by the armies and that taken by individuals. The two European travellers cross the Refahiye plain, stop at Melikşerif and cross the Çimen Dağ massif by pass C. This then obliges them to cross another pass, the Çardaklı Bel, in the Çardaklı Dağ, before descending to Erzincan. The armies always cross the Çimen Dağ massif by camping at

a series of yaylas. They need, not a pass, but pasturage for their animals. Given this small and easily explicable difference, it is impossible to describe the stretch between the Suşehri plain and Erzincan, and thereafter onwards to Erzurum, as a military route. The more northerly line taken by the armies of 1578 and 1635 might qualify as such: this line was dictated by the requirements of passing through Sivas, avoiding Erzincan and the associated steep roads and taking the Mamahatun–Eski Dere track on the approach to the plain of Erzurum. Civilian travellers would come from the direction of Tokat: we shall see that later on (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), they tended not to come into the Refahiye plain but to stay in the basin of the river Kelkit.

Once arrived in the Tercan plain, the armies always opted for the southerly link with the plain of Erzurum (Mamahatun and the Eski Dere) rather than the northerly (Pekeriç and the valley of the Kara Su). This was so even when they had come from Çamur and Tuluslar (armies of 1578 and 1635) and so could have descended into the Tercan plain at a point opposite Pekeriç. On the face of it, the Upper Euphrates valley was a quicker route which provided, too, all the necessary pastures. Possibly there was a particular bottleneck in the Upper Euphrates valley which deterred the staff of a large army. Possibly, without any particular obstacle in the Upper Euphrates valley, the Eski Dere offered nevertheless a wider corridor: it allowed different units to advance side by side, so preventing the delays caused by progressing in a column. D'Aramon perhaps and Newbery certainly took the Pekeriç–Upper Euphrates valley route.

**β. Detours from the main route
[that via Erzincan]. (2.10–11.)**

This section of Taeschner's *Wegenetz* discusses the three itineraries (Georgian campaign, 1578; Murad IV, 1635; *Cihannüma*) which proceed from the Çimen Dağ massif

to the Tercan plain via Balahor, Çamur and Tuluslar. See pp 308–9, 310, 311, 315, 326.

**(b) Wider detours, taken by
Selim I, from the main route**

**α. From Sivas to Kemah,
spring 1515. (2.11–12.)**

This section concerns Selim I's attack on Kemah in order to wrest it from the Safavids. The route taken is not really a detour (*abzweigung*), as Taeschner describes it, from the Sivas–Erzincan–Erzurum line, because the sole aim of the expedition was the capture of a castle which lies off that line. Once having captured the citadel of Kemah, the army did not advance to Erzincan or any other point further forward on the Erzurum route, but simply retraced its steps to Sivas. Nevertheless, for us, the route has an interest. This is not because it puts more flesh on the bare bones of Pegolotti's itinerary between Sivas and Kemah. On the contrary, it shows at least one of the routes which Pegolotti's itinerary and the itineraries of the other Ottoman armies were trying to avoid. Between the Kızıl Irmak valley east of Sivas and Erzincan, Selim I's army crosses the barren and deeply incut valleys, traversed and described by Taylor in 1866, in the upper reaches of the Kızıl Irmak basin, and crosses to the Kuru Çay valley, finding the Upper Euphrates valley and passing upstream as far as Kemah.

From Sivas: Yar Hisar; Şeyh Merzifon Yurdu near Zara; on the bank of the Gündüz Suyu, on the border of the empire; the Çit Hanı; Kin or Ken Ağzı (اعزى قين); Yoğun Belid (بلید یوغون); Kudra or Kodra Yenc [?] (ینج کودره); Elmalu Yurdu; opposite Kemah.

Yar Hisar is presumably Koçhisar. The *Şeyh Merzifon Yurdu* will be near the tekke of Shaykh Marzuban only 4 kilometres south of Zara. Instead of turning away from the Kızıl Irmak valley at Tödürge, the route continues further upstream, to the east. The *Çit Hanı* will be the han of that name seen,

in a ruined state, by Grégoire in 1906 on the road westwards towards Zara along the Kızıl Irmak. We argue that the Çit Hanı must have lain some way west of the present İmraniye.⁵² The *Gündüz Suyu* will therefore be a northern tributary of the Kızıl Irmak which flows into the latter river somewhere between Zara and the Çit Hanı. It is probably the Papaz Suyu of the USAF map. This would fit very well with a neighbouring sector of the border in the Suşehri plain further north, of which we learnt in our examination of Selim I's itinerary in 1514.⁵³ The next three stops cannot be pinned down on the map. But the route seems likely to have left the Kızıl Irmak basin in a southeasterly direction and to have joined the valley of the Kuru Çay, turning eastwards up the valley of the Upper Euphrates. The alternative was to leave the Kızıl Irmak basin in an easterly direction and take the line of the modern road through the massif, by the Gemecik and Binasor valleys, to the Refahiye plain, from which Kemah could be reached by taking the Roman road (TP.2, IA.3) down the Menek Su valley.⁵⁴ The *Ken Ağzı* may have been near or identical with the village of Ağızgır (on modern maps) at the very head of the Kızıl Irmak basin.⁵⁵ In "Kudra Yenç" it is perhaps possible to see a distorted form of the name *Çorencil*, that of a village to one side of the Kuru Çay valley, around 6 kilometres from the line of the Roman road crossing the mouth of the Kuru Çay valley. Selim's army would then have taken the (well-preserved) Roman road upstream to a point opposite Kemah. The *Elmalu Yurdu* might be the high plain (locale of the Roman settlement of Analibla, we argue) overlooking the Euphrates near İhtik.⁵⁶

β. Selim I's march from Erzurum to Niksar via Bayburt, spring 1514.

(*Münşeat üs-selatin* 1.406.
Taeschner 2.12–13)

On the return from the battle of Çaldıran in 1514, the army leaves Erzurum to take what

later became a well-established route over the Kop Dağ into the Bayburt plain. Selim's line of march did not cross via the Kop pass, as does the modern road, but by a more easterly route, which came through or near Beymansur/Meymansur.

Kan; Ilıca and Çermük; Titgir; Şakav; Karor; Zirnik; Orta Çimagil;⁵⁷ Bayburt; Kelkit Çiftliği.

The army crosses the Erzurum plain through Titgir and Şakav, thus for once taking the Ilıca bridge. On the far side of the watershed it descends via Karor, Zirnik and Orta Çimagil.⁵⁸ From Bayburt the army simply followed the Kelkit valley westwards, took a detour to Şebinkarahisar and continued to Niksar.

**(c) Caravan routes
("Karawanenwege")**

In discussing this section, we shall first of all take the itineraries cited by Taeschner and attempt to trace out their lines on the ground. We shall do this by first of all establishing the routes followed by European travellers. The latter can more fairly be described as following caravan routes, given that their motives for caravan transport are generally commercial. We shall then examine Taeschner's categorization of the routes, reclassify them and attempt a provisional synthesis.

I. European travellers

The European travellers of the seventeenth to nineteenth century have to an extent been conveniently assembled by Bryer and Winfield (1985: 29–30). Here we are principally interested in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but will use the nineteenth-century routes as supporting evidence. Two principal routes can be distinguished. The first is the Ottoman post route. Coming out of the rift valley of the Kelkit eastwards into the Kelkit basin, the track turned north to Şebinkarahisar overlooking

the basin from the north, then crossed south-east to the Kelkit Çay via Şiran, then found a way to Karakulak via the Satala plains, and so to the Upper Euphrates valley and the Pegolotti route at Şogayn.⁵⁹ The route owed much to the powerful citadel site of Şebinkarahisar, where tracks to the Black Sea coast also started. Similarly, the village of Şiran owed its size to the post route and to a connecting route from the Gümüşhane basin, which itself carried alternative routes to Trebizond and the Black Sea.

The second, which can properly be characterised as the caravan route, was more direct, and therefore took a more southerly line. Coming from the direction of Tokat and Niksar along the Kelkit valley, it arrives in the Suşehri plain, but then turns north-westwards to find again the Kelkit river. The latter it follows eastwards, joining the post route at Germürü. Broadly speaking, the postal route, lying higher, is more suitable for summer travel, while the second route, lying along the central line of the Kelkit basin, is more suitable for winter travellers.

Before we examine Taeschner's treatment of various itineraries through the Kelkit basin, let us trace out these two routes in a more topographically specific manner.

The post route. Ottoman documents of the late sixteenth to mid-nineteenth century give the staging-posts (*menzils*), which more or less tie down the track followed; otherwise we follow it from the accounts of European travellers. The majority of Europeans travelling along the route were returning from Iran, or for other reasons were travelling westwards, so it is convenient to assemble this route starting from Erzurum.

From that city the travellers crossed the Erzurum plain and came to the post stage of Aşkale, a few kilometres down the Upper Euphrates valley from the western extremity of the plain.⁶⁰ Aşkale had by the seventeenth century replaced Kağdariç as the first stage from Erzurum, or at least as the stage where the plain ended and the valley began.

The day's journey from Erzurum to Aşkale was considered a 10-hour stage for non-post traffic.⁶¹

Riding down the Upper Euphrates valley for about 17 miles or 25 kilometres, the travellers came upon a caravansaray which may have been built only in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, since it is not mentioned by Tavernier or De Tournefort. Some stopped the night near the caravansaray, but decidedly not *in* it ('infested by snakes, scorpions and flies' – Ouseley). The correct name of the caravansaray seems to have been (Armén.) *Şogayn*, pron. "Shogayn" or "Shogan", which was also that of the enclosed section of the Upper Euphrates valley downstream of the Erzurum plain.⁶² Others continued to the next *menzil*, Karakulak, taking another 4 hours. The journey from Aşkale to Karakulak was considered a 12-hour stage for non-postal travellers.⁶³

From the caravansaray the travellers immediately turned up a tributary valley. At its head they would wind over a bare ridge and down to the easterly end of the Karakulak valley. This took around 2 hours from the caravansaray. In another 2 hours, the fine village of Karakulak would be reached. The 2 hours' journeying which started at the caravansaray were considered the most formidable in the whole route. Ker Porter described the precautions taken against robbers at the very beginning – riding several men abreast, with pistols at the ready – and the many graves at the roadside. Shortly afterwards a ravine known as *Şeytan Deresi*, "Devil Valley", was crossed, where the slippery track was an additional danger.⁶⁴

From Karakulak the track crossed a spreading ridge called the Otluk Beli.⁶⁵ This was also, of course, the site of the battle of 1473 in which Ottoman military superiority over the Ak Koyunlu was demonstrated. A ravine in the northerly slope of the ridge opened gradually into an extensive, fertile and much-cultivated plain. The travellers, however, passed the prosperous village of Lori, leaving it a little to the east, and

ascended another broad ridge called the Elma Dağ ("Apple Mountain").⁶⁶ The descent was then made in a northwesterly direction to the village of Çiftlik or Kelkit Çiftlik (now the town of Kelkit) in the valley of the Kelkit Çay, and to the post station of Germürü a few kilometres further west along the track. The site of Satala was noticed, though not as Roman Satala, a short way to the northeast of the route.⁶⁷

From Germürü a low pass, the Salut Bel, was crossed in a northwesterly direction to the meadows near the village of Karaca in the valley of the Şiran Çay, a northerly tributary of the Kelkit. A few miles more up a tributary of the Şiran Çay brought the travellers to the post stage of Şiran, whose present-day name is *Ulu Şiran*. Şiran itself was a pretty village which had formerly been larger, if not a town. The stage from Germürü took 6 hours.⁶⁸

From Şiran the path progressed essentially westwards: it left the river system of the Şiran Çay, winding over small tributary valleys near the watershed, and into the valley of the Porsuk Deresi, modern Bağırşak Deresi ("Intestine Valley"). The watershed is in fact the beginning of the long ridge known as the Fındıklı Bel, which has to be crossed, at another latitude, by the variants of the southerly routes through the Kelkit basin.⁶⁹ The track stayed well on the east side of the Porsuk valley before crossing the river at modern Alucra.⁷⁰ From there it struck across two broad hill ridges, called by Strecker the *Peksimat-Beller* and the *Müsellim-Batran-Dagh*, and so descended into the Basur Dere immediately below Şebinkarahisar. From Alucra, first the Porsuk Deresi, then the Basur Dere, into which the Porsuk Dere flows, could have been followed so as to avoid the ascents and descents over the two ridges. Equally, after the first ridge had been crossed, the Basur Dere alone would have brought the travellers to a point beneath Şebinkarahisar.⁷¹

The latter, a staging-post, was a town on a shelf, lowered over by its tremendous

citadel rock, itself overlooking the Kelkit basin. From here the track descended through fields southwestwards into the valley of the Suşehri Çay, not in the plain but in the sector of the river's course north of the plain where the river doubles back westwards towards its confluence with the Kelkit Çay. A night's stop was made at Arpahjuk (Ouseley), which must have been somewhere on the north bank of the Suşehri Çay opposite the village of Güdeli which featured in one of Evliya Çelebi's itineraries.⁷² From Arpahjuk the track stayed above the Suşehri Çay and subsequently the Kelkit Çay, continually descending into ravines, re-ascending and bypassing rock formations, to reach the mouth of the Kelkit Çay rift valley beneath Koyulhisar, perched high above the river.⁷³ The staging-post was the town of Hacı Murad, somewhat further down the valley. This was the town on a flat-topped hill and caravansaray near the river Kelkit, described by De Tournefort.⁷⁴ The evidence of the travellers makes it clear that there was no variation in the line followed: not surprisingly, the post riders followed an established track, which was then followed by the travellers. The exceptions were the Erzurum plain, where the travellers had a choice of bridge over the Kara Su; and the Lori valley, where De Tournefort appears to have taken a course through the village of Acpounar/Akpınar, a few kilometres more westerly than the standard track.

Direct route through the Kelkit basin. From Tokat, the travellers reached the Kelkit basin in two separate ways. The alignment most frequently taken was a crossing of the hills northeast of Tokat and a descent into the tall rift valley of the Kelkit Çay, after which the travellers followed that valley all the way to its debouchment into the broader basin of the Kelkit just beyond the town and caravansaray of Hacı Murat and beneath the town of Koyulhisar. From the mouth of the rift valley they then had to cross to the Suşehri

plain over the shoulder of the Eyme Dağ. The latter separates the Kelkit Çay from its (paradoxically) eastward-flowing tributary, the Suşehri Çay, in the Suşehri plain. Apart from this route into the Suşehri plain, the second alignment came directly over hills and mountains from Tokat.

Whichever village or other point on the plain they chose to stay in, the travellers left the plain in a northeasterly direction, crossing a hill ridge, to reach the large village of Zağapa or Zağpa in the valley of the Kelkit Çay.⁷⁵ The village probably had something of a crossroads function: trails coming southwards from Şebinkarahisar would then cross to the Suşehir meadows near Ağvanis, joining thereafter the Sarıyusuf–Çobanlı–Kürelilik road to Refahiye. From Zağapa they came up the Kelkit Çay valley but were then forced to rise over the spreading ridge known as the Fındıklı Bel. From the Fındıklı Bel they seem generally to have followed the Kelkit Çay as far as the post house at Germürü. Here they joined the post route.

We will now examine the two itineraries, those of Tavernier and De Tournefort, which feature in Taeschner's *Wegenetz*, and note another travel account which dates from the nineteenth century.

Tavernier, journey of 1631. (Tavernier 1679: 17–18; Taeschner figs. 45, 46; 1.17.)⁷⁶

To Germürü/Kelkit (pp 13–16). Instead of travelling up the Kelkit river and then entering the wider Kelkit basin at Koyulhisar, Tavernier takes the more direct line from Tokat. He crosses the hills south of the rift valley, passing Almus, and enters the Kelkit basin to the south of Koyulhisar.

Small town of *Adras* [Enderes]; 2 leagues; *Aspider*; *Izbeder*; a large rock-cut village in the mountains; cross a river by a wooden bridge, by which is a caravansaray; *Zacapa*; narrow ravines where at one point the merchandise had to be unloaded from the camels; a little plain at the foot of a high mountain called Dikmebel; village of *Kourd-Aga*; ford three rivers; 2 leagues; a fourth river, which

is crossed three times, once at a ford, twice over bridges; *Garmeru*.

Aspider is likely to be a village name which has been much overlaid and distorted by the name “Ezbider”. Tavernier is presumably following the direct track to Ezbider, which takes him past Pürk/Nicopolis over the shelf on the south side of the plain. The most likely village is Avrakos.

From *Ezbider*, Tavernier leaves the plain in a direction somewhat north of east, crosses a ridge of hills, at some location in which lies the rock-cut village, and descends to the Kelkit river at *Zacapa*/Zağapa. Zağapa is in reality a whole series of villages lying north and south of the Kelkit river; in Turkish terms it is a *köy*, village, composed of a series of *mahalles* (lit. “quarters” or “districts”).⁷⁷ At Zağapa, Tavernier must have forded the river.

Tavernier then crosses a difficult stretch where the track passes through narrow ravines; camps in a little plain at the foot of the mountain called Dikmebel; and, beyond, passes the village of Kourd-aga. The *Dikme Bel* is a broad, bulky shoulder which emanates from the Gavur Dağ, the secondary Pontic chain which limits the Kelkit basin to the north.⁷⁸ The Dikme Bel, however, rising in height as it progresses southward, ends in a conical mass. It is the latter which seems to have earned it the name *Dikme*, “vertical”.⁷⁹ The same shoulder of the Gavur Dağ was in the nineteenth century known as Fındıklı Bel (“fındık”, “hazel-nut”), as explained by Taylor after his passage of the shoulder north rather than south of its conical upgrowth.⁸⁰ But it was this conical upgrowth which lay above and to the north of Tavernier's little plain. The difficult region of ravines over which he passed between Zağapa and the little plain is in reality the rocky sprawl tailing away south of the Dikme Bel. The road had to leave the riverbank because the river itself flows through gorges and defiles.

Tavernier's *Kourd-aga* can reasonably be identified with Hüseyinağa, a village 3 kilometres northwest of the Çobanlı Su/Kelkit

Çay confluence.⁸¹ The three rivers forded after Hüseyinağa will presumably be northerly affluents of the Kelkit Çay towards Aşağı Haydürük/Arauraca. The river crossed three times, once by a ford, twice over bridges, before Garmeru/Germürü, is presumably the Kelkit.

To Erzurum. Villages of *Seukmen*, *Louri*, *Chaouqueu*; cross a “high” and “rude” mountainous area, *Aaggi dogii*, i.e. ‘montagne amère’ [Acı Dağ], by narrow defiles; camp in a plain, *Giogenderesi*; villages of *Achekale*, *Ginnis*, *Iligia*; *Erzerom*.

Tavernier’s *Seukmen* is Sökmen, 4 kilometres northeast of the site of Satala. He progresses eastwards to Lori, then southwards, apparently following the post route exactly. He descends into the valley of the Upper Euphrates (*Giogenderesi*, Şogeyn Deresi)⁸² at a half-way point, and stops at *Achekale*, present-day Aşkale. *Ginnis* and *Iligia* are familiar.

De Tournefort, journey of 1702. (De Tournefort 1717: 2.420–30. Taeschner fig. 46.) De Tournefort travels from east to west.

Erzurum; baths of *Elija*; narrow, uncultivated valley [that of the Upper Euphrates], crossing the river twice; narrow ravine notorious for attacks by brigands [that which passed through the Şeytan Deresi], crossing a pass; over a mountain – a short but difficult day’s march – ; *Caraboulac* [Karakulak]; *Acpounar* [Akpınar], six hours from Karakulak on an easy path over a high mountain; over a pine-clad mountain to a narrow and twisting valley, near which are the remains of an old aqueduct [the site of Satala]; village of *Sukmé* [Sökmen]; *Kermeri*; an [ascent and] descent over a ridge, then, passing through a gorge, to *Sarvoular*; cross, in a day’s march, the awkwardest and highest mountain in the district; pass along the valley of the river of *Carmili* [the river of Germürü, i.e. the Kelkit Çay], to a wretched caravansaray; over a high, wild mountain to the village of *Curtanos* [Kirtanos] in a large plain; cross a mountain, pass along wild defiles, catching sight of *Chonac* or *Couleisar* [Koyluhisar] well above; the town

of *Agimbrat* or *Agimourat* [Hacı Murat] on the flat top of a low hill near a caravansaray [the Hacı Murat Han] by the river; follow river, then over mountains to Tokat.

De Tournefort, taking in essence the Ottoman post route as far as Kermeri/Germürü, presumably crosses the Upper Euphrates by the Ilıca or Kandilli bridge (probably the former, as he mentions it in order to identify the river) and starts down the north bank of the river once he is in the valley of the Upper Euphrates as opposed to the Erzurum plain. Crossing the river twice, he is in a position to strike up the dangerous valley passing the Şeytan Deresi.

After this valley he climbs, southwards, over a ridge and arrives in the valley of *Caraboulac*/Karakulak. He leaves this valley, not by taking the standard trail of the post route but by taking a northwesterly course, over a ridge, into the upper reaches of the Lori valley to a village named *Acpounar*/Akpınar. This cannot be found on the map, unless it is Ağgı on the northerly slopes of the Lori valley. Over another ridge, this time pine-clad, again in a northwesterly direction, into the Kelkit river system; passing the ruins of Sadak to the left and the village of *Sukmé*/Sökmen, De Tournefort proceeds easily to *Kermeri*/Germürü.

He stays with the post route a little longer. *Sarvoular*, his next stop, after 7 hours, is difficult to place, but it is probably Sarıca, in the Şiran Çay valley to the north of that of the Kelkit Çay. At the time, the village of Sarıca was known as *Sarıcalar*: this is the form put by Evliya, who travelled a century and a half earlier, and whose itinerary De Tournefort is here following in the reverse direction.⁸³ De Tournefort climbs over a ridge and follows a gorge to this village, in order to bypass the twisting Kelkit valley itself; the latter, with tributary valleys and crossings of the river, had previously inconvenienced Tavernier. From Sarıca, the descent along the Şiran Çay valley was easy. A ridge was then crossed, and a stop made, possibly at Tavernier’s Kourd-aga/Hüseyinağa, near the Kelkit river again.⁸⁴

From here it seems De Tournefort threads the valley of the river Kelkit itself, rather than taking the rocky heights further south (as had been done by Tavernier). The wretched caravansaray he finds at the end of this day's march was presumably at Zağapa, stopping-place also of Tavernier. The latter had ignored the caravansaray, if it was in existence at his earlier date of journeying.

De Tournefort crosses the line of hills south of the Kelkit valley to enter the Suşehri plain, where his caravan stops at the village of *Curtanos*/Kirtanos, 6 kilometres east-northeast of Pürk/Nicopolis. He bypasses Pürk and Suşehri, staying on the north side of the plain, because, unlike Tavernier,⁸⁵ he will leave the Kelkit basin at Koyulhisar. He climbs out of the Suşehri plain over a ridge and back into the Kelkit Çay valley: he has come into the Suşehri plain presumably only in order to avoid a particular section of the Kelkit Çay valley and perhaps to eat from its abundance. Within the Kelkit Çay valley, De Tournefort has to cross a series of defiles, valleys of tributaries, before reaching the town and caravansaray of *Agimbrat* or *Agimourat* beneath Koyulhisar.

He continues down the steep-sided rift valley, where the riverside track, however, offers a gentle gradient, but then crosses the mountain ridge south-westwards to reach Tokat. From Zağapa westwards he has taken an alignment somewhat to the north of Tavernier's. Given the crossing into and out of the Suşehri plain and the steep rise out of the Kelkit valley below Hacı Murat, Tavernier's course would appear the easier.

Strecker's route. It is worth noting the route, not mentioned by Taeschner, described to us by Strecker in the mid-nineteenth century. From Zağapa, coming eastwards, it arrives at Teşlik or Mindeval, thus staying close to the channel of the Kelkit Çay as it bores through the Fındıklı Bel, but then seems to stay south of the river, passing through Pajnik/Pağnik. From here it is somewhat difficult to follow on the map.⁸⁶

II. Routes in Ottoman sources

[1] **Evliya, ed Cevdet: 2.197–98** [ed **Kurşun: 2.101–2**]. (Taeschner figs. 42, 45.)

Koyulhisar; Doyran (perhaps Devran) in the Akşar Ovası; Enderes; Taban Ahmed Çiftliği; Ezbider; Tilseman Zağapa Deresi; Kara Yakup; Kurkuz [Korkun] Kayası; the village of Baru or Barva by the Tekman Beli; the village of Kadioğlu; the castle of Şiran; Karacalar; Sarıcalar; Salut, via the Salut Beli and Kerküd Ovası; the village of Genç Mehmet Ağa; Germeli.

From Koyulhisar, the route comes to the Suşehri plain, where Evliya stops at the villages of *Doyran* (unidentified) and Enderes, then at the *Taban Ahmed Çiftliği* (represented by the existing village of Tapan on the north edge of the plain, 11 kilometres east of Pürk), then at Ezbider. The *Tilseman Zağapa Deresi*, though not locatable with precision, is clearly in the vicinity of Zağapa. But *Kara Yakup* cannot be located on this route; the nearest Karayakup lies on the Refahiye plain about 5 kilometres before the entrance to the Çobanlı Su gorge (not far from what we have argued to be the road-station of Classical *Carsaga*),⁸⁷ and therefore off the purported line of the present route. Equally *Kurkuz* [Korkun] Kayası is mysterious; nor is there a village of *Baru* or *Barva* near the Tekman Beli, which must be Tavernier's *Dikme Bel*. There is, however, a village of Baru east of Suşehir, the marshy area in front of Ağvanis/Gölova at the north border of the Refahiye plain, and just east of Sarıyusuf,⁸⁸ and this may well be the source of Evliya's name *Baru* or *Barva*. *Kadioğlu*, too, cannot be found on the Koyulhisar to Germürü route.⁸⁹ Evliya's *Şiran* will certainly be Ulu Şiran; after that Evliya returns to the Şiran Çay valley at Karaca (*Karacalar*). However, from there it is perverse and uneconomical to go southwest down the Şiran Çay to Sarıca (*Sarıcalar*), in other words back towards the Suşehri plain. *Genç Mehmet Ağa* is not on any modern map.

The presence of the names *Kara Yakup*, *Baru/Barva* and *Kadioğlu* raises the suspicion that names have been imported from another itinerary. This could be one travelled by Evliya himself, or else it is possible that he was importing them from other known itineraries. Equally the gap between the *Tilseman Zağapa Deresi* and [Ulu] Şiran that results when the names mentioned here are taken out suggests that names have been lost from the present itinerary. However, it is equally possible that Evliya travelled such a roundabout line.

Otherwise, this route is clearly the Kelkit river route, followed, with differences, by Tavernier and De Tournefort, which travels along the centre line of the Kelkit valley.

[2] Evliya, ed Cevdet: 2.383; [ed Kurşun: 2.199]. (Taeschner fig. 42.)

Şebinkarahisar; Taban [Tapan] Ahmed Ağa Çiftliği; the village of Ezendereler [Ezin]; the village of Şeyh Sinan near that of Baru; Erzenis [Erzinsi]; Başhan; Erzincan. To be discussed with itinerary [3] later.

[3] Evliya, ed Cevdet: 5.53 [ed Kurşun: 5.32]. (Taeschner fig. 42.)

Erzincan; the village of Yalnız Bağ; that of Başhan; Erzenis near the Bulgar Çayırı; Şeyh Senli; Baru; Ala Melik; Yakup Ağa.

The key is the name *Erzenis* near the Bulgar Çayırı. The latter immediately locates Erzenis in the Bulgar Çay valley; in other words, it is Melikşerif.⁹⁰ In reality, *Erzenis* is the same name as Mustawfi's *Arzanjak* and the *Ardingiely* and *Ardansegh* of D'Aramon and Newbery. The stem of the name is -arzan(j)-. Evliya's form is in the Armenian accusative plural (-s), though

without the -j-. Newbery's *Ardansegh* is probably also the accusative, but with the -j-, here vocalized to /g/, and with metathesis of the last two consonants (r-z-n-j-s / r-z-n-s-g). Mustawfi's *Arzanjak* is in the nominative plural (-k'). In D'Aramon's *Ardingiely* the -l- seems a mishearing or misspelling. Boré, passing through Melikşerif in the mid-nineteenth century, was told that it had previously been called *Erzez* or *Anourgia*. Both forms are distortions of the *Arzanjak* known from Mustawfi. *Erzez* reflects the accusative form in -s, while *Anourgia* could be either (n-r-j/g against r-z-n-j/g-k' or r-z-n-s or r-z-n-j/g-s).⁹¹

To clarify:

Itinerary [3] is the fullest. *Yakup Ağa* cannot be placed and may be an import from another itinerary, perhaps inspired by the presence of Kara Yakup in itinerary [1]. But *Ala Melik* lies on the Suşehri plain around 3 kilometres roughly south of Tapan, a stopping-place of itinerary [1], and 12 kilometres roughly east of Pürk/Akşehir. *Baru* is just east of Sarıyusuf: it is Leunclavius' "Baruail" in the Süleyman I itinerary of 1548.⁹² *Şeyh Senli* is perhaps Çobanlı, the name misremembered but at least the tomb of Çoban Emre accurately registered. The army of Murat IV in 1635, not to mention the civilian travellers D'Aramon and Newbery in 1548 and 1581–82, had stopped here: that it was a recognized stopping-place was due, no doubt, partly to the presence of the saint's tomb.⁹³ Perhaps the name in Evliya has been influenced by that of the Şeyhbey Konağı ("Mansion of the Sheikh-Lord" or "Stopping-Place of the Sheikh-Lord"): the latter is shown on the USAF 1: 250,000 map further towards

Class. Armn.	Roman(itineraries)	Persian, Ottoman	European
-arzan(j)i-k' (nom. pl.)	* <i>Dracones</i> (perh. Armn. acc. pl.)	<i>Arzanjak</i> (Armn. nom. pl.)	<i>Ardansegh</i> (Armn. acc. pl.)
-arzan(i)-s (acc. pl.)		<i>Erzensi</i> (Armn. acc. pl.)	<i>Erzez</i> (Armn. acc. pl.)
			<i>Anourgia</i> (Armn. nom. or acc. pl.)

Pürk/Akşehir on the track from Çobanlı, 2 kilometres northwest of Sarıyusuf.⁹⁴ Equally a village of Şeyhbahaettin, perhaps a further source of muddle, exists in the hills west of the Refahiye plain, about 8 kilometres south-east of Ezbider.

Başhan, the village, takes its name from the caravansaray of the same name. The village of *Yalnızbağ* (“Lone Orchard”) lies 11 kilometres northwest of the old site of Erzincan.

Itinerary [2] now becomes easier to understand. The *Taban Ahmed Ağa Çiftliği* has already been located at Tapan, well to the east of Pürk in the Suşehri plain.⁹⁵ No village of *Ezendereler* exists. But Yukarı and Aşağı Ezbider might have been known in Turkish as *Ezbiderler* (the plural), just as Yukarı and Aşağı Güzel were known as *Güzeller*.⁹⁶ The name might then have been confused with “Enderes” to produce “Ezendereler”, in which the element -dere-, “valley”, gives a Turkish ring to the whole name. The village of *Şeyh Sinan* near Baru is probably Çobanlı. We argued that the *Şeyh Senli* of itinerary [3] was Çobanlı; here the sheikh’s name has been remembered in a somewhat different form. Again, there is a village of Sinanlı north of the Kelkit Çay, between the Çobanlı Su/Kelkit Çay confluence (to the west) and Kâlur/Arauraka (to the east): some memory of this name – the village would have been right on the path of itinerary [1] – may have filtered into the muddle which produced the erroneous name *Şeyh Sinan*. *Erzenis* and *Başhan* mark this route as identical to [3], i.e. as going via Melikşerif and pass C.

[4] Evliya, ed Cevdet: 2.388 [ed Kurşun: 2.202]. (Taeschner fig. 43.)

(From the direction of Tokat, along the Kelkit Çay.) Yakup Ağa; over a river, tributary of the Kelkit, which itself is created by the confluence of the Mandeval Deresi and Kurd Deresi; Şebinkarahisar.

Yakup Ağa, on the combined evidence of this and previous itineraries, may have been on the Suşehri plain near Enderes and Pürk,

unless it too is a name imported from another itinerary. But the river crossed before reaching Şebinkarahisar can hardly be fed by the Mandeval Deresi, regardless of the whereabouts of the Kurd Deresi. Mandeval or Teştik is a village a few kilometres west of the Çobanlı Su gorge as it approaches the Kelkit Çay. Any feeder river flowing through or near that village would be bound to reach the Kelkit Çay well before any line a track could take between the Suşehri plain and Şebinkarahisar. At any rate, this short itinerary of Evliya’s covers the first leg of the northerly route through the Kelkit basin, that via Şebinkarahisar.

[5] Itinerary, dated A.D. 1727, in MS Berlin Or. 4° 1209: 72 v. (Taeschner figs. 43, 45.)

Koyulhisar; Enderes; Cerkur Bağı; Şebinkarahisar; Tekke; Şiran; Nerm; Germudi; Elmalı; Karakulak; Sırhın or Sirhin Hanı; Aşkale; Cınıs; Erzurum.

From Enderes, the itinerary followed turns north to Şebinkarahisar; however, *Cerkur Bağı*, somewhere on the line between Enderes and Şebinkarahisar, cannot be found on the map. *Tekke* on the road to [Ulu] Şiran must be the *Sycheri Tekkesi* passed by Barth on his journey over the post route in 1858, and the *Sichar* or *Zychara Tekkesi* of Strecker’s itinerary. It was in the Porsuk/Bağırsak Dere somewhat before Karabük as one came from the direction of Germürü and Şiran.⁹⁷

After [Ulu] Şiran, the itinerary’s *Nerm* cannot be located, but its *Germudi* will be Germürü. *Elmalı* is 8 kilometres east–south-east of Sadak/Satala along the line of the Ottoman post route. The *Sirhin Hanı* will then be the caravansaray, infested with snakes and scorpions according to Ouseley (p. 317), at the point where the post route joins the Upper Euphrates valley.

[6] Itinerary of AD 1757 in Leipzig University MS Or. 1025: 115 r, v. (Taeschner figs. 43, 45.) The itinerary is

detailed in two different versions, which we will call I and II. Names not marked (I) or (II) are common to both versions.

Koyulhisar; Aşkar Ovası; Kuderî (II); Şebinkarahisar; Selman Belî (I), Porsuk Deresi (I); Mezmek (II); Kersut (II); Şiran (I); Salıklî Belî (I); Kelkit Çiftliği; Elmalı (I), Elmalı Belî (II); Otluk Belî (I), Şeytan Deresi (II); Karakulak; Sirhin Hanı (I), Şuyud Hanı (II); Aşkale; Cınıs⁹⁸ (I); Erzurum.

The village of *Kuderî* between the Aşkar/Suşehri plain and Şebinkarahisar will be *Güdeli*. This lies 7 kilometres from Suşehri/Enderes in a direction north and a little east, on the south bank of the Kelkit Çay. The route therefore leaves the Suşehri plain in a northeasterly direction immediately after entering it.

After Şebinkarahisar, the post route is followed to Ulu Şiran and Kelkit Çiftliği (“Kelkit Farm”), which lay just east of Germürü. The *Selman Belî* must be one or the other of the two ridges crossed by the post route between Şebinkarahisar and Alucra, named Peksimat-Beller and the Müsellim-Batran-Dağ by Strecker.⁹⁹ However, the *Porsuk Deresi* is already known to us as the Bağrsak Deresi.¹⁰⁰ *Mezmek* lies 3 kilometres north of Alucra; *Kersut* hard to trace. The *Salıklî Belî* is presumably the same as the Salut Bel of Strecker.¹⁰¹

Elmalı (I) and the *Elmalı Belî* (II) denote the passage of the Elma Dağ, the second ridge north of Karakulak on the post route, the *Otluk Belî* the passage of the first of these ridges.¹⁰² Version II of this itinerary is in error when it puts *Şeytan Deresi* before Karakulak. *Şuyud Hanı* is probably the same as the Sirhin Hanı; this we identified in the previous itinerary as the caravansaray sited at the post route’s debouchment into the Upper Euphrates valley.

III. Conclusions: “Karawanenwege”

Our first conclusion is that the classification of these itineraries, with the exception of Tavernier’s and De Tournefort’s, as caravan

routes is false. Evliya Çelebi, whatever his purposes, was not travelling for commercial reasons. The two anonymous manuscripts concerning itineraries of 1727 and 1757 do not describe the progress of caravans. No doubt caravans did pass along the routes in question. But the routes were not devised for caravans, and there are almost no caravansarays along them. Moreover, within the Kelkit basin, the itineraries discussed can be described as following particular routes only in the sense of travelling along general alignments. Within each general alignment the exact lines followed vary. So do the stopping-places, whether on the same exact line or not. We shall develop this point – the great flexibility of the routes – shortly.

Nor were there other routes devised for other sorts of traffic. The routes in question are capable of use by an army, though one would expect an army, once having reached Germürü, to come south to the Tercan plain via Çamur and/or Tuluslar in order to avoid the pass east of Gelengeç and the Karakulak valley.

If we combine the evidence of these itineraries with that of the itineraries of other European travellers (pp 316–21), we see that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the great burden of east–west traffic was taken by the routes through the upper Kelkit basin. These were the central route which stuck to the river Kelkit where it could, and the northerly one, also the imperial post route, via Şebinkarahisar. The latter was perhaps preferred by the authorities as the postal route, and by some of the commercial traffic, just on account of the town of Şebinkarahisar. The town’s citadel offered absolute security, and the town itself a market accessible to and from the Black Sea port of Giresun. Nevertheless, there was an element of complementarity: these were to an extent a winter and a summer route.¹⁰³

It was not impossible to take the more southerly line through Erzincan – Evliya’s routes [2] and [3] in the present section ((c)), and those of Hacı Halfa and Evliya in the

first, show that one could – but this line was rarely followed, because the small town of Erzincan no longer functioned as a market and could not pull merchants or others with commercial business southwards to the more difficult route across the Çimen Dağ.

But even confining ourselves to the two routes through the Kelkit basin, the fluidity of their use is striking. Apart from the two towns of Şebinkarahisar and Ulu Şiran and the postal station at Germürü, there was no such thing as a regular sequence of stops either on the northerly or on the central route. Nor, after one had emerged, near Koyulhisar, from the narrower section of the Kelkit valley, was there a standard way of getting to Şebinkarahisar: one could touch the west end of the Suşehri plain, then immediately turn north, or else one could stay on the Suşehri plain, advancing to Enderes at least, before turning north. The fluidity of the routes, in all senses, is owed to the fact that they are not caravan routes as opposed to any other kind of route.

(d) General conclusions, and implications for the Pegolotti route

Our main conclusion will concern a northward shift during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule in the routes between Sivas and Tokat on the one hand and Erzurum on the other. Taeschner's procedure was, essentially, to take two basic alignments (the Suşehri plain–Erzincan–Tercan plain routes and the Kelkit basin routes) and to argue that the first was a military route and the second a caravan route. This seemed to ignore changes over time, and was not even consistent. D'Aramon and Newbery, for example, both of whom Taeschner includes in the discussion of the "military route", were not travelling with armies. Newbery travelled in company with a caravan, and D'Aramon in a small party of horsemen. The Hacı Halfa and Evliya itineraries cited in connection with the "military route", even if not undertaken

for commercial purposes, are not undertaken for military purposes either. Our classification is chronological, and presupposes basically two periods.

In the first, roughly speaking the sixteenth century AD, the Pegolotti alignment, *grossomodo*, is followed, and the town of Erzincan, admittedly much reduced in size since the fourteenth century, still plays a commercial role. The latter may have been based on Erzincan's position at a three-way crossroads. Sivas' commercial role since its capture and sack by Timur in AD 1400 seems to have been minor. However, Ottoman armies necessarily passed through it for purposes of collecting extra troops at a province capital. Hence they came east along the Kızıl Irmak valley, then crossed northwards over the Köse Dağ into the Suşehri plain. This is the route of all the Ottoman armies discussed, even of Murat IV's army in 1635. But merchants came from Tokat, which in essence had taken over Sivas' commercial role, and took the convenient and relatively straight section of the Kelkit Çay valley as far as the Suşehri plain.

Between the Suşehri plain and that of Tercan, the route is more or less given by the topography. Nevertheless, there are minor differences in alignment, and more interesting differences in nightly stopping-places, between the armies and private parties. The armies stop at two or more yaylas in the Çimen Dağ massif, swinging somewhat to the north of the Melikşerif route taken by the European travellers. As a means of crossing the mountains the latter preferred a pass (pass C). In essence, merchants and others still had to do without caravansarays, though by the mid-seventeenth century one had been built at Göyne (Evliya's *Başhan*), at the second station from Erzincan. Nevertheless, the armies' yaylas apart, a series of recognised stopping-places had developed: Enderes, Ezbider, Çobanlı, Melikşerif, that at Göyne and the final stop at the village of Yalnızbağ.

From Erzincan to the Tercan plain, armies and caravans are obliged by the terrain to take the Pegolotti route. After the Tercan plain, the

military planners opt for the Mamahatun–Eski Dere line, perhaps by reason of its broader corridors and easier river crossings. As we have pointed out (p. 310), Murad IV's army, headed for Erevan in 1635, took the Mamahatun route even when it had reached the northern extremity of the Tercan plain, or a point near it; once it had arrived there, the Kara Su valley offered a much more direct line.

It is clear that Erzincan remained a magnet for travellers, of whatever nature, during the greater part of the sixteenth century. This was true even for the armies: it was not essential for them to travel via Erzincan, as the case of Selim I's return from Çaldıran and that of the Georgian campaign of 1578 show, but in general they evidently had their reasons for doing so.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Erzincan has already declined in size and importance, and is merely a small town. The bulk of the traffic passes through the Kelkit basin to the north of Erzincan, thus avoiding the passes of the Çimen Dağ massif, the formidable descent to the Erzincan plain and the difficult ascent to the Cibice (Dalav) Hanı. From the Kelkit basin the travellers took the Gelengeç and Karakulak valleys, eventually joining the Kara Su valley half-way and from there continuing to Erzurum. This was not to say that no traffic or travellers ever passed Erzincan: the *Cihannüma* itinerary (p. 311) and several of Evliya's (pp 311, 322–23) show that it could. But any commercial traffic calling at Erzincan would tend to be local. The point would apply regardless of whether one had come from Tokat or from Sivas: if one came from Sivas, once the Köse Dağ had been crossed and the traveller found himself in the Suşehri plain (part of the Kelkit basin), the same arguments would win. It is interesting to note that Murad IV's army of 1635, although leaving the Kelkit basin and following the Pegolotti route as far as the Çimen Dağ, then took the Balahor valley and found a way into the Tercan plain via Tuluslar, in preference to the descent into and the ascent out of the Erzincan plain.

We can conclude that for travellers starting from Sivas in the late Il-Khanid period, the choice of route towards Erzurum was decided by the need to pass through the metropolis of Erzincan. Once it has been determined to stop at Erzincan, most sections of the route are automatically given, provided one assumes certain constraints such as the difficulty of passing directly from the upper Kızıl Irmak basin to the Refahiye plain. Some variations, needless to say, were possible. These include the deviation via Kemah taken by the Pegolotti route and the universal preference of Ottoman armies for Mamahatun and the Eski Dere once the Tercan plain had been reached. More minor variations would include the Ottoman armies' stops on yaylas in the Çimen Dağ massif.

Notes

- 1 Çubuk: either a short stick (rod, staff) or a twig or shoot on a tree. But the plain is named after the village of Çubuk, which lies near the start of the climb to the Zirun Hanı and Cibice pass: see pp 239–40.
- 2 Despite the geographical clues given in the text of the *Münşeat* itself: according to the text, the Uşkenci Kayası is near Sat Mescidi and the Gündüz Suyu.
- 3 Leunclavius 1590: 422; pp 305–6.
- 4 Cumont 1906: 322.
- 5 Erder, Faroqhi 1979: 339.
- 6 Pp 207, 209, 303.
- 7 “Seki”: a stone bench, but by extension a shelf or terrace in the topographical sense.
- 8 Pp 209–10.
- 9 Miroğlu 1990: 104–05.
- 10 Mustawfî, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, ed Le Strange: 183–84; pp 226, 303. The village of Göyne lies some way south of the base of the valley, the obvious line of the track, whereas the present Ahmediye lies some way to the north. The name *Göyne* may be the descendant of “Germâne”.
- 11 Yurd: lit. “home”, but also “encampment”, generally when that is a home.
- 12 Argued pp 209–10.
- 13 Pp 226–27, 210.
- 14 Taeschner (2.4–5) put the Yassı Çimen Yaylası both between Zara and Suşehri and between the Örçil Dağ and Çimen Dağ.

- 15 Pp 306, 308, 314.
- 16 For other evidence, our discussion of Newbery's route, [8], pp 304–5.
- 17 On the word *şahna*, n 31 on pp 231–32.
- 18 Karaviran/Germane is the best candidate for Karanbük, site of the battle (1343) in which Eretna defeated the forces of Hasan Kuchek and finally gained his independence (p 89), also of the once-off quarters in the winter of 1314–15 of Choban, father of Hasan Kuchek. A camp one stage west of Erzincan on the road towards Sivas would make sense as the base of a commander sent to restore order in Rum. See *Cambridge History of Turkey*: 1.89. *Kara*, “Black”, “Dark”, which occurs also as *karan* (cf *karanlık*, “darkness”). *Viran*, “bend”, but *bükme*, “bend”, “bow”, though strictly *bük* means “thicket”, “bush”. “Germane” might then be a mangling of “Karaviran”.
- 19 Wrongly as تنگ.
- 20 Wrongly as خلس.
- 21 For the present state of the castle, *Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılında Tercan*: 100–01, 202–03, 246.
- 22 On the sixteenth-century registers, Miroğlu 1975: 106. The village is now officially *Beşkaya* (“Five Craggs”), a name possibly of some significance in the light of the *Münşeat*'s and *Matrakçı*'s texts.
- 23 *Çıplak*: bare. The personal suffix -sı is unexpected; cf. the equivalent suffix, -i, in “Buiuk Jurdi”.
- 24 However, on the USAF 1:250,000 map, the Papaz [Suyu] appears in the valley approaching the Gemi Bel from the south-west, in other words on the route suggested by Grégoire (1909: 38–40) for IA.1 and IA.2 from Zara to Nicopolis/Pürk. See p 203.
- 25 The -sı is a possessive suffix used in this and many other phrases to define or delimit a word or even simply to intimate the name of a place, settlement or other item.
- 26 A similar but somewhat different muddle has occurred earlier in Leunclavius' text, resulting in the name *Zazirgui Yapak*: pp 302, 306–7. Here, in the German transcription, the names of two separate settlements were apparently run together, and the element -köy has been attached to the place-name in such a way as not to appear a generic name.
- 27 Boré 1840: 1.366.
- 28 Pp 303, 307.
- 29 Leunclavius correctly states that the Kötür bridge crosses the [Upper] Euphrates, but puts the castle of Hubnar and the Mamahatun Han on the “Cara Irmak”. This, presumably, comes about not because the nomenclature current in the sixteenth century was different from that of the present day, but because Leunclavius, hearing the two different names for the same river, assumed that the name *Kara Irmak* belonged to a river different from the Upper Euphrates.
- 30 Taeschner (1924–26: 2.3, n 5) points out that this Ergenud is probably the same as Evliya's *Ogdumut* (Oğdumut), but Taeschner's comparison with *Aghiovid* [Arm. Aġiovit], name of the Erciş district on the north shore of L. Van, is baseless.
- 31 Pp 207–8.
- 32 Pp 209, 210, 212.
- 33 Taeschner: n 8, suggests that Kaya (قايه or قاي) “Crag”, should be read.
- 34 P 199.
- 35 P 240.
- 36 Miroğlu 1965: 96–108.
- 37 On Hubnar/Humlar, *ibid*: 106; pp 305, 306, 308.
- 38 P 313; on Newbery, pp 240, 311–12, 313.
- 39 D'Aramon, ed Schaeffer: XXIV–XXXVI; 74–75.
- 40 P 312.
- 41 Partly on the basis of the equivalent name in Newbery's itinerary, *Shewbaning*. D'Aramon's editor suggested (p 71, n 4) *Çoban Ormanı* (“Tehoban Ormany”). The presence of a wood in the plain at this point would be strange, but *Çoban Ormanı* should not be ruled out completely.
- 42 Taeschner puts the bridge over the Euphrates before ‘Bettarie’, and couples the names ‘Dibligy’ and ‘Chiobane’ as if they were a single name for a single place.
- 43 On Peteriç, pp 239, 240, 244; Bryer, Winfield 1985: 36 n 188.
- 44 Subject of a fearful description by Ouseley (1823: 472).
- 45 Taeschner gives only the place-names and does not distinguish between villages and caravansarays.
- 46 On Newbery's commercial interests, see for example Newbery, ed Purchas, 1625: 1411, 1417 (Tabriz), including a sale (NB ‘Dagswan’, Armn. *Kaljuan*, pron. “Kaghdzvan”, Turk. *Kağızman*); Foster 1933: 79–80. On the route, Tragen 1953: 8–13, 16–21; Foster 1933: 80–85.
- 47 P 313. Bryer and Winfield (1985: 36) remark that *Shennar* may be Cınıs, but that it is odd there is no mention of Tercan. On *Tercan* as a district name, esp p 311.
- 48 See p 321.
- 49 P 313. *Serperron* is probably a badly misheard form of *Germane*, perhaps with the

- admixture of the /p/ of “Tepe Başı” (Selim I’s itinerary, no [1], pp 302, 303). Ser- might indicate Pers. *sar*, “head” (Baş); but it would then be difficult to account for the second element of Newbery’s name, -perron. On Başşan, pp 322–23.
- 50 Previous itinerary, p 312.
- 51 On Hacı Murat, pp 318, 320; on Yukarı and Aşağı Kale, Bryer, Winfield 1985: 118.
- 52 P 203.
- 53 P 303.
- 54 Pp 207, 216, 218, 226.
- 55 *Ağız*, “Mouth”; *ağzı* with the personal suffix added.
- 56 On Analibla, pp 217–18.
- 57 In text: Titgir, Saka, Kazor, Zirnih, Ocim Ağılı.
- 58 The itinerary in Leipzig University MS no 1025, discussed on pp 323–24 and cited by Taeschner in connection with Selim I’s return to Niksar via Bayburt, was written two centuries later than Selim I’s journey. However, it does precisely pass through Beymansur before joining Selim I’s route at Orta Çimagil.
- 59 On the Ottoman menzils, Halaçoğlu 2002: 88–91.
- 60 Ouseley 1823: 3.471; Anon. 1826: 225–26 (Āk-Khalā); Fraser 1840: 2.348; Suter 1840: 434. These travellers reached Aşkale either by the bridge north of Ilica and the north bank, or else by crossing the river near Aşkale, presumably by the *ponte a Cantieri*/Kağdاری bridge.
- 61 Fraser 1840: 2.348, though Fraser was travelling at the speed of post horses and covered the distance in 6½ hours.
- 62 Ker Porter 1821–22: 2.675 (‘Shoo-ghain’); Ouseley 1823: 471, 472 (but Ouseley supposed that it was this caravansaray, not the chasm further up the route, which was named *Şeytan Deresi*, “Devil Valley”); cf Anon. 1826: 225–26.
- 63 Fraser 1840: 349.
- 64 Ker Porter 1821–22: 2.675–77; Ouseley 1823: 3.473; Smith, Dwight 1834: 55 (geographically very precise); cf Suter 1840: 434. The *Tchalok* mentioned by Anon. 1826: 225–26 was perhaps at the head of the Karakulak valley.
- 65 Lit. “Pasture Waist”; but *Bel* here means the ridge rather than any pass or “waist” on its crest.
- 66 Ouseley 1823: 3.474; Smith, Dwight 1834: 53–54 (but their ‘Çimen Dağ’ is the Elma Dağ); Suter 1840: 434–45; Fraser 1840: 2.349–50 (‘Ootloogh Belem’).
- 67 Passing Sadak: De Tournefort 1717: 2.422–23; Tavernier (1679: 17) mentions the village of ‘Seukmen’/Sökmen; Ker Porter 1821–22: 2.683–84. Çiftlik and Germürü: Ker Porter 1821–22: 2–684; Ouseley 1823: 3.475; Anon. 1826: 225–26 (‘Bachchiftligh’); Suter 1840: 435; Fraser 1840: 2.350. Halaçoğlu (n 59) puts the Kelkit *menzil* at the village of Çiftlik.
- 68 Suter 1840: 435; Fraser 1840: 2.351; Strecker 1861: 354 (Salut Bel). On Karaca: Ker Porter 1821–22: 2.331–32; Ouseley 1823: 2.477. Şiran: Ker Porter 1821–22: 2.685; Ouseley 1823: 3.476–67.
- 69 On the Fındıklı Bel, Smith, Dwight 1834: 51. It was 3 hours from Şiran: Strecker 1861: 354.
- 70 Strecker 1861: 354–55. His *Tschachmanis* was ½ hour beyond Karabörk, and so would correspond to modern Alucra. But modern Çakmanus is well upstream on the Çakmanus Dere, and Strecker or his military informers may well have been confusing Çakmanus/Tschachmanis, the village where the Çakmanus Dere/Tschachmanis Su was crossed, with Alucra, where the Porsuk/Bağırsak Dere was crossed. Barth’s itinerary (1858: 29) has *Alascha* after *Kara Bök*; it agrees with Strecker’s in passing *Sycheri Tekkesi* (Strecker, *Sichar* or *Zychara Tekkesi*, a village ¼ hour to the right of the road) before Karabörk. Bryer and Winfield (1985: 1.29) suppose Barth’s *Alascha* to be Alişar, Strecker’s *Alyschar*, another three hours after Alucra/Alascha (Barth)/“Tschachmanis” (Strecker).
- 71 Strecker 1861: 355.
- 72 P 318.
- 73 Ker Porter 1821–22: 2.689–92; Ouseley 1823: 3.479; Fraser 1840: 353.
- 74 De Tournefort 1717: 426–27.
- 75 Strecker (1861: 356), detailing a route described to him by military officers in the mid-nineteenth century, reported many ruins at (and possibly around) Zağpa, implying a much larger village in previous centuries.
- 76 Taeschner puts only the place-names, but Tavernier’s descriptions of physical features are relevant.
- 77 On the Turkish 1:200,000 map, it consists of Yukarı, Orta and Aşağı Zağpa (“Upper”, “Middle” and “Lower Zağpa”). Paradoxically the Ortamahalle (“Middle Mahalle” of the map is in Upper Zağpa.
- 78 Despite the meaning of *bel* in Turkish: “waist” and by extension “pass”.
- 79 Turk. *dikmek*, “to set upright”. Hence *dikme* means either (adj.) “vertical” or (noun)

- “prop” or “seedling” (set upright in the ground). The later meaning is a possibility here, given the later name, *Fındıklı Bel*, “Hazel-Nut Pass”, of the same geographical feature (on the name, see later). But in either case the word *bel* appears to mean more the geological extrusion than a pass. Tavernier explicitly calls the Dikme Bel a mountain; Taeschner simply assumed it was a pass. A nearby village is also called *Fındıklı*, but it is not clear that the geographical feature is named after the village, or vice versa.
- 80 Taylor 1868: 291.
- 81 Bryer, Winfield 1985: 29. The identification with Evliya’s *Karacalar* is implicit in Taeschner’s fig. 45: phonetically it is somewhat problematic. The identification, on grounds of consonantal correspondence, with (Aşağı) Haydürük should be resisted on grounds of distance. See p 206. After Aşağı Haydürük the distance would be short for all Tavernier’s rivers and river crossings.
- 82 “Şogeyn valley”, Armn. *Şogayn*.
- 83 P 321.
- 84 On Tavernier, p 319.
- 85 P 321.
- 86 Strecker 1861: 356.
- 87 P 208 and n 86 on p 234.
- 88 The village is mentioned in the itineraries of Süleyman I’s army in 1548: pp 305, 307. On Ağvanis, pp 196, 207–8.
- 89 Taeschner (2.21) refers to a Kadıköy south of Refahiye, but so far I have not found this on any map either.
- 90 See Cumont 1906: 330. pp 210, 213.
- 91 Boré 1837–40: 36. The connection between *Arzanjak*, *Erzenis*, *Ardansegh* and *Erzez/Anourgia* is drawn, and the identification with Melikşerif proposed, by Bryer and Winfield (1985: 1.27).
- 92 P 307, and see n 88.
- 93 Itineraries (a) [5], [8] and [9], pp 309, 312, 314.
- 94 On the Roman antecedent of this track, pp 209, 210.
- 95 Pp 321, though the name in the first itinerary lacked “Ağa”.
- 96 Pp 302, 303, 309.
- 97 Barth 1858: 000.
- 98 Spelt c.s.n, not c.n.s.
- 99 Strecker 1861: 355; p 324.
- 100 Pp 318, 323.
- 101 Strecker 1961: 354.
- 102 Pp 247–48.
- 103 Pp 247, 317.

Appendix II: Coins

Abbreviations, glossary, layout

d.b.	Date blundered	n.w.	Not weighed
d.oblit.	Date obliterated	(R)	Reform type (Ghazan)
mql.	Mithqal	s.drh.	Single dirham
m.n.	Mint name	d.drh.	Double dirham
n.a.	Not available	UT	Unique type; only type minted by this particular sultan
n.d.	No date, not dated	wt. st.	Weight standard

Bismillah. “in the name of God”.

Kalima. The Islamic profession of faith: *la ila illa Allah, Muhammad rasul Allah*, “There is no deity but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God”. Normally inscribed in three lines on obverse of coin.

Mint. In descriptions, essentially the mint name, but generally this is preceded by *dhuriba*, “was struck”, and in the descriptions below “mint” means both *dhuriba* and the mint name. This needs to be born in mind especially when the two are separated, e.g. one above and the other below the principal inscription.

Prayer. Prayer for the longevity of the sultan’s reign. Generally *khalada allah mulkuhu*, “may God make his rule everlasting”.

Rashidun. The first four Muslim caliphs after Muhammad, sometimes known as the Orthodox Caliphs. These are Abu Bakr, ‘Amr, ‘Uthman and ‘Ali. “Rashidun” in descriptions means the names of these four caliphs.

Layout. The survey below is based on three principal collections: the British Museum (BM); Tübingen; and the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, where the successive catalogues of Galib, Mübarek, Tevhid and Artuk together provide a through sweep of a large collection. These three collections are chosen because they are catholic in respect of Islamic coinage and have no special bias. The other catalogues from which coins have been drawn are precisely concerned with a given category of coins, for example Rum Seljuk coins, so cannot be spliced into the main body on the same basis. In the tables below, coins from the specialist catalogues have been put beneath a broken line within a given type, so that they can be clearly distinguished. The object is to show that a given type was struck at such-and-such a mint when the three principal collections do not contain the given type at the mint in question, and generally to fill out the picture, for example of weights, variants and (a dangerous argument) even of frequency.

Seljuk Period (twelfth and thirteenth centuries)*Coin types**Danishmendids*

Malik Ghazi (497-528/1104-34)	UT	AE	Obverse, Greek legend, four lines, O ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΜΗΡΑΣ ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗ. Reverse, bust of Christ. Whelan 1980: 136-39; Casanova 1896: 61-65
Malik Muhammad (528-36/1134-42)	UT	AE	Greek legend continuing from obverse to reverse: O ΜΕΛΗΚΗΣ [Τ]ΗΣ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΣ ΜΑΧΑΜΑΤΗΣ. Whelan 1980: 139; Casanova 69-71 (and 65-69)
Dhu'l-Nun (536-70/1142- 75) in Kayseri	A	AE	Obverse: inside circle, “Imād al-Dīn”, in circular margin, O ΜΕΑΜΗΡΑΣ ΔΑΝΟΥΝΗΣ. Reverse, inside circle, al-Malik bin Muhammad. In circular margin, O ΥΪΘΟΣ Τ8ΜΕΛΗΚ ΜΑΧΑΜΑΤΗ. Whelan 1980: 150-51; Casanova 1896: 76-77
	B	AE	Obverse, within circle, warrior on lion running to right; brandishes sword above head. In circular margin, epithets in Arabic. Reverse, in margin, remainder of epithets, and in circle name and patronymic in Arabic. Whelan 1980: 151-54; Casanova 1896: 74-76
	C1	AE	Small coin, inscriptions in rows both sides. Tübingen 92-22-159. ? ½ unit
	C2	AE	Obverse, in circle, epithets in Arabic, and in circular margin, continuation; obverse, continuation of epithets in Arabic, and in circle name and patronymic. Whelan 1980: 154-56
Nizam al-Din Yaghi Basan (536-59/1142- 64) in Sivas	UT	AE	Obverse, name and beginning of patronymic inside double circle. Reverse, in circle, head turned to right; part of body visible. Circular margin, continuation of patronymic, epithet. Whelan 1980: 156-57; Casanova 1896: 77-79
Shams al-Din Isma‘il (559-67/1164-72) in Sivas	UT	AE	Reverse: in circle, Christ seated on throne, but halo made into part of throne back. After type of Alexios Komnenos (post-1092). In circular margin, name, patronymic, epithet. Obverse, continuation of epithets. Whelan 1980: 157-60; Casanova 1896: 79-80

Mangujakids

Erzincan			
Husayn ibn Mangujak	UT	AE	Obverse, pictorial design, probably tree, in circle. Inscription in circular margin. Reverse, inscription in circle and margin
Bahramshah (c. 550- 662/1155-1225) in Erzincan	1A	AE	H 563. Obverse: a ruler holding a spear in right hand and other object in left. Byzantine-inspired. Reverse, forming implicit square, name, patron, epithet. Date in segments at margin. Artuk 1970- 74: no 1191, 1.388

	1B	AE	H 570. Name, patronymic, epithets, first in margin, then in three lines in centre. Reverse, mint and date, first in margin, then in four lines in centre. Artuk 1970-74: no 1188, 1.387-88
	2	AE	H 579. Obverse, inside hexagon, head turned to right. In margin, mint and date. To either side of head, 'Fakhr al-Dīn'. Reverse, in square, three lines, 'malik al-'umarā Shah Ghāzī Bahrāmshāh'. In segments at margin, 'bin Dā'ūd' and epithets.
	3	AE	H 600, 616. Obverse, in triple circle, <i>ta'ālā</i> . Margin, epithet (<i>al-'abd ...</i>). Reverse: within rectangle, in four lines, <i>Bahrāmshāh bin Dā'ūd</i> . In segments left by square, mint and date. Artuk 1970-74: no 1190, 1.398; BM: Add 9, no 314 ⁱ , p 298
Divriği			
Sayf al-Din Shahanshah, fl. 573/1177-78	1	AE	Obverse, name and patronymic of Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan, then name of Abbasid caliph and epithet. Reverse, name, patronymic, epithet. Artuk 1970-74: no 1192, 1.389
	2	AE	Obverse, name and patronymic in implicit square. Marginal segments, mint. Reverse, patronymic continues, then epithets. In four segments remaining, date
Sulayman bin Ishaq, d. 576/1180	1	AE	Obverse, name, patronymic, epithets. Reverse, cross, three strands in each arm, interlace at end of each arm. BM 1977.5-7-1
	2	AE	Similar to type 1A of Bahrāmshah (above). BM 2001.12-1-1971

Saltukids

Saltuk ibn 'Ali, c. 540-70/1145-74	UT	AE	Obverse, St. George at right holding cross with right hand and sword with left; to left, the (Byzantine) Emperor. (From type of John II Komnenos.) Reverse, name of Seljuk sultan of Iraq, then name and patronymic. Yapı Kredi 1994: no 1, p 11; BM: 3, no 306, p 113
Muhammad bin Saltuk, c. 570-97/1174-1200	UT	AE	Obverse, horseman galloping to left and shooting animal with bow and arrow. Above bow, date in <i>abjad</i> letters. Reverse, in circle, epithets, name, patronymic. In circular margin, name of Seljuk sultan of Iraq

Seljuks of Rum

Kaykavus I (607-16/1211-19)	? UT (AR)	AR	Obverse, in square, kalima, sometimes plus other formulae, in four lines. In marginal segments, name of Abbasid caliph and epithets. Or name of caliph etc. in square and a simple kalima in segments. Reverse, name, patronymic and <i>li'llahi al-ghalīb bī amīr li'llaha</i> . In segments, mint and date. BM: 3, no 112, p 55; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 141, 88
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Kaykubad I (616-34/1219-36)	UT (AE)	AE	BM: 3, no 114, p 56; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 158, p 89
	A	AR	Obverse, name and patronymic of Abbasid caliph in three lines, Kufic, forming implicit square. In three of the segments left at the margin, date; in top segment, <i>al-mu'minîn</i> (continuation of epithet of Abb. Caliph). Reverse, name and patronymic in two lines; in segments, mint. BM: 3, no 117, p 57; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 172, p 99. A subtype: obverse, name and epithet of Abbasid caliph, but with scrolled vegetal ornament between first and second line, and third line is 'bi'llah'. Above and below, date. Reverse: 'al-Sultân al-'aẓam Kayqubād bin Kaykhusrav' in three lines, with star between third and fourth. Mint in segments left by implied square of inscription. Artuk 1970-74: no 1101, 1.362
	B	AR	Obverse, Abbasid caliph plus epithets, three lines. Date in segments. Reverse, fuller name, patronymic, four lines. Mint name in segments. Some scrolled ornament, or stars. BM: 3 no 146, p 65; 151, p 66
Kaykhusrav II, 634-43/1236-45		AE	Obverse, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph. Variation in epithets. Sometimes date in segments. Reverse, name and patronymic. Sometimes mint in segments. BM: 3, no 177, p 73
	A	AR	Obverse, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph, four lines. Date in segments left by implied square. Reverse, name and patronymic, four lines. Mint in segments. BM: 3, no 185, p 75; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 268, p 125
	B	AR	Obverse, at bottom, lion prancing to right. Sun above. Stars, variable positions. Inscription at margin, semi-circle above lion, name of Abbasid caliph, epithets. Reverse, name and patronymic, four lines; in implied segments, mint and date. BM: 3, no 190, p 76; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 284, p 132
	C	AR	Obverse: in square, bismillah followed by formula, then name of Abbasid caliph and epithets. Normally five lines. Date in segments. Obverse, in square, epithets, name, patronymic, but with wish in second line. Normally five lines. Mint in segments. BM: 3, no 231, p 87; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 298, p 139
	UT (AE)	AE	Obverse, kalima in implied square. Date in segments. Reverse, name and patronymic. Sometimes wish in second line. Mint below. BM: 3, no 232, p 87; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 328, p 144. A subtype: mint is above and below the kalima on the obverse, not the reverse; but no date. Hennequin nos 1792, 1793, p 755; Artuk 1970-74: no 1119, p 367
Kaykavus II, 2 nd reign, 644-47/1246-49	A	AR	Obverse, within square, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph, three lines. Date in segments. Reverse, within square, name and epithets. Mint in segments. BM: 3 no 233, p 88

	B	AR	Obverse, kalima, name of Abbasid caliph and epithets. Date in segments left by implied square. Reverse, name, patronymic, wish in second line. Four lines. Sometimes bismillah in a fifth line. In upper segment, hexafoil between stars. In others, mint. BM: 3, no 234, p 89; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 344, p 150
Kılıç Arslan IV, 1 st reign, 644-47/1246-49	A	AR	Obverse, within quatrefoil, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph. In segments defined by quatrefoil, date and mint. Reverse, again in quatrefoil, horseman shooting with bow to right. In segments, name, patronymic, epithets. BM: 3, no 245, p 93; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 359, p 161
Kaykavus II, Kılıç Arslan IV and Kaykubad II (sons of Kaykhusrav II), joint reign 647-55/1249-57	UT	AR	Obverse, kalima, then name and epithets of Abbasid caliph, then mint and year. Inscription very rarely starts with year. Five lines. Decoration in the single bowed segment at top. Reverse, names and patronymics of all three, epithet. BM: 3, no 260, p 97; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 362, p 164; no 365, pp 164-65
Kılıç Arslan IV, 2 nd reign, 655-64/1257-64	B	AR	Obverse, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph in two lines. Scrolling ornament between the two lines. Date below. Reverse, name, patronymic, epithets, four lines. Mint at top. Hennequin no 1846, pp 782-83
	C	AR	Obverse, four-line inscription, middle two lines, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph; top and bottom lines, mint and date. Ornament between second and third lines. Reverse, similar layout. Name, patronymic, epithets. BM: 3, no 248, p 94; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 432, p 185
	D	AR	Obverse, name and epithets of Abbasid caliph in two lines, split by large vegetal design. Date at top and bottom. Reverse, name and patronymic. Mint at bottom. Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 432, p 185; Artuk 1970-74: no 1152, p 376
	E	AR	Obverse, kalima in two lines, forming implicit square. Mint and date in segments: sometimes date only. Reverse, name and epithets. Sometimes date in margin. BM: 3, nos 255, 256, pp 95, 96
	F	AR	Obverse, within hexafoil (sometimes circle), ‘al-manna allah’. Margin, mint and date. Reverse, name and patronymic. BM: 3, no 257, p 96; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: nos 484-87, pp 193-94, 532, 0 200
	UT (AE)		
Kaykavus II, 2 nd reign, 655-58/1257-59	UT	AR	Obverse, name and epithets of caliph in two lines. Line of big stars between the two lines of script. Date (month and year) at top and bottom, smaller letters. Reverse, name, patronymic, epithet. Mint at top. Very similar to Kılıç Arslan IV type B. Artuk 1970-74: no 1144, 1.374; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 417, pp 182-83
Kaykhusrav III, 663-81/1265-82	A	AR	“Signet”. Obverse, within hexafoil enclosed in circle, ‘al-mulku’llah’. In margin, mint and date. Reverse, name and patronymic. BM: 3 no 265, p 99; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 563, p 209

Mas'ud II , 1 st reign, 681-97/1282-97	B	AR	Obverse, kalima, then name and epithets of Abbasid caliph, three lines. Date in segments left by implied square. Reverse, name, patronymic and epithets. Mint at top. BM: 3, no 279, p 103; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 582, p 211
	C	AR	Obverse, within hexagon with inward-bowed sides, kalima in two lines. In segments left by hexagon, mint and date. Reverse, name and patronymic. BM: 3, no 280, p 103; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 658, p 221
	A	AR	Obverse, kalima in two lines, ornament between. In four marginal segments left by inscription, mint and date. Reverse, name and patronymic. In segment at top, 'al-'aẓamu'llah'. BM: 3, no 286, p 105; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 763, p 239 (on dinar), no 777, p 241
	B	AR	Obverse, within hexafoil enclosed by circle, 'al-'aẓamu'llah'. Margin, mint and date. Reverse: name, patronymic. Ornament in segment at top. BM: 3, no 287, p 105; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 776, p 241
	C	AR	Obverse, kalima in two lines, within hexagon. In margin, mint and date. Reverse, name and patronymic in four lines. Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 813, p 244
Erzurum Mughith al-Din Tughril (589-618/1192-1221)	D	AR	Obverse, kalima in two lines, then mint and date in two lines. Ornament in segment at top. Reverse, name and patronymic in four lines. Ornament between second and third lines; ornament above and below.
	E	AR	Obverse, in square, kalima, sometimes with addition of 'waḥḍahu lā sharika lā' as second line. Segments, mint and date. Reverse, name and patronymic. Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: nos 825, 826, p 245; no 872, p 248
	A (AE)	AE	Obverse, inscription forming square. First line of kalima, then <i>waḥḍahu lā sharika lā</i> , then name and epithets of Abbasid caliph. In three of the four segments left by the square, mint. In upper segment, <i>al-imām</i> . Reverse, also forming square, second line of kalima, then name and patronymic in three lines. Date in segments left by square. BM: 3, no 299, p 111; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 26, p 54
	B	AE	Obverse, horseman wearing robe reaching down to his feet and holding mace. Reverse, name and patron. BM: 3, no 301, p 112; Erkiletlioğlu, Güler 1996: no 33, p 55
			Aniconic. Reverse, name, patronymic. Tübingen DA1 F5
Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah (622-27/1225-30)	UT (AR)	AR	Obverse, kalima in two lines, then name plus 'shāh sultān'. Reverse, 'Jahān Shāh sultān/ A'ẓam ...' . Lion walking to right. BM: Add 9, no 303', p 295
	UT (AE)	AE	Obverse, 'nimbate figure, seated cross-legged, within ornamented square' (BM). Date to right. Reverse, name and patronymic. Ornament at top. BM: 3, no 304, p 112

Sanz

Kılıç Arslan IV, 2nd reign, 655-664/1257-64	C	AR	s.drh.	2	658, 659	2.33, 2.45 g	Hennequin nos 1841-42, pp 779-80
Kaykhusrav III (663-81/1264-82)	D A	AR AR	s.drh. s.drh.	2 4 1 6	658, d.m. 668-71, one 6x6 666 666-76	2.90, 3.00 g 2.79, 2.87, 2.95, 2.99 g 2.95 g	Artuk 1970-74: nos 1152, 1154, 1.376-77 BM 65.4-6-3; 1968.2-7-3; 1975.8-27-62, -63 Artuk 1970-74: no 1164, 1.379 Tübingen DC4 B2-C1

Early Danishmendid coins (mint not known)

Malik Ghazi (479-528/1104-34)	UT	AE	fals	3	n.d.	2.83, 3.68, 4.40 g	Hennequin nos 1836-38, pp 847-48
Malik Muhammad (528-36/1134-42)	UT	AE	fals	2 1 ---	n.d. n.d. ---	5.04, 5.02 g 5.79 g -----	BM OR 7267; 1977.5-6-4 Tübingen 2005-6-47 ----- Hennequin nos 1939-41, pp 848-49

Kayseri, Danishmendid coins

Dhu'l-Nun (536-70/1142-75)	A	AE	fals	1 1 1 ---	n.d. n.d. n.d. ---	n.w. 4.79 g 5.90 g -----	BM: Add 9, no 314 ^m , p 297 Tübingen 2005-6-52 Artuk 1970-74: no 1183, 1.386 -----
	B	AE	fals	2 3 1	n.d. n.d. n.d.	5.18, 5.08 g n.w. 6.95 g	Hennequin nos 1942-43, p 850 BM: Add 9, nos 314 ^{f,g,h} , p 297 Artuk 1970-74: no 1184, 1.386
	C1	AE	fals, ½ unit	1	n.d.	2.81 g	Hennequin no 1948, pp 851-52. Inscriptions hybrid
	C2		fals	1 1	n.d. n.d.	2.88 g 6.10 g	Tübingen 2005-6-53 Artuk 1970-74: no 1185, p 386

B	AR	$\frac{1}{2}$ drh. s.drh.	1 625	1.46 g	Tübingen DA6 B1
			16 625-33	2.05, 2.55, 2.77, 2.81, 2.88, 2.91-2.99	BM: 3, nos 153, 157-59, 161-62, 164-68, 170-73, 175, pp 67-72; Add 9, nos 173 ^{c,d} , p 287; 1975.8-27-12, 13; 2001.12-1-2030
			9 624-25, 629	2.98 g	Tübingen DA5 F6, A1-A3, A5-A6; DA6 C2-C3; 90-28-74
C	AR	s.drh.	1 634	2.72, 2.89, 2.90-2.98 g	Ghalib no 47, p 33
			1 n.d.	2.96 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1104, 1.363. Variant
			11 625-33	2.90 g	----- Hennequin nos 1720-1730, pp 715-22
A (AE)	AE	fals	1 631	2.74, 2.83, 2.87, 2.92-2.96, 3.01	BM: Add 9, no 116 ^s , p 286
			12 n.d. except one d.m., one obscure	4.34 g	----- Hennequin no 1715, p 711
			2 619, n.d.	4.26 g	BM: 3, nos 177, 181, pp 73, 74; Add 9, no 177 ^a , p 287; 97.5-9-30; 2001.12-1-2011, -12, -2040, -2043 to -47
B (AE)	AR	$\frac{1}{4}$ drh.	2 617, 619	2.59-2.75, 2.90, 2.95, 3.48-3.58, 3.87, 4.00, 5.24, 5.84 g	Tübingen 94-53-152, 93-40-2
			2 617	2.84, 2.92 g	Ghalib nos 49-50, p 34
			5 617, 619	n.w.	Artuk 1970-74: 1, no 1103, p 362
A	AR	$\frac{1}{2}$ drh.	1 63[4]	3.25 g	Tübingen DA8 B6, C1-C4
			1 63x	2.62, 2.83, 2.90, 2.92, 3.00 g	Tübingen 91-16-103
			2 635, 63x	0.67 g	BM 1967.1-12-538
Kaykhusrav II (634-44/ 1237-46)	AR	s.drh.	6 634-38	1.37 g	Tübingen DA9 F5, DB1 A1
			11 634-38	1.46, 1.48 g	BM: 3, nos 185-89, pp 75-76; OR 2431
			5 634-36	2.47, 2.92-3.04 g	Tübingen DA9 F4, F6; DA10 A1-B2; 93-40-3
			1 634	2.77, 2.88, 2.90-2.97 g	Ghalib nos 59-63, pp 43-44
			3 634, 638, d.m.	2.85-2.95 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1114, 1.365
				2.95 g	----- Hennequin nos 1768-70, pp 742-44

B	AR	½ drh. s.drh.	3	640, n.d., d.m.	1.41, 1.49 g	Tübingen DA10 D1; DB1 A2, A3
			23	638-40, one ? 641	2.49, 2.55-2.56, 2.77-2.82, 2.87, 2.88, 2.92-2.96 g	BM: 3, nos 190-97, pp 76-78; nos 207-15, pp 81-83; no 230, p 86; Add 9, no 212 ^a , p 289; 1949.8-3-466, -67, 68; 2001.12-1-2064
			26	638-41	2.51, 2.82, 2.87, 2.92-2.97 (15 coins), 3.00-3.04 g	Tübingen DA10 B3-C6, D2-F2; DB1 A4; 90-31-1, 2000-13-14, 2000-18-10
			8	638-41	2.81-2.96 g	Ghalib nos 64-71, pp 753-55
			3	638, 641	2.90, 2.95 g	Artuk 1970-74: nos 1115-17, p 366
			--	-----	-----	-----
C	AR	s.drh.	18	638-40, three ? 640, four 6xx	2.82-2.94 g	Hennequin nos 1771-88, pp 744-53. No 1780, type not clear
			5	642 (4 coins), 643	2.28, 2.37, 2.77, 2.98, 3.00 g	Tübingen DA10 10 F3-F6; 92-28-32
			1	641	2.90 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1118, 1.366
UT (AR)	AE	fals	--	-----	-----	-----
			3	642, 643	2.93, 3.09 g	Hennequin nos 1789-91, pp 753-55
			2	n.d.	2.87, 3.84 g	BM 2001.12-1-2077, 2078
			1	n.d.	3.70 g	Artuk no 1119, 1.367
			1	d.m.	3.62 g	Tübingen DB1 C1 (m.n. doubtful)
			--	-----	-----	-----
A	AR	½ drh.	4	n.d.	2.84, 3.65, 3.99, 4.53 g	Hennequin nos 1792-95, pp 755-56
			1	644	1.36 g	Tübingen DB1 F3
			1	644	2.98 g	BM: 3, no 233, p 88
		s.drh.	1	644	2.81 g	Ghalib no 89, p 58
			1	644	2.90 g	Artuk 1979-74: no 1125, 1.369
			--	-----	-----	-----
B	AR	½ drh. s.drh.	1	644 ?	2.71 g	Hennequin no 1827, pp 770-71
			1	646	1.40 g	Artuk no 1126, 1.369
			4	644, 645, one d.m.	2.16, 2.41, 2.86, 2.91 g	BM: 3, nos 234, 243, pp 89, 92; Add 9, no 234 ^d , p 289; 1985.11-20-4
			11	644-46	2.75, 2.90, 2.93-2.96, 2.99, 3.00, 3.12 (sic) g	Tübingen DB1 F4-F6; DB2 A1-A3, A5, A6, B1-B3
			1	645	2.85 g	Ghalib no 90, p 58
	A	AR	s.drh.	4	646	2.64, 2.75, 2.76 g
			2	646	2.35, 2.85 g	Ghalib nos 95, 96, p 63
			1	646	2.70 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1129, 1.370
			--	-----	-----	-----
			3	646	2.73, 2.77, 2.83 g	Hennequin nos 1843-45, pp 780-82

UT	AR	½ drh.	1	647 or 649	1.18 g	Tübingen 93-18-82
Kaykavus II, Kiliç Arslan IV and Kaykubad II (sons of Kaykhusrav II), joint reign 647-55/1249-57		s.drh.	21	647-49, 651, 653, 654, 655	2.59, 2.73, 2.75, 2.92-2.94, 2.98, 3.00, 3.19 g	BM: 3, no 260, p 97; Add 9, nos 259 ^{xx} , 260 ^a , p 291; 1961.9-1-5; 1970.5-11-2; 1973.4-22-7; 1975.8-27-36, -37 Tübingen DB3 C6-F4; DB4 E2-E4; 96-38-2
			9	647-56	2.33, 2.64, 2.89, 2.92-3.01 (16 coins), 3.03, 3.04 g	
			2	647, 655	2.91 g	Ghalib nos 97-98, p 65
			---	-----	-----	-----
			5	651-54 (one, last digit uncertain)	2.31, 2.91-2.98	Hennequin nos 1856, 1858-61, pp 791, 792-94
Kiliç Arslan IV, 2nd reign, 655-664/1257-64	AR	s.drh.	17	655-60 (one) Dhu'l-Hijja 655), seven 659	2.30, 2.88, 2.90-2.93, 2.96-2.97, 2.99, 3.05 g	Tübingen DB8 A3-C6; 2002-16-8. Classification of four coins somewhat doubtful.
			1	655	2.91 g	Ghalib no 106, p 73
			---	-----	-----	-----
			1	657	3.00 g	Hennequin no 1846, pp 782-83
C	AR	s.drh.	2	657, 660	2.94, 2.99 g	BM 1975.8-27-43, -45
D	AR	s.drh.	1	659	2.90 g	Artuk 1970-74, no 1155, 1.377
E	AR	s.drh.	5	659-61	2.74, 2.84, 2.89, 2.92, 2.96 g	BM: 3, no 255, p 95; 1949.8-3-471; 1975.8-27-43, -44; 1985.11-20-10
			10	660-61, 664, one n.d.	2.70, 2.80, 2.87, 2.88, 2.93-2.95, 3.02 g	Tübingen DB8 D1-E1, E6, F1; DB9 A1
			1	662	2.91 g	Ghalib no 107, p 73
F	AR	s.drh.	5	663, four 664	2.80, 2.95, 2.97, 2.98, 3.08 g	Tübingen DB8 E2-E5; 90-28-75
					3.10 g	
Kaykavus II, 2 nd reign, 655-59/1257-61	AR	s.drh.	1	656, Jumada al-awwal		Artuk 1970-74: no 1144, 1.374

Kaykhusrav III
(663-81/1265-82)

A	AR	s.drh.	31	663-80	2.75, 2.79-2.85, 2.88- 2.89, 2.91-2.97, 3.00- 3.03 g	BM: 3 nos 265, 267-69, pp 99-100; no 276, p 102; Add 9, no 274 ^p , p 293; no 275 ^t , p 294; 1949.8.3-474, -475, -476; 1961.9-1- 21; 1967.1-12-544, -545, -547; 1968.2-7-4; 1972.8-14-48, -49; 1975.8-27-67 to -75; 1985.11-20-22 to -26 Tübingen DC4 E2-DC5 E2; 90-23-76, 90-26- 125, 2001-18-11 Ghalib nos 117-20, pp 82-83
33				664-79 (17, 675- 79), one 6xx	2.63, 2.72, 2.79-2.81, 2.84, 2.87-2.95, 2.97, 2.99-3.01, 3.03-3.04 g 2.91-2.96 g	
4				665, 677 (poss. 666), 678, d. oblit.		

2	AE	fals	2	667, 675	2.82, 2.89 g	Hennequin nos 1883-84, pp 805-6
1			1	n.d.	2.42 g	Tübingen DC6 B2
1		fals	1	n.d.	1.48 g	Tübingen DC6 B3. Differ- ent type
3	AR	s.drh.	3	Prev. dates	2.92, 2.97 g	Tübingen DC10 E1-E3. Obv. die of Kaykhusrav type A

Mas'ud II, 1st reign,
681-97/
1282-97

A	AR	s.drh.	2	681, 684	2.99, 3.07 g	BM: 3, no 286, p 105; Add 9, no 286 ^f , p 294
32			32	680-88, 690	2.66, 2.70, 2.83-2.91, 2.95, 2.98-2.99, 3.01, 3.05, 3.09, 3.17, 3.22 g	Tübingen DC10 E4-DD1 D1; DD1 F2 (doubtful); 93-18-83, 97-30-116, 2001-18-12
1			1	681	2.91 g	Ghalib no 134, p 90
1			1	681	2.90 g	Artuk 1970-74; no 1174, 1.382

B	AR	s.drh.	3	683, 68x, 6xx 689-90, 694-96	2.27, 2.80, 2.90 g 2.77, 2.80, 2.81, 2.83- 2.85, 2.87, 2.90-2.91, 2.94, 3.06 g	Hennequin nos 1907-9, pp 822-24 Tübingen DD1 F6 - DD2 A4, DD2 B3, B6-C6
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1			1	d.m.	2.96 g	Tübingen DD3 D3. In name of Ghazan only
1			1	697	2.90 g	Tübingen DD3 B6. Mahmud Ghazan as overlord
C	AR	s.drh.	10	One 687, nine 688	2.86-2.87, 2.91, 2.96, 2.98, 3.02, 3.04 g	Tübingen DD1 D2-E5
D	AR	s.drh.	4	681, 693-94	2.79, 2.88, 2.91, 2.92 g	Tübingen DD2 B3-B5; 90-35-86

E	AR	s.drh.	3	688, one Rajab	2.82, 2.84, 2.93 g	Tübingen DD1 E6, F1, F4 (quatrefoil, not square)
			3	690-91	2.34, 2.79, 3.04 g	Tübingen DD2 A5, A6, B1 (doubtful classification)
			1	686	2.91 g	Ghalib no 135, p 90

Erzincan

Ishaq ibn Mangujak Bahramshah (c. 550-62/1155-1225)	UT	AE	s.drh.	1	n.d.	3.05 g	Tübingen 92-41-40
	1A	AE	fals	2	? d.oblit.	1.96, 2.28 g	BM 1952.1-4-2, -3. Much worn: could also be type 1B
				2	563	2.55 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1191, 1.388
				--	-----	-----	-----
	1B	AE	fals	2	563	2.52, 2.85 g	Hennequin nos 1934-35, pp 843-44
	2	AE	fals	1	570	4.05 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1188, 1.387-88
				1	579	5.06 g	BM 1972.1-18-1
				1	579	4.63 g	Tübingen 2003-6-15
				1	579	4.70 g	Artuk no 1189, 1.388
	3	AE	fals	1	600	n.w.	Tübingen 90-20-1
Kaykubad I (616-34/1219-36) Kılıç Arslan IV, 2 nd reign, 655-64/1257-64				4	[616]	5.51, 6.54, 7.27, 7.81 g	BM: Add 9, nos 314 ^{tw} , p 298 (wrongly as Danishmendid)
				1	[616]	6.05 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1190, p 388
				--	-----	-----	-----
				2	[616]	7.63, 7.96 g	Hennequin nos 1932-33, pp 841-43
		AE	fals	1	n.d.	3.03 g	BM OR 2429
	B	AR	s.drh.	1	657	2.80 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1146, 1.374
				16	656-63, one 65x	2.70, 2.84-2.85, 2.89-2.90, 2.95-2.97, 3.00, 3.09 g (dated 65x, 2.53 g)	Tübingen DB5 B5-E2
	C	AR	s.drh.	3	660, 663	2.69, 2.89, 3.01 g	BM 3: no 254, p 95; 1967.1-12-543; 1975.8-27-39

Kaykhusrav III (663-81/ 1265-82)	A	AR	s. drh.	6	672, 675, 678, ? 681, 6xx 663-82	2.61, 2.90, 2.96-3.01 g	BM: 3, nos 277-78, p 102; Add 9, nos 272 ^{d, f, k, l} , p 293 Tübingen DB9 D4-D6, E3-F6; DB10 A1-C2. Many variants
				21		2.35, 2.70, 2.78, 2.83, 2.84, 2.86, 2.89-2.94 (16), 2.96-2.97 (3), 3.01 (2)	
				2	676, 680 [680, mint not certain]	2.96, 3.01 g	Ghalib nos 131-32, p 87 (676, var., m.n. on obv.)
	B			--			
				5	678-81	2.91-2.96 g	Hennequin nos 1877-81, pp 802-4
				3	663,	2.83, 2.87, 2.92 g	BM: 3, no 271, p 100; no 279, p 103; Add 9, no 264 ^v , p 292
				2	? (two)	2.86, 2.87 g	Tübingen DB9 E1, E2
	Mas'ud II, 1 st reign, 681-97/ 1282-97	AR	s. drh.	1	666, 668 675	2.96 g	Ghalib no 130, p 87
				5	683, 684, two 68x, one ?	2.59, 2.93-2.99 g	BM: 3, nos 287, 288, pp 105-6; Add 9, no 287 ^d , p 294; 2001.12-1-2109, -2110. No. 288, mint uncertain
				14	682-88, one 68(7/9), one d.m.	2.86, 2.91, 2.93-2.96 (6), 2.99, 3.01, 3.02, 3.05 g	Tübingen DC7 B2-C2, DC7 C4-D1, DC7 D5, DC7 E4, E5
				1	686	2.91 g	Ghalib no 137, p 91. Subtype (see Sivas, no 136)
				--			
				1	? 688	2.97 g	Hennequin no 1903, p 819
	C			4	688, 690	2.87, 2.89, 2.92, 2.97 g	Tübingen DC7 D2-D4, D6
				1	690 ?	2.95 g	BM: 3, no 297, p 110
	D			1	690	2.90 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1169, 1.381
				3	690, 691. 693		Tübingen DC7 E1-E3

Divriği (Mangujakids)

Sulayman bin Ishaq, d 576/1180 Husayn ibn Sulayman ibn Ishaq	1 UT	AE	fals	1	n.d.	n.w.	BM 1977.5-7-1
				2	n.d.	2.22, 3.76 g	Tübingen 2002-16-89, 2003-6-16
				1	n.d.	3.07 g	Tübingen 91-20-36

Sayf al-Din Shahanshah ibn Sulayman	1	AE	fals	1	573	7.80 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1193, 1.389
	2	AE	fals	1	n.d., but coin shows vassal of Seljuk	6.85 g 7.15 g	Tübingen 2005-6-43
	1			1	Sulayman (593-601/1196- 1204), son of Kilic Arslan II		Artuk 1970-74: no 1192, 1.389

Erzurum

Salduk b 'Ali (d 563/1168)	UT	AE	fals	7	n.d.	4.47, 4.70, 4.82, 4.88, 4.90, 5.25 g	BM: 3, nos 306-9, p 113; Add 9: no 307 ^a , p 296; 1935.11-14-2; 70.7-9-231
	1			1	n.d.	5.65 g	Tübingen 2005-6-44
	1			1	n.d.	4.80 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1194, 1.389
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Muhammad bin Salduk (c. UT 563-89/1167-92)	3	AE	fals	7	n.d.	3.57, 4.61, 4.95 g	Hennequin nos 1920-22, pp 835-36
	7			7	n.d.	3.39, 3.86, 4.15 (thinner coin), 5.09, 5.44, 5.97, 6.87 g	BM: 3, no 310, p 114; Add 9, nos 310 ^{c-d} , p 296; 1973.4-228 (type not clear); OR 2435
	1			1	577	4.65 g	Tübingen 2005-6-45
	1			1	n.d.	5.80 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1195, 1.390
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	5			5	n.d.	3.46, 5.74, 6.07, 6.74, 6.84 g	Hennequin nos 1926-30, pp 837-38
Mughith al-Din Tughril (589-618/ 1192-1221)	4	AR	s.drh.	4	Two 608, two 613 (but mint of both 613 coins unclear)	2.84-2.86, 3.07 g	BM 3: nos 299, 300, p 111; Add 9, nos 298 ^{e- h} , p 295
	1			1	613	3.01 g	Ghalib no 10, p 13
	1			1	608	3.00 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 1071, 1.353
	5			5	608, 613, two 616, 618	2.77, 2.81, 3.06, 3.16 (sic), 3.19 (sic) g	Tübingen DA1 E6, F1-F4

Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah (622-27/ 1225-30)	1 (AE)	AE	fals	3	n.d.	2.93, 3.70, 4.90 g	BM: 3 nos 301-3, p 112 Artuk 1970-74: no 1072 Tübingen DA1 F6, DA2 A1 Tübingen DA1 F5 BM: Add 9, no 303 ⁱ , p 295
	2 (AE)			2	n.d.	3.60 g	
	UT (AR)	AR	s.drh.	1	n.d.	4.48, 4.49 g	
				1	?	1.56 g 2.33 g	
Kaykubad I (616-34/1219-36)	UT (AE)	AE	fals	2	615 ?	5.10 g, n.w.	BM 3: nos 304-5, p 112 Tübingen DA1 B3, DA2 A3; 2005-6-55 Artuk 1970-74: no 1097, 1.361 Tübingen DA4 A3, E4, E5
	A	AR	s.drh.	3	Two n.d., one 6xx	3.70, 4.79, 6.18 g	
				1	628	2.90 g	
				3	628 (two coins), 630	2.82, 2.84, 2.91 g	
Kaykhusrav III (663-81/1265-82)	A	AR	s.drh.	2	680, 681	2.88, 2.97 g	Tübingen DB10 C4, C5
	C	AR	s.drh.	2	679, d.oblit.	2.86, 2.87 g	
Mas'ud II (1 st reign, 681-97/1282-97)				-----	-----	-----	Tübingen DB10 C3, C6 Hennequin no 1875, pp 801-2 Artuk no 1168, 1.381 Tübingen DC7 F2 Tübingen DC7 E6-F1, F3
	A	AR	s.drh.	1	677 or 679	2.94 g	
				1	690	2.85 g	
				1	684	2.90 g	
	B	AR	s.drh.	3	682, 683, 688	2.68, 2.88, 2.94 g	

Bayburt

Kaykhusrav III (663-81/ 1265-82)	A	AR	s.drh.	2	677	2.89, 2.99 g	Tübingen DB9 D2, D3. "Ma'dan Bāyburt" BM: 3, no 289, p 106; 291, p 107 Artuk no 1167, 1.380 Tübingen DC6 F3-DC7 A6. One "Madinat Bayburt"
	B	AR	s.drh.	2	Both 687 or 689	2.47, 2.98 g	
				1	690	2.85 g	
				10	686-90, one 68x	2.45, 2.67, 2.74, 2.84, 2.94, 2.95 (2), 2.98, 2.90, 2.98 g	
				2	Both 690	2.31 g	Ghalib nos 139-40, pp 92-93. "Ma'dan Bāyburt"

Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries***Coin types***

Ghazan (694-703/ 1295-1304)	®	Reform type, 697 onwards. Wt. st. 24 qirat (4.32 g). Obverse: inscr. forming square within pentagonal cartouche, the latter with sharpened corners and an inward kink in each side. <i>Salla ... 'Alayhi</i> in right and left arms of cartouche. Date and mint in segments left by cartouche. Reverse: within circle, praise of God, name, prayer, all in Uyghur except for name. Inscr. in Paghspa script to left, impinging on main inscr.. Album 2001: xxvi; Kolbas 2006: 315, 316, 323-27.
Uljaytu (703-16/ 1304-16)	A	“Pentagon” type. Minted 704-9. Wt. st. 24 qirat (4.32 g). Obverse: as Ghazan’s reform type (pentagonal cartouche), except that the segments contain the Rashidun and <i>alayhum al-salam</i> . Reverse: within double square, four-line inscr., title, epithet, name, prayer. In segments left by square, date and tamgha (stamp inscribedg monarch’s authority). Blair 1983: 297, 299; Album 2001: xxvi; Album 1984: 56; Kolbas 2006: 356-58.
	B	“Quatrefoil”, Shiite. Minted 709-13. Wt. st. 24 qirat (4.32 g). Obverse: within double circle, inscr., followed by ‘ <i>Ali wali Allah</i> , all as implied square. In segments, <i>bismillah al-karim</i> . In margin, the Twelve Imams of Shiite belief. Reverse: in quatrefoil, title, epithets, name, prayer. In segments, mint, date, <i>Uljaytu sultan</i> in Uyghur script; praise of God (Qur’anic quotation). Blair 1983: 297-98; Album 2001: xxvi; Album 1984: 56.
	C	“Heptafoil”. 713-16. Wt. st. 22 qirat (3.96 g). Obverse: as type B (inscr. ‘ <i>bismillah al-karim</i> ’; Twelve Imams in margin), but inscr. and ‘ <i>bismillah ...</i> ’ set within hexafoil, not circle. Reverse: inscription as in type B (title, epithets ...), but with some changes and within heptafoil, not quatrefoil. In segments left by heptafoil, mint and date only. Blair 1983: 298-99; Album 2001: xxvi; Album 1984: 57.
Abu Sa’id (716-36/1316-35)	A	“Hexafoil”. 716-17. Wt. st. 22 qirat (3.96 g). Obverse: inscr. within square. Reverse: within hexafoil (not quatrefoil or heptafoil, as Uljaytu types B and C), title, epithets, name, prayer, mostly as in Uljaytu C but with some changes. In margin, not Twelve Imams but Qur’anic citation. Album 1984: 57; Blair 1983: 299-300, 316 (as type A ¹).
	B	“Octagon and hexagon”. 717-19. Wt. st. 22 qirat (3.96 g). Obverse: octafoil resembling eight-pointed star whose points joined to outer circle by short lines. Kalima in middle, phrase <i>sala allah ‘alayha was salam</i> around inscr.. In margin, Qur’anic quotation as in preceding type. Reverse: hexagonal cartouche, pointed corners and kink in each side. Within, inscr., simplified from previous type: title, epithets, name, prayer. Album 1984: 57; Album 2001: xxvi; Blair 1983: 301, 316 (as type A ³).

- C “Looped-square” or “mihrab”. Struck 719-23, but most examples in 719. Wt. st. 20 qirat (3.60 g). Obverse: a Qur’anic verse curved and arranged in the form of a mihrab frame. Within frame, inscr.. Below, Rashidun. Reverse: square with pronounced lobes on each side (“looped square”); the lobes joined to outer circle by means of small bobbles. The phrase *na ‘m allah al-nasr* fills the lobes. Inscr. within square same as previous type (simplified title, epithets etc.). In eight segments left by “lobated square”, mint and date. Album 1984: 57; Album 2001: xxvii; Blair 1983: 302-3, 316 (as type B).
- D “Pentagon”. 722-24. Wt. st. 20 qirat (3.60 g). Obverse: inscr., forming square, within circle. Mint between inscr.’s lines. Rashidun in segments left by square. Reverse: in pentagon, title, name, epithet, prayer. ‘Bahadur Khan’ added, but inscr. otherwise not much different from types B and C. Album 1984: 57; Album 2001: xxvii; Blair 1983: 303, 316 (as type C).
- E Triangle type. 723, perhaps 724, 728. 20 qirat (3.60 g). Obverse: square stood on one corner. Corners pointed and lobe on each side. Kalima within; Rashidun in segments. Reverse: triangle of similar style, one point to north. Within, title, name, epithet ‘Bayandur Khan’. In segments, mint and date. Album 1984: 57; Diler 2006: 447, Ab-504, 505.
- F “Plain-square”, sometimes also known as “circle” type. 723-28. Wt. st. 20 qirat (3.60 g). Obverse: square, inscr. within, Rashidun in lunettes. Reverse: circle; within it, title, name, epithet, prayer, mint above and below; in circular margin, date. Many variants of reverse legend. Album 1984: 57; Album 2001: xxvii; Blair 1983: 303-4 (as type D).
- G “Two-octagons”. 729-34. Wt. st. 18 qirat (3.24 g). Obverse: octafoil, inscr. within, Rashidun in lobes at points of compass. Reverse: octagon-like shape formed by intersecting arcs. Within, title, name epithets, prayer. Mint above and below. Date in eight segments defined by arcs. Album 1984: 58; Album 2001: xxvii; Blair 1983: 304, 316 (as type E).
- H “Bilingual”. Khani years 33-34 (AH 734-36). 16 qirat (2.88 g). Obverse: a square of Kufic lettering containing inscr. plus *salla allah ‘alayhi*. The ductus runs along the square’s sides, starting at the base, and ends in the centre. Rashidun in segments. Reverse: inscription forming implied square. Longer title, name *Busaida* in Uyghur script, epithet, prayer. Mint above and below *Busaida*. Date in four segments left by implied square. Album 1984: 58; Album 2001: xxvii; Blair 1983: 304-5, 306 (as type F).
- Musa Khan (736-37/
1336-37) A Wt. st. 16 qirat (2.88 g). Obverse same as Abu Sa‘id H. Reverse: basically same as Abu Sa‘id H, but inscr. of “square” in three lines, no epithet after name; mint now in easterly segment. Album 1984: 67-68.
- Muhammad (736-38/
1336-38) A Same as Musa Khan A. Only 737. Wt. st. still 16 qirat. Rare. Album 1984: 71-72.

	B	16-lobed circle and crinkly hexagon. Nearly all 738, but some from mints in Asia Minor and Armenia 739. Wt. st. 14 qirat (2.52 g). Obverse: circle composed of 16 lobes. Kalima inside, forming square. Rashidun in segments left by square. Reverse: basically a hexagon, but lobes at corners and on each side two lobes joined by a loop reaching inside the hexagon. Inside, title, name, prayer, but includes <i>wa dawlatahu</i> . In the hexagon's six corner spaces defined by the inward-reaching loops, mint and date. Album 1984: 72; Album 2001: xxvii.
Sati Beg (739/ 1338-39)	A	"Four-leaf". 739. Wt. st. 12 qirat (2.16 g). Obverse: circle surrounded by four leaves whose points touch outer circle. In circle and leaves, inscr. with addition of <i>al-amin</i> after 'Muhammad'. Rashidun in segments left by leaves. Reverse: hexalobe. Within, title, name, prayer, forming square. In lobes, mint and date. (Adaptation of Muhammad B reverse.) Album 1984: 79-80; Album 2001: xxvii.
	IA	"Four-lobe". 739. Obverse: central circle of pearls, four lobes off. The lobes do not reach to edge of coin. Whole inscr. in central circle. Rashidun in lobes. Reverse: hexalobe. Title, name, prayer. In lobes, mint and date. Very similar to type A reverse. Album 1984: 81-83; Album 2001: xxvii.
Taghay Timur (737-54/ 1336-53)	A	"Hexagon-and-heptagon". Almost invariably 739. Obverse: hexagon, pointed corners touching edge of coin. Sides of hexagon bowed inwards; kink formed by internal loop as in Muhammad B reverse and Jahan Timur A obverse. Within, inscr., four lines. In segments left by square, Rashidun and mint. Reverse: heptagon, sometimes hexagon or octagon, angles touching outer circle. Within, title, name, prayer, date, in four or five lines. Album 1984: 87-90.
	RA	Two hexagons. 739 only. Wt. st. 12 qirats (2.16 g). Obverse: hexagon, its angles joined outer circle by small bobbles. Within, inscr.. in lunettes left by hexagon, Rashidun and mint. Reverse: hexagon whose points touch outer circle. Title, name, prayer, date, in five lines. Album 1984: 92-93.
Jahan Timur (740-41/ 1339-40)	A	"Crinkly square and pentagon". 740 only. Wt. st. 10 qirats (1.80 g). Obverse: square set with angles at compass points. Lobes at corners, and two on each side joined by internal loop as in Muhammad B reverse. Within, inscr., but order changed to suit internal configuration of square. Rashidun in segments left by square. Reverse, crinkly pentagon (lobes, loops, as on square of obverse). Within, title, name, prayer. In segments left by pentagon, mint and date. Album 1984: 84-85; Album 2001: xxvii.
Sulayman (739-46/ 1339-46)	A	739. 12 qirats (2.16 g). Introduced at Tabriz immediately after Sulayman's proclamation as Il-Khan, but soon rescinded. (Album 1984: 101.)
	B	Pointed square, circle. 740. Wt. st. 10 qirats (1.80 g). Obverse: square; angles pointed and touching outer circle; sides consist of two arcs which meet at lily design (sometimes two arcs either side of lily). Within, inscr.. Rashidun in segments left by square. Reverse: circle joined to outer ring by four small circles, each with dot in centre. Inside circle, title, name, prayer. In segments of circular margin, mint and date. Album 1984: 102; Album 2002: xxvii.

Eretna (minted 742-53/1342-54)	C	Two octafoils. 741, rarely 742 or 743. Wt. st. 8 qirats (1.44 g). Obverse: octafoil, lobes nearly touching outer circle. Within, inscr., forming square. In quadrants left by square, Rashidun. Reverse: smaller octafoil. Within, title, name (Uyghur script), prayer. In margin left by octafoil, mint and date. Stars on axes. Album 1984: 104; Album 2001: xxvii-viii.
	D	“Eye” type. 743, 744. Wt. st. 8 qirats (1.44 g). Obverse: Kalima forming square. Reverse: two arcs forming “eye” in centre along horizontal axis. Within eye, title, name (Uyghur script), prayer. In crescents above and below eye, mint and date. Album 1984: 104-5; Album 2001: xxviii.
	A	Square and hexafoil. 743-46 (?). Wt. st. 10 qirats (1.80 g). Obverse: square whose corners just touch outer circle. Within, inscr.. In segments, Rashidun. Reverse: hexafoil whose points joined to outer circle by small pencil-point-like or egg-like projections. Within hexafoil, title (no name) in Uyghur script, prayer. Mint above and below. Date in segments left by hexafoil. Album 2001: xxviii.
	B1	Lobed square and star. 746-49. Wt. st. 10 qirats (1.80 g). Obverse: square with large lobes on each side; corners of square slightly pointed and touch outer circle. Within square, inscr.. No inscr. in segments between square and circle. Reverse: six-point star whose points touch a solid circle; outside the latter, a circle of pearls. Within star, title in Uyghur script (as in A), no name, prayer. Mint above and below. Date in segments left by star. Album 2001: xxviii.
	B2	Lobed square and star. 746-52. Same as B1 but with mint in marginal segments on reverse, other minor variations. Generally decoration in top and bottom ray of star. Album 2001: xxviii
Muhammad, son of Eretna [1] (753-67/ 1354-66)	C	Hexafoil and eye. Obverse: hexafoil, whose lobes just touch solid circle; within, inscr. arranged in shape of square; Rashidun in north and south lobes and in westerly and easterly <i>pairs</i> of lobes. Reverse: eye inscribed in circle, though its extremities do not quite touch the circle. In eye, title and prayer. Above and below inscr., but within eye, mint. Date above and below eye.
	[1]	“Signet” and leaves. Wt. st. 10 qirat (1.80 g). Obverse: small circle containing name ‘ <i>Ali</i> . Three pointed leaves reach from circle to edge of coin. In leaves, names of Abu Bakr, ‘Amr, ‘Uthman. In segments left by leaves, inscr.. Reverse: in four lines, name, title, epithet, prayer. Below, mint and sometimes date (in digits). Album 2001: xxviii.
‘Ala al-Din ‘Ali (767-82/ 1365-80)	EA	Square and octafoil. Wt. st. 9 qirat (1.62 g) (?). Obverse: square containing inscr.; but square is within another whose corners slightly pointed so as to touch outer circle. On each side of the outer square, a lobe formed from a double line. Within lobes, Rashidun. Reverse: octalobe. Within, title, name, prayer. Mint and date in digits below. But sometimes n.d.. Album 2001: xxviii (as EA1)
	EA+	“Countermark”. Obverse: as EA. Reverse: as EA, but the third line of the inscription interrupted by an eye-like “countermark” (really part of the die) defined in dots. Within “c/m”, <i>allah</i> , substituting for <i>allah</i> in inscr.. Type EA was often genuinely counterstruck with such a design. Album 2001: xxviii, as EA2.

- SA Hexagon and hexalobe. Probably 768 only. Wt. st. 9 qirats (1.62 g) (?). Obverse, hexagon, kink in each side, corners pointed. Within, inscr.. Rashidun in segments left by hexagon. Reverse: title, name, prayer as in EA. Mint and date in digits at bottom, mint sometimes above and below inscription. Date sometimes “828” etc.: motives for false date discussed above, pp 123–24.
- SB Lobed square. Probably 776 only. Obverse: square, placed diagonally, with sharp points which are continued by short lines. On each side of square, lobes. Within square, inscr.; in four segments outside square, Rashidun. Reverse: square whose corners nearly touch outer circle. Within, title, name and prayer; then mint. Date in segments.
- SB+ Same as SB, but “countermark” eye, inscribed *allah*, on reverse, just as in EA+
- SC Lobed square and rectangle. Wt. st. 7 qirats (1.26 g) (?). Obverse, inscr. inside lobed square, as in SB; but Rashidun in lobes. Reverse: rectangle placed lengthways in outer circle. Within rectangle, name and prayer (two lines). Mint in lunette below. N.d..
- SC+ As SC, but “countermark” eye inscribed ‘allah’ replaces ‘allah’ of reverse inscription, as in EA+ and SB+. N.d..
- SD Two stars. Wt. st. 7 qirats (1.26 g) (?). Obverse: six-point star, points touching outer circle. Kalima inside star; Rashidun in triangles left by star. Reverse: same star. Within, title, name, prayer. In northeast, southeast and southwest triangles left by star, mint. Symbols in east and west triangles.
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Sivas

Ghazan (694-703/1295- 1304) ®	AU	2 mql.	1	699	8.60 g.	Kolbas 2006: 337 (YKB 10458)
	AR	s.drh.	4	699-701, one d.b.	2.12-2.20 g.	Tübingen GE3 D6, E1-E3
			1	699	2.27 g.	BM 1967.1-12-34
Uljaytu (703-716/ 1304-16)			2	696, 699	2.13, 2.23 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 240-41, p 149
			1	699	[chk]	Album 2001: pl 45, no 881
	AE	fals	1	n.d.	1.90 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 275, p 153
	AU	1 mql.	1	704	4.25 g	Hinrichs 2005: no 4, pp 90, 92
	AR	s.drh.	2	705	2.03, 2.13 g.	Tübingen GF6 A5, 92-20-26
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B			1	706	2.15 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 419, p 170
		s.drh.	5	709-12	2.09, 2.12-2.16 g.	Tübingen GF6 A6,
						92-13-65, 94-53-148,
C			1	710	4.31 g.	97-29-54
		d.drh.	--			Tübingen GF6 B1
			1	710	4.08 g	
		s.drh.	1	715	1.95 g.	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 421, p 170
		d.drh.	3	714-16	3.82, 4.01, 4.05 g.	Tübingen GF6 B3
						Tübingen GF6 B2, B4
Abu Sa'ïd (716-36/ 1316-1335)			--			97-29-56
			1	714	3.75 g	
		d.drh.	1	714	4.03 g.	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 422, p 170
		s.drh.	2	718, d.m.	1.45, 1.92 g.	Tübingen 92-20-26 (prob. imitation)
						Tübingen GI8 C6, D1
		d.drh.	2	717, 7xx	3.83, 3.89 g.	
B			--			Tübingen GI8 C5, D2
			1	716	3.75 g	
		s.drh.	2	717 or 719; 71x	1.93, 1.97 g.	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 673, p 199
C		d.drh.	1	718	3.76 g.	Tübingen GI8 D4, D5
		s.drh.	2	719, 72x	1.31, 1.81 g.	Tübingen GI8 D3
		d.drh.	8	719-22	3.39.3.43, 3.53-3.57 g.	Tübingen GI8 E1, F1
						Tübingen GI8 C5, D6, E2-E3, E5-E6,
			2	717, 720	3.47, 3.52 g.	93-38-119, 94-1-62
			--			BM 6 no 182; Add 2.176, p 109
			--			
			1	720	2.82 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 674, p 199
			3	All 720	3.23, 3.60, 3.66 g	Album 2001: pl 45, nos 882-84

D F	d.drh.	1	723	3.40 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 675, p 199
	?	1	726	?	Hinrichs 2005: no 6, p 90
	s.drh.	7	723, 726, 728	1.57-1.75 g.	Tübingen G18 F2-F4; A2-A5
		1	723	1.78 g.	BM 1967.2-23-31
		--	-----		-----
		1	723	1.62 g	Album 2001: pl 45, no 885. Much blundered
	d.drh.	3	723, 725	3.10, 3.52, 3.58 g.	Tübingen G18 F5; F6; G19 A1
		2	725 & ?	3.56, 3.59 g.	BM 1987.11-9-8, -9
G		1	725	3.55 g.	Artuk 1970-74: no 2261, 2.787
		--	-----		-----
		1	723	3.42 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 676, p 199
	2 mql.	3	731, 732, 733	9.05, 9.20 g, one unknown	Hinrichs 2005: nos 7-9, pp 93-95
		1	731	1.61 g.	Tübingen G19 B3
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		1	d.b.	1.35 g	Album 2001: pl 45, no 886. Variant
	d.drh.	6	729-31	2.84-3.23 g.	Tübingen G19 A6, B1-B2, B4-B6
		2	731, 733	3.03, 3.21 g.	BM Add 2.231 ^{a, b} , p 112;
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			730, 731,	3.12, 3.15,	1967.1-12-74
		3	732	3.20 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 679-81, pp 199-200.
H					No 679, type dubious
	AU	1	Kh. 34 (734-35)	5.45 g.	Artuk 1970-74: no 2309, 2. 802
	AR	4	Kh. 33-35 (733-36)	2.70-2.85 g.	Tübingen G19 C1-C4
	d.drh.	2	733; Kh 34	2.81, 2.84 g.	BM 1920.5-14-164, 1872.8-14-34
		--	-----		-----
		1	Kh. 33	2.85 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 682, p 200
	fals	1	725	1.25 g.	Tübingen 91-5-189, Lion inside star
		2	[722], [7]2x	1.14, 1.20 g.	BM 1936.8.5.21, 2001.12.1-2208. Rosette design
B B		1	725	1.20 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 738, p 205
	d.drh.	1	738	2.20 g	Mübarek 1900: no 306, pp 156-57
	d.drh.	1	738	2.38 g	Tübingen GK3 E6
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RA		2	738, 739	2.08, 2.48 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 1-2, pp 516-17
	d.drh.	1	739	2.12 g	Tübingen GL2 E2
		--	-----		-----
		1	739	2.08 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 815, p 214

Sulayman (739-6/ 1339-46)	[B1] [sic]	AR	d.drh.	1	742	1.60 g	Mübarek 1900: no 338, p 175
Mamluk sultan al-Nasr Muhammad (Eretna)	A			1	748	1.76 g.	BM 1985.2-19-22
	[A1]			2	748, 74x	1.80 g	Mübarek 1900: no 348, p 179; no 355, p 181
	[2]			1	747	1.80 g	Mübarek 1900: no 347, p 179
	AR	d.drh.		5	739, 741, 74x	2.09, 2.12, 2.15 g, one n.w.	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 456-59, pp 466-68; no 4, p 523
	AE	fals		2	741; one d. oblit.	1.20, 1.30 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 460-61, pp 469-70.
Eretna (minted 742-53/ 1342-52)	A	AR	s.drh.	2	n.d.	0.77, 0.78 g	Sultan not named
			d.drh.	2	74x, 746	1.03, 1.48 g	Mint uncertain
				--	-----	-----	Tübingen HC7 F6, HC8 A1
				3	742, 74x	1.78, 1.80 g	-----
	B1	AR	d.drh.	8	746, 747, 749	1.65, 1.752-1.80, 1.84, 1.85 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 24-25, p 204; no 5, p 526. The latter, var. Tübingen HC8 A2-A6, B1, B3, C1. Some variants
B2				--	-----	-----	-----
				4	746, 747, two 74x	1.66, 1.74, 1.79, 1.81 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005 2005: nos 63-64, 67-68, pp 226, 229. One, mint doubtful
				1	74x	1.68 g	Album 2001: pl 45, no 887
			d.drh.	9	747-52	1.72-1.79 g	Tübingen HC8 B2, B4-B6, C2-C6. Several variants
				--	-----	-----	-----
C				5	749-52	1.77-1.80 g, one n.w.	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 113-17, pp 252-54
				1	747	1.7 g	Türkmen 1995: no 12
	AR	s.drh.		1	d. oblit.	0.8 g	Türkmen 1995: no 11
		d.drh.		2	757	1.71, 1.75 g	Tübingen HC8 D1, D2. D2 is variant
				--	-----	-----	-----
Anon.				3	740, 750 (?); d. oblit.	1.5, 1.6, 1.7 g	Türkmen 1995: nos 4, 6, 7
		AE	fals	2	744, 757	1.18, 1.21 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no. 132, p 267; no 137, p 271. First, obv., prancing leopard or lion; second, double-headed eagle
							Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 158, p 283
	AR	d.drh.		1	757	1.72 g	

Muhammad, son of Eretna (753-67/1354-66)	[1]	AR	d.drh.	2	n.d.	1.71, 1.79 g	Tübingen HC9 F3, F4
				--	-----	-----	-----
				5	n.d.	1.62, 1.65, two 1.74, 1.83 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 228-32, pp 324-26
'Ala al-Din 'Ali (767-80/1368-81)	SA	AR	d.drh.	2	n.d.	1.8 g	Türkmen 1995: nos 53-54
				3	768. C1, 774 (?)	1.62, 1.63, 1.71 g	Tübingen HD1 B4, B5, C1. C1 a variant
				--	-----	-----	-----
				19	768 (four), "827", three "82x", "868", six n.d., four d.oblit.	1.34-1.46, 1.50, 1.53, 1.56, 1.61, 1.65- 1.68 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 281-90, pp 354-58; 308-11, pp 372-74; 323-27, pp 381-83. Many variants. 8 coins cmkd., several eye c/ms
				1	n.d.	1.3 g	Türkmen 1995: no 8
SB			d.drh.	1	d.b.	1.72 g	Tübingen HD1 C2
				--	-----	-----	-----
				5	776, one d.oblit	1.44, 1.53-1.56, 1.62 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 348-52, pp 404-6
				1	7xx	1.2 g	Türkmen 1995: no 9
				1	776	1.54 g	Tübingen HD1 C3
				2	n.d.	1.13, 1.23 g	Tübingen HD1 C4, C5.
				--	-----	-----	C5 is variant
SD				3	n.d.	1.11, 1.16, 1.18 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 446-48, pp 459-60. Attributed by Perk and Öztürk to Çelebi Mehmet.
				1	n.d.	0.69 g	Tübingen HD1 D1
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	n.d.	0.68 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 362, p 412
				1	n.d.	1.42 g	Tübingen HD1 C6
				2	One n.d., one d.b.	1.68, [chk] g	Album 2001: pl 45, nos 888-89
				1	n.d.	1.25 g.	Tübingen 95-29-16. Rosette inside Star of David
				1	782	1.50 g.	Artuk 1970-74: no 2388, p 827
				2	d. oblit.	1.30, 1.40 g	Tevhid 1903: nos 903-4, p 442
				--	-----	-----	-----
[SE]		AE	fals	6	"867", "687" (?), 7x8; two "617", one d.oblit.	1.36, 1.37, 1.45 (two), 1.50, one n.w.	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 475-80, pp 482-84
				1	n.d.	1.71 g.	Tübingen 93-3-6
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	n.d.	1.71 g.	Tübingen 93-3-6
Eretmid, anon.				1	n.d.	1.71 g.	Tübingen 93-3-6
				--	-----	-----	-----
Qadi Burhan al-Din (782-801/1380-98)		AR	d.drh.	1	782	1.50 g.	Artuk 1970-74: no 2388, p 827
				2	d. oblit.	1.30, 1.40 g	Tevhid 1903: nos 903-4, p 442
Zayn al-'Abidin, son of Ahmad Burhan al-Din	AR		d.drh.	1	n.d.	1.71 g.	Tübingen 93-3-6
				--	-----	-----	-----

Kochhisar

Abu Sa'id (716-36/ 1316-1335)	F	AR	d.drh.	1	725	3.06 g	Tübingen GH7 F3
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Zile

Ghazan (694-703/1295- 1304) al-Ashraf Nasr Ghiyath al-Din	?	AR	s.drh.	1	n.d.	2.05 g	Tübingen GE5 A1. Barbarous
		AE	fals	1	n.d.	1.66 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 469, p 477. Cf no 460, p 469 (Sivas)

“Bikbik” (Aqshahr)

Abu Sa'id	AR	A	s.drh.	1	717	1.86 g	Tübingen G11 C2
		B	s.drh.	1	n.d.	1.76 g	Tübingen G11 C3
		C	s.drh.	2	719, n.d.	1.65, 1.76 g	Tübingen G11 C4, C5
		F	s.drh.	5	723-25	1.63, 1.65,	Tübingen G11 C6, D1, D3-D6
				1	? 723	1.45 g.	BM 1984.5-66-2
			d.drh.	2	723	3.31 g. both	BM Add 2.210 ^d , p 110;
							1967.2-23-32
		G	s.drh.	1	723	3.23 g	Tübingen G11 D2
				5	729-32	1.43, 1.45, 1.48, 1.56 g,	Tübingen G11 D6, E1-E4
						D6 n.w.	
			d.drh.	1	733	2.94 g	Tübingen G11 E5
		H	d.drh.	8	Kh 33 (734-35), 736-37	2.13, 2.27-2.35, 2.45,	Tübingen G11 E6, F1-F6, G12 A1. Two
				3	two 737, one ?	2.56, 2.73, 3.04 g	variants (coins with H dates)
						2.09, 2.23, 2.41 g.	BM 6: no 252, p 82; 1920.5-14-166; 1967.2-23-44
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	Kh. 33	2.86 g	Album 2001: pl 20, no 385. Legends much blundered
Muhammad	AR	B	d.drh.	2	738	2.40, 2.41 g	Tübingen GK3 A1, A2. A2 a variant

Taghay Timur	AR	RA	d.drh.	1	739	2.13 g	Tübingen GK9 B2
Sulayman	AR	[A1]	s.drh.	1	?	0.60 g	Mübarek 1900: no 353, p 180

Kemah

‘Ala al-Din ‘Ali (756-67/1355-65)	EA	AR	d.drh.	1	n.d.	1.63 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 435, p 452
Ja‘far ibn Ya‘qub (839-40/1435-37)	EA+	AR	d.drh.	1	n.d.	1.58 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 434, p 452
	(UT)	AR	? 1/3 tanka	1	n.d.	0.84 g	Ertürk, Ertüreten: 218

Erzincan

Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304)	AU	1 mql.	1	700	4.30 g.	Artuk 1970-74: no 2220, 2.772
	AR	¼ drh.	1	(69)9	1.00 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 111
		½ drh.	1	d.m.	1.03 g.	Tübingen 96-16-49
			1	?	0.89 g	BM 1949.11-8-110
		s.drh.	5	698-700	1.80 g.,	Tübingen GD7 F3, F6;
					2.21-2.23 g	GD8 A1; GD8 B1;
						90-14-5
			2	69x, 701	2.12, 2.13 g	BM 6: no 102, p. 37; Add 2: no 108 ^d , p 99
			1	698	2.20 g	Mübarek 1900: no 50, p 47
			--			-----
			2	698, 699	1.80, 2.13 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 154-55, p 139
		d.drh.	7	698-703	4.28-4.44 g	Tübingen GD7 F4, F5;
						GD8 A2-A6
			3	698, 700, ?	4.24, 4.34 g	BM Add 2: no 96 ^d , p 97; 1967.2-23-15
			1	?	4.20 g.	Artuk 1970-74: no 2221, 2.773
			1	702	4.21 g	Mübarek 1900: no 55, p 52
			--			-----
			5	699-703	4.20, 4.25, 4.30, 4.38, 4.40 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 156-60, pp 139-40

Uljaytu (703-16/ 1304-16)	AE	fals	1	d.m. ?	1.47 g 1.99 g	Tübingen GF9 A2 BM 6: no 122, p 42
			1			
			1	n.d.	1.75 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 273, p 153
	A	d.drh.	3	704-707	4.28-4.44 g	Tübingen GE9 A3-A5
			1	707	4.33 g	BM Add 2: no 131 ¹ , p 102.
			4	704-7	3.97, 4.20, 4.25 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 335-38, p 160
	B	d.drh.	3	710-11	4.28-4.32 g	Tübingen GE9 A6, B1-B2
	C	2 mql.	1	710	4.40 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 339, p 160
			2	715, (71)7	8.42, 8.5 g	Hinrichs 2005: nos 2, 3, pp 90, 91-92. No 2, inscr. of obv. rim, outside hexafoil, is that of type B
	AR	d.drh.	6	714-16	3.82-3.98 g	Tübingen GE9 B3-B6, C1-C2
			3	715, 716	3.86, 3.92 g	BM 1949.8-3-276, -358;
			1	715	4.01 g	1967.1-12-40
						Mübarek 1900: no 118, p 76
	AE		3	714-716	3.87 (two), 3.90 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 340-42, p 161
			2	713, d.m.	3.45, 1.47 g	Tübingen GF9 A1, A2
			1	d. oblit.	n.a.	BM 6: no 168, p 60
A	AR	d.drh.	2	716, 717	3.80, 3.92 g	Tübingen GG9 B4, B5
			1	717	3.90 g.	Artuk 1979-74: no 2242, 2.779
B	AR	d.drh.	2	717	3.94, 3.99 g	Tübingen GG9 B4, B5
			2	717, 718	3.84, 3.91 g	BM 1949.8-3-274, -366
			1	719	3.90 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2242, 2.779
			2	718, 719	both 3.85 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 554-55, p 185
C		d.drh.	4	719-20	3.56-3.63 g	Tübingen GG9 B6, C1, C2, GJ5 C3
			4	717, 719, 720, 71x	3.50-3.57, 3.67 g	BM 6: nos 176, 181, 184, pp 65, 66, 67;
			3	717, 719, 720 g	3.21, 3.31, 4.01 g	1967.1-12-59
						Mübarek 1900: nos 134, 137, 145, pp 88-89, 90, 93
			1	720	3.52 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 556, p 185
N.n.		d.drh.	1	[722]	3.53 g	BM 1949.8-3-285

D	s.drh.	3	722, 723, ? (C3)	1.75, 1.77 g, ? (C3)	Tübingen GG9 C3, C4; GM7 A2
	d.drh.	1	722	3.21 g	Műbárek 1900: no 172, p 102
		5	722-23	3.54-3.60 g	Tübingen GG9 C5, C6, DI-D3
		5	722-24	2.77, 2.87, 3.56- 3.57 g	BM: 6, no 197, p 69; [18]77.5-1-35; 1949.8-3-284; 1949.8-3-365; 1986.5-31-5
		1	722	3.65 g	Artuk 1970-74: 2 no 2251, p 783
F		--	-----	-----	-----
	s.drh.	2	722	3.60, 3.61 g	Album 2001: pl 6, nos 112-13
	d.drh.	2	724, 726	1.76, 1.78 g	Tübingen GG9 D4, E1
		3	724, 725, ? (92-11-104)	3.55-3.63 g	Tübingen GG9 D5, D6; 92-11-04
		1	724	3.60 g	BM 1977.4-4-1
G		1	725	3.55 g	Artuk 1970-74: 2 no 2261, p 787
		--	-----	-----	-----
	2 mql.	1	727	3.62 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 560, p 186
	s drh.	2	733, ?	7.31, 8.22 g	BM: Add 2, nos 173 ^{r,t} , p 108
	d.drh.	1	731	1.63 g	Tübingen GG9 E4
H		5	731-33 (doubt about one date)	3.14-3.24 g	Tübingen GG9 E2, E3, E5, E6, F1
		4	727-32	2.91, 3.20-3.25 g	BM 6: no 226, [p no]; Add 2: no 231 ^d , p 112; Add 2: no 231 ^t , p 112; 1949.8-3-272
		--	-----	-----	-----
		4	729-33	2.80, 3.07, 3.15, 3.42 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 561, 563-65
	6 drh.	1	[check]	9.32 g	Tübingen 93-2-79
	? 2	1	Kh. 33 (733-34)	6.4 g	Hinrichs 2005: no 5, pp 90, 92-93
	mql.				
	d.drh.	2	Kh 33	2.75, 2.83 g	Tübingen GG9 F2, F3
		1	733	2.87 g	BM 1920.5-14-167

AE	fals	4	n.d.	1.54, 1.55, 1.65 g, ? (92-28-98)	designs
		2	n.d.	1.05, 1.50 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 732-33, p 205. No 732, obv., flower with three petals; rev., vertical "eye" with name of II-Khan. No. 733, similar to Abu Sa'id type F BM 1967.1-12-99
Muhammad (736-38/1336-38)	B	1	739	2.51 g	
	AR	d.drh.			
		--			
		1	739	2.40 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 775, p 209
Taghay Timur	RA	1	739	2.42 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 114
(737-54/1336-53)		2	739	2.14, 2.15 g	Tübingen GK9 E1, E2
Jahan Timur (740-41/1339-40)	A	1	739	2.12 g	BM [ref. not noted]. Mint not certain
	A	1	740	0.82 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 821, p 215
		1	740	1.76, 1.77 g	Tübingen GL4 E5, E6
		1	740	1.78 g	BM 6: no 300a
		1	74[0]	1.60 g	Mübarek 1900: no 315, p 123. Variant
		--			
		2	740	1.73, 1.75 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 819-20, p 214
Sulayman (739-46/1339-46)	[A1]	1	740	1.60 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 115
	AU	1	750	4.81 g	Mübarek 1900: no 327, p 170 (cf. Hinrichs 2005: p 91)
	AR	d.drh.	747	1.80 g	Mübarek 1900: no 346, p 178
Eretna (minted 742-53/1342-52)	A	2	750, 751	1.79, 1.80 g	BM 1985.2-19-24
	A	3	743, 745	1.76, 1.78 g	Tübingen HC5 D1-D3
		--			
		2	743, 745	1.76, 1.77 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 34-35, p 210. Var.: cf. no 31, p 208 (Bayburt)
	B2	1	750	5.30 g	Artuk 1979-74: 2378, 2.823
	AR	1	747	0.88 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 82, p 237

	d.drh.	14	747-54	1.69, 1.74-1.75 (four), 1.79-1.81 (five), 1.83 g	Tübingen HC5 D4-D6, E1-E6, F1-F5. Many variants
		--	-----	-----	-----
		5	747, 751, 754, 755, 757	1.73-1.86 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 81, 84, 87-88, pp 236, 238-40; no 182, p 298
?	AR	1	749	1.7 g	Türkmen 1995: no 2
?	AR	1	745	1.76 g	Tübingen 94-13-1
	d.drh.	1	754	1.85 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2379, 2.824
	fals	1	741	2.00 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 131a, p 266. Rev., m.n.
		2	751	1.12, 1.7 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 146-47, p 276. Rev., m.n. within hexagon
	s.drh.	1	n.d.	0.85 g	Ghalib no 155, p 107
Muhammad, son of Ertma (753-67// 1352-66)	AR	1	n.d.	0.85 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 155, p 107
		1	n.d.	0.82 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 208, p 314
	d.drh.	1	761	1.74 g	Tübingen HC9 D5. Variant
		2	761, 762	1.75 g	Ghalib nos 153, 154, pp 106, 107
		2	761	1.80, 1.85 g	Artuk 1970-74: nos 2381, 2382, 2.824, 825
		--	-----	-----	-----
		2	761, 762	1.75 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 153-54, pp 106-7
		3	761, one 76x	1.20, 1.51, 1.56 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 205-7, pp 312-13
		2	761	1.72, 1.78 g	Album 2001: pl 6, nos 116-17
	d.drh.	1	761	1.80 g	Tevhid 1903: no 869 p 430
[2]	AR	1	761	1.95 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 265, p 344
	fals	3	762, 767 ? (93-3-5)	1.45, 1.54, 1.60 g	Tübingen 93-3-4, -5 2000-11-21
?	d.drh.				Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 413, p 441
		1	"827"	0.50 g	Tevhid 1903: nos 896-900, pp 437-48
EA	s.drh.	4	767, 768, one d. oblit.	1.45, 1.55-1.65 g	
	d.drh.	--	-----	-----	-----
		13	Two "762", two 767, five 768, one 762 or 768. Three d. oblit., eye c/m on rev.	1.18, 1.49-1.66, three 1.60, three 1.161	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 403-12, 414-16, pp 436-42
		3	768, "76[x]"	1.57, 1.59, 1.63 g	Album 2001: pl 6, nos 118-20. 119, eye c/m

[EAa] EA+	d.drh. s.drh.	2	768 d.m. or oblit.	1.54, 1.60 g 0.80 g 0.80 g 1.60 g 1.60 g 0.92, 1.54, 1.58 g	Tübingen HC10 C4, C5 Ghalib no 146, p 100 Yapı Kredi 1992: no 146, p 100 Ghalib no 145, p 100 Artuk 1970-74: no 2384, 2.285 Tübingen HC10 C6, D1, D2
	d.drh.	3	762 769, "728"	1.60 g 1.59-1.63 g, three 1.59	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 145, p 100 Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 417-22, pp 443-45
	AE	1	768 "7[2]8"	1.57 g 1.6 g 1.13 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 121 Türkmen 1995: no 5 Tübingen 93-10-36, Horseman riding to right
Anon. Eretmid Timur (and Mahmud) (790- 806/ 1388-1404)	AE	1	?	0.85 g 1.27, 1.61-1.65 g	Tübingen 93-10-36. Horseman etc. Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos. 482-86, pp 488-89. "728" coin perh. fake: cf 'Ala al-Din coins above
	AR	5	One "728" (?), two d. oblit., one n.d.	1.61, 1.64 g 5.64 g 6.05 g 5.88, 6.05, 6.11 g 0.96 g 3.44 g 1 m. 2 t. 1.16, 1.21, 1.26- 1.33, 1.37 g	Album 2001: pl 6, nos 122-23 Tübingen 97-9-3 Artuk 1970-74: no 2520, 2.870 Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 488-90, pp 491-92 Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 491, p 493 Tübingen 92-2-80 Mübarek 1900: no 178, p 103 Album 2001: pl 6, nos 124-32
Qara Yusuf and Pir Budaq (struck 814-21)	AR	9	[1/3 tanka]	4.87, 5.18 g 1.21, 1.26 g 1.41 g	Album 2001: pl 6, nos 133-34 Album 2001: pl 6, nos 125, 132 Album 2001: pl 6, no 136
Pir 'Umar (822-23/ 1419-20) 'Uthman (AQ) (struck mid- 820s to end 830s/early 1420s to mid-1430s)	AR	2	[1/3 tanka]	1.73 g 1.66 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 137 Ertürk, Ertüreten: 226
Malik Mahmud (unknown) Malik al-'Adil Muhammad (unknown)	AR	1	[1/3 tanka]	3.53 g 3.90 g	Tübingen 2004-13-1 Ertürk, Ertüreten: 229. Attr. to Ia'far uncertain
Ja'far ibn Ya'qub (Aq Qoyunlu, 839-40/1435-37)	AR	1	tanka		

“Shaykh Hasan” (unknown) see “irregular” coins below	AE	fals	1	Ram. 839	4.40 g	Tübingen 91-16-121 (mint name not certain)
	AR	? see “irregular” coins below	4	d.m. or oblit., one 84x,	0.82 – 0.85 g	Ertürk, Ertüreten: 218-21
Hamza (Aq Qoyunlu) (839-48/1435-44)	AR	tanka	2	845	4.89, 5.17 g	Ertürk, Ertüreten: 222-23. Only “sultan” legible, but cf Bayburt below
	AE	fals	1	n.d.	n.w.	Tevhid 1903: no 964, p 477
Shah Rukh (Timurid) (807-50/1405-47)	AR	1/3 tanka	6	845,	1.59, 1.67-1.71 g	Tübingen 97-30-23 to -28
		tanka	2	one n.d. 845	5.14, 5.21 g	Tübingen 97-30-21, -22
Khushqadam, Mamluk sultan (865-72/ 1461-67) (Uzun Hasan)			1	d.m. (c. 824)	5.00 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 135
	AR	1/3 tanka	1	n.d.	3.99 g	Ertürk, Ertüreten: 227
(Uzun) Hasan (Aq Qoyunlu) (857-82/ 1453-78)			1	n.d.	1.69 g	Tübingen C16 A2
		tanka	1	n.d., but after 872	4.92 g	Album 2001: pl 6, no 138
Ya‘qub (Aq Qoyunlu) (883-96/ 1478-90)		tanka	1	?	5.00 g	Tübingen LA6 B3
		tanka	1	896	4.91 g	Tübingen 91-25-61
Baysunghur (Aq Qoyunlu) (896-97/1490-92)						
	AR	1/3 tanka	3	n.d.	1.70-2.01 g	Tevhid 1903: nos 984-86, pp 488-89
Rustam (Aq Qoyunlu) (897-902/ 1492-97)			1	d. oblit.	2 g	Artuk 1970-74: 2 no 2423, p 841
		tanka	1	n.d.	5.06 g	Tübingen 92-11-142
Ahmad (Aq Qoyunlu) (902-3/ 1497-98)		1/3 tanka	1	n.d.	1.60 g	Tevhid 1903: no 1020, p 499. As 1/3 tankas of Rustam
		1/3 tanka	1	n.d.	1.80 g	Tevhid 1903: no 1045, p 510. As 1/3 tankas of Rustam
Qilich Arslan, son of Pir ‘Ali						
		1/3 tanka	1	?	1.90 g	Tevhid 1903: no 1046, p 510
	AE	fals	1	n.d.	?	Tevhid 1903: no 1047, p 511. Lion and sun design

“Irregular” coins. These form the vast majority of a hoard found near Erzincan and evidently minted there. In this author’s opinion their date falls sometime in the mid-ninth/fourteenth century, certainly before 845/1441-42, the only clear date among the few regular Islamic coins in the hoard (see Bayburt, below). The “irregular” coins’ metrology is not tied to the tanka, the coin introduced by Timur at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and minted here till the end of the fifteenth. The period of minting, presumably short, probably falls within one of the occupations of Erzincan by Mamluk troops, most likely that of 1438. The inscriptions on a few of the coins refer to “Egyptian soil” (“arz-ı Mısri”): e.g. Ertürk, Erüreten: 175-76, one of the so-called “four-akçe” coins.

Type A. “Akçe”. Wt. st. apparently c 1.06 g.; but hardly Ottoman-inspired. Obverse: a formula such as *harf lillah tamgamdır mührüm*, or *Mustafa el-Hüseyn mührüm*, or *Mustafa el-Hüseyniye mührüm*, with *Erzincan zuribe* (“struck in Erzincan”) between the lines. Mostly in three or five lines within circle, but sometimes in hexafoil or octafoil. Reverse: a complimentary formula, e.g. (pp 119-20), obv. *Mustafa zuribe bin el-Hüseyniye mührüm*, rev. *harf lillah tamgamdır Erzincan mührüm*. In circle, hexafoil or octagonal figure with inward-bowed sides. The spelling and grammatical mistakes, the occurrence of the same formula, now on the obverse, now on the reverse, sometimes even on both, the mixture of Turkish and Arabic in the inscriptions, the inscriptions’ generally meaningless character and the imitations of various common types, as for example the reverse of Timur’s and Mahmud’s coins (Ertürk, Erüreten: 65-66) all point to a “spoof” coinage, either struck illegally to supplement a circulating legal coinage or struck, in the absence of new legal issues, in order to satisfy a dearth of currency such as might have occurred before and during a Mamluk occupation. Either way the coins’ designers knew little about the correct form of inscriptions on coins and were imitating known types to fool illiterate traders and others.

Type B. “Half akçe”. Wt. st. perhaps c 0.53 g. Similar coins, inscriptions etc..

Type C. “Four akçe”. If so, wt. st. is c 4.24 g, but possibly there was no wt. st., since the wt. distr. is remarkably free. Type C-I: obverse, imitation of Abu Sa’id type F (“plains quare”), but names of Rashidun in arcs replaced by plant design. Reverse, a verse of poetry in four lines. Type C-II: reverse, imitation of Sulayman type D (“eye”), though inscription is the same poetry. The rest, obverse: *harf lillah / tamgamdır mührüm / Mustafa al-Haydar / mührüm*; reverse: the four-line verse.

“Irregular”	B [sic]	AR	“Half akçe”	3	n.d.	0.28, 0.42, 0.53 g	Ertürk, Erüreten: 162-66
	A	AR	“Akçe”	109	n.d.	0.63, 0.75, 0.92, 0.94, 0.96-1.18 (0.99 – 1.11, 86 coins), 1.20, 1.21 g	Ertürk, Erüreten: 40-162
	C	AR	“Four akçe”	31	n.d.	4.06, 4.07, 4.10, 4.11, 4.14, 4.16, 4.19, 4.20, 4.22-4.24, 4.28, 4.33, 4.34, 4.36-4.37, 4.39, 4.42, 4.46, 4.48, 4.58 g	Ertürk, Erüreten: 168-213

Balakhor

Abu Sa’id	D	AR	d.drh.	1	722	3.44 g	Tübingen 92-2-80
				1	722	3.21 g	Mübârek 1900: no 178, p 103

Çemişgezek

‘Ala al-Din ‘Ali (767-82/ 1366-80)	EA+	AR	d.drh.	3	[778], x7x [perh. 778], d. oblit.	1.29, 1.46, 1.53 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 400-2, pp 434-35
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Erzurum

Ghazan (694-703/ 1295-1304)	(R)	AR	s.drh.	3	699, Ram. 700 699	2.20, 2.25 g 2.27 g	Tübingen GD8 B2, 91-5-153, 98-9-71 BM: Add 2, no 97 ^r , p 97
				--			
			d.drh.	1	699	2.13 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 162, p 140
				4	700-03	3.97, 4.26, 4.33, 4.61 g	Tübingen GD8 B3-B6
				--			
				4	699-701	4.28, 4.42, 4.55 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 161, 163-65, p 140
				1	Ram. 700	4.52 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 103
		AE	fals	1	n.d.	n.w.	BM: 6 no 123, p 43
		AR	d.drh.	1	705	4.38 g	BM: Add 2 no 131 ^k , p 102
				--			
				1	705	4.25 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 343, p 161
				1	Ram. 704	4.52 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 104
			d.drh.	1	708	4.34 g	Tübingen GE9 C3
				--			
				1	709	4.28 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 344, p 161 (unclear if A or B)
			d.drh.	2	709-10	3.96, 4.25 g	Tübingen GE9 C4, 91-5-162
				--			
				2	710, 711	4.17, 4.22 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 345-46, p 161
			d.drh.	1	[7]14	4.21 g	Mübârek 1900: no 109, p 73
			d.drh.	4	714-16	3.89-4.09 g	Tübingen GE9 C5-D2
				--			
				2	714, 715	3.92, 3.97 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 347-48, p 161
			d.drh.	?	?	3.77 g	Tübingen GG9 F4
		cross A-C					

Abu Sa'id (716-36/ 1316-1335)	B?	AR	d.drh.	4	718-19	3.74-3.89 g	Tübingen GG9 F5, F6; GJ5 A6; 92-2-85
				--	-----	-----	-----
				2	718, 719	3.85, 4.00 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 566-67, p 186
C		D	d.drh.	3	720	3.49, 3.57 g	Tübingen GG10 A1, 91-4-51; 92-95-30
				--	-----	-----	-----
				2	720, d.m.	3.65, 3.82 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 576, 568, pp 186, 187
D			d.drh.	6	722-23, 726	3.00, 3.43, 3.47-3.50 g	Tübingen GG10 A2-A6; 2000-2-12
				1	723	3.51 g	BM 1967.2-23-33
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	723	3.49 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 105
E			s.drh.	1	?	1.73 g	Tübingen GG10 B1
F			d.drh.	4	?	3.47-3.57 g	Tübingen GG10 B2-B5
				3	728, 731	2.67, 3.13, 3.37 g	BM 8-4-31, 1967.1-12-73; 6, no 216, p 73
				--	-----	-----	-----
				2	724, 725	3.50, 3.53 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 569, 575, pp 186, 187
				1	727	3.28 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 106
?			d.drh.	1	727	3.00 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 570, p 187
G			s.drh.	4	729-31	1.54-1.60 g	Tübingen GG10 B6, C5, D1, D3
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	731	1.55 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 573, p 187
			d.drh.	9	729-32	2.87, 3.07-3.22 g	Tübingen GG10 C1-C6, D2, D4, D5
				1	7xx	3.19 g	BM 97.5-9.27
				--	-----	-----	-----
				3	729, 731, 733	2.87, 3.15 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: nos 571-72, 574 (dubious), p 187
				1	729	3.07 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 107
H			d.drh.	1	Kh 33 (734-35)	2.85 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2297, 2.798
				1	Kh 33	2.87 g	Tübingen GG10 D6
				1	733	3.01 g	BM Add: 2 no 238 ^f , p 113
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	Kh. 33	2.91 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 108
		AE	fals	1	7x2	1.90 g	Tübingen 97-30-31
Muhammad (736-38/ 1336-38)	A	AR	d.drh.	1	737	2.60 g	Tübingen GK2 A3

B	d.drh.	3	738 738	2.27, 2.34, 2.41 g 2.40 g	Tübingen GK2 A4-A6 BM 1969.8-6-1
A (IA?)	? AR	1 1 3	738 738 739-40	2.35 g 2.48 g 1.78, 1.83, 2.19 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 776, p 209 Yapi Kredi 1992: no 777, p 210 Tübingen GK5 C3-C5
C	d.drh.	1	739 741	1.80 g 1.90 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 834, p 216 Artuk 1970-74: no 2342, 2.812
D	d.drh.	1	743	1.30 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2343, 2.812 Tübingen 90-16-4,
B	AR	2	746	1.39, 1.40 g	93-38-212 BM Add: 2 no 335 ^b , p 117 Mübarek 1900: no 330, p 172
C	d.drh.	1	746	1.34 g	Album 2001: pl 5, no 109
Dies of Timur Taghay RA	d.drh. s.drh.	1	741	1.70 g	BM 64-11-19 Yapi Kredi 1992: no 858, p 218
D	s.drh. d.drh.	1 2 2	prob. 743 743 743, 74x	0.714 g 1.20, 1.30 g 1.23, 1.40 g	BM Add: 2 no 335 ^d , p 117 Artuk 1970-74: nos 339, 340, 1.175-76 Tübingen GM3 A1; 2003-16-209 BM Add: 2 no 336 ^f , p 118
A	fals	1	747	1.41 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 859, 219 BM 2001.12.1.2256. Animal, standing human being behind Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 36, p 211
B2	d.drh.	2	743 n.d.	1.32 g 4.13 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 89-90, pp 240-41 Album 2001: pl 5, no 110. Variant Tübingen 2000-11-132
?	AR	1	746	1.80 g	
Eretna (minted 742-53/ 1342-52)	d.drh.	2	74x, 755	1.72, 1.77 g 1.45 g 1.80 g	
?	AR	1	n.d.		

Anon.	AR	d.drh.	1	n.d.	1.53 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 165, p 288 (attrib. by them to Khwaja Ali Shah)
Muhammad, son of Eretna (756-67/ 1355-65)	[1]	d.drh.	1	761	1.85 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2382, 2.825
			1	761	1.80 g	Ghalib no 152, p 106
'Ala al-Din 'Ali (767-82/ 1365-80)	AR	d.drh.	--	-----	-----	-----
			1	761	1.84 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 209, p 314
	EA	d.drh.	1	768	1.43 g	Tübingen HC10 D3
			--	-----	-----	-----
Rustam (Aq Qoyunlu) (897-902/1492-97)	EA+	d.drh.	1	"62x" [perh. 767]	1.53 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 424, p 447
			1	"729"	1.60 g	Ghalib no 147, p 101
	4		--	-----	-----	-----
			4	One 774; "728" [? 782]; "688" [? 768]; "8687" [? 768] [n.d.]	1.40, 1.60, 1.66, two n.w.	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 423, p 446, nos 425-27, pp 447-48
Rustam (Aq Qoyunlu) (897-902/1492-97)		shah-rukhi	1		5.03 g	Tübingen 92-41-4. Obv., 8-pt. star in circle

Tarjan

Qara Yusuf & Pir Budaq	AR	?	d.drh.	1	n.d.	1.22 g	Tübingen 93-3-10
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Bayburt

Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304)	(R)	AR	s.drh.	1	699	2.12 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 133, p 137
Abu Sa'id (716-36/ 1316-1335)	A	AR	d.drh.	1	717	3.95 g	Tübingen GG6 A1
	B		d.drh.	3	717-19	3.74, 3.85 g	Tübingen GG6 A2-A4
	C		d.drh.	4	720, 721	3.43, 3.54, 3.55, 3.67 g	Tübingen GG6 A5, A6, B1, B2
				1	720 ?	3.50 g	BM 1967.1-12-61
				--	-----	-----	-----
				3	720; two ?	3.42, 3.47, 3.60 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 525, p 182; 528, 528-1, p 182 (dates given, 724, 727, impossible)
				1	Saf. 720	3.55 g	Album 2001: pl 16, no 305
	D		d.drh.	5	722, 723	3.32-3.55 g	Tübingen GG6 B3-B6, 92-2-85
				1	722	3.43 g	BM Add: 2 no 197 ^b , p 109
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	722	3.53 g	Album 2001: pl 16, no 306
				1	? 722	3.40 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 535, p 183 (date given, 732, impossible)
				1	728	2.14 g	Tübingen GG6 D2
	F		s.drh.	1	728	1.59 g	BM 1967.2-23-29
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	728	1.35 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 531, p 182
				1	727	1.62 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 530, p 182 (type a little dubious)
				8	723, 728	2.95, 3.10-3.25, 3.42, 3.48 g	Tübingen GG6 C1-C6, D1, D3
			d.drh.				
				--	-----	-----	-----
				1	727	3.15 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 529, p 182 (type a little dubious)

?: C,D, E, or F	s.drh.	1	723	1.70 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 527, p 182
?	d.drh.	1	723	3.60 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 526, p 182
	d.drh.	1	732	3.17 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 536, p 183
	s.drh.	2	729, 731	1.60, 1.73 g	Tübingen GG6 D4, E4
	d.drh.	9	723-28	2.98,	Tübingen GG6 D5-D6, E1-E3, E5-E6, F1; 92-10-30
		3	731,732	3.14-3.31 g	BM: 6 nos 229, 230, 233
H		--	-----	-----	-----
		4	729-732	2.75, 2.85, 2.98, 3.17 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: nos 532-34, 536, pp 182-83
		1	731	3.23 g	Album 2001: pl 16, no 307. Var.. Style unusual
	s.drh.	1	Kh 33	1.29 g	Tübingen GG6 F3
		1	[733]	1.21 g	BM: 6, no 238, p 79
		--	-----	-----	-----
		1	[7]33	1.00 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 538, p 183 (classified as $\frac{1}{2}$ drh.)
	d.drh.	2	Kh 33, 734	2.81, 2.84 g	Tübingen GG6 F2, F4
		1	734	2.75 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2293, 2.797
		--	-----	-----	-----
?: G or H		1	733	2.98 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 536-1, p 183
	d.drh.	1	733	2.82 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 537, p 183
	fals	1	n.d.	1.45 g	Tübingen 96-7-56. Geometric
	AR	1	737	2.90 g	Album 2001: pl 16, no 308
	d.drh.	1	738	2.44 g	Tübingen GK1 F4
Muhammad (736-38/ 1336-38)		1	(not noted)	2.36 g	BM 1985-2-19
		1	739	2.09 g	Tübingen GK5 B4
	AR	1	739	2.05 g	Artuk 1970-74: no 2339, 2.811
		2	739	2.01 g	Mübarek 1900: no 318, p 167; no 321, p 167 (variant) [date, weight of var. not noted]
		--	-----	-----	-----
Sulayman (739-46/ 1339-46)		1	739	2.10 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 828, p 215
	d.drh.	1	(not noted)	1.78 g	BM 1985.2-19-26
	d.drh.	1	740	1.76 g	Tübingen GL6 F2
		--	-----	-----	-----
		1	740	1.42 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 854, p 218

C	Anushiravan (745-57/ 1344-56) Eretna (minted 742-53/1342-52)	d.drh.	2	740, 741	1.23 g, 1.36 g	Tübingen GL6 F3, F4
			1	741	1.43 g	BM: 6 no 320
D	[A1] A	d.drh.	--	--	--	--
			1	742	1.24 g	Album 2001: pl 16, no 309
			1	744	1.34 g	Tübingen 2002-18-50
			1	(not noted)	1.39 g	BM Add: 2 no 331 ^m , p 117
			1	748	1.70 g	Mübarek 1900: no 348, p 179
A	A	d.drh.	1	n.d.	1.32 g	Yapı Kredi 1992: no 883, p 221
			1	[746]	1.71 g	Tübingen HC5 B1
B2	Muhammad, son of Eretna [1] (756-67/ 1355-65)	s.drh. d.drh.	--	--	--	--
			3	745, 746, No. 31, date not noted	1.74, 1.79 g No. 31, wt. not noted	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 31-33, pp 208-9
			1	747	0.91 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 75, p 233
[1]	Muhammad, son of Eretna [1] (756-67/ 1355-65)	d.drh.	10	746-51	1.71-1.78 g	Tübingen HC5 B2-B6, C1-C4; 93-39-55
			--	--	--	--
			5	747-51	1.74, 1.77, 1.83 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 74, 76-79, pp 233-35
			2	760, n.d.	1.47, 1.82 g	Tübingen HC9 D3, D4
			1	n.d.	1.00 g	Ghalib no 158, p 108. Similar to no 153 (see Erzincan above)
[2]	'Ala al-Din 'Ali (767-82/ 1365-80)	s.drh.	--	--	--	--
			5	One 760, one 762, one 760 or 767, two n.d.	1.15, 1.46-1.73 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 198-202, pp 309-11
EA	'Ala al-Din 'Ali (767-82/ 1365-80)	AR	1	n.d.	0.63 g	Tübingen 97-30-8
			2	n.d.	1.34, 1.42 g	Tübingen 97-30-9, -10
			1	n.d.	0.7 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: no 390, p 429
			1	767	1.64 g	Tübingen HC10 C1
			--	--	--	--
EA+	EA+	d.drh.	3	767, two n.d.	1.48, 1.54, 1.60 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 389-90, pp 428-29; no 394, p 431
			1	n.d.	1.61 g	Tübingen HC10 C2
			--	--	--	--
[1]	[1]	d.drh.	7	all n.d.	1.51, 1.56-1.60	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 392-93, 395-99, pp 430-33. No. 399, m.n. not certain. Eye-c/m on obv., no 395

SA	d.drh.	2	Two “68x” [? 768], one d. oblit.	1.43, 1.45 g	Perk, Öztürk 2005: nos 266-67, pp 345-46
Timur (and Mahmud) (790-806/ 1388-1404)	1/3	1	n.d.	1.25 g	Tübingen 92-2-122
Qara Yusuf and Pir Budaq (814-21)	AR	tanka 1/3	n.d.	1.30 g	BM 1967.1-12-908
Hamza (Aq Qoyunlu) (839-48/ 1435-44)	AR	tanka 1/3	n.d.	1.02 g	Album 2001: pl 16, no 310. Badly worn
		3	845	1.69, 1.71, 1.72 g	Tübingen 97-30-31, -32, -33
		tanka		-----	-----
		2	845	1.66, 1.72 g	Ertürk, Ertüreten: 224-25

Avnik

Abu Sa'ïd (716-36/ 1316-1335)	C G	d.drh. d.drh.	1 1	720 73x	2.82 g 3.14 g	Tübingen GG4 B2 Tübingen GG4 B3
			1	732	3.19 g	BM 1983.7-40-1 (under Erzincan)
	H	s.drh.	1	Kh 33	1.32 g	Tübingen GG4 B4
		d.drh.	1	Kh 33	1.32 g	Tübingen GG4 B4
Muhammad (736-38/ 1336-38)	A B	d.drh. d.drh.	1 2	737 738, 739	2.37 g 2.15, 2.37 g	Tübingen GK1 E2 Tübingen GK1 E3, E4
			--	-----	-----	-----
Sati Beg (739/1338-39)	A	d.drh.	1 3	738 739, one n.d.	2.22 g 1.96, 2.04, 2.07 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 765, p 208 Tübingen GK5 A3-A5
			--	-----	-----	-----
	A-IA hybrid AR	d.drh.	1 2	739 739, d. oblit.	1.90 g 1.85, 1.90 g	Yapi Kredi 1992: no 827, p 215 BM: 6 no 302, 303
Sulayman (739-6/ 1339-46)	D AR	s.drh.	1	743	0.65 g	Tübingen 92-43-47
		d.drh.	53	743	c. 1.35 g (x 15), c. 1.4 g (x 38)	Tübingen 92-43-32 and up to -46; 92-43-48 and up to -85. Hoard
			--	-----	-----	-----
			1	“743”	1.37 g	Album 2001: pl 1, no 6. Prob. forgery

Husayn (Jalayrid) (774-84/ 1374-82)	AR	TB	s.dhr.	1	7x6	1.16 g	Tübingen HB7 A3
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Tabrud

Abu Sa'id (716-36/ 1316-1335)	AR	D	d.drh.	1	723	3.47g	Tübingen GJ2 A3
				1	723	3.52 g	Ilisch (mint a little doubtful)
		F	d.drh.	2	723, 726	3.12, 3.17 g	Tübingen GJ2 A4, A5. Dies not exactly same
		H	d.drh.	1	726	2.88 g	BM (ticket no. not noted). (C. 51-17, tray 20. Notes p. 14)

Valashjird

Abu Sa'id (716-36/ 1316-1335)	C	AR	d.drh.	1	720	3.23, 3.51 g	Tübingen GJ3 F5, F6
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				1	d. oblit. (prob. 720 or 721: same diecutter as GJ3 F5, F6)	3.19 g	Ilisch
Sulayman (739-46/ 1339-46)	G		s.drh.	1	[72]8	2.55 g	Munich 85358
			d.drh.	1	733	2.82 g	Tübingen GG2 A6
	C	AR	d.drh.	1	741	1.26 g	Tübingen GM2 E1 (m.n. difficult)

Bazar-i Valashjird

Uljaytu (703-716/ 1304-16)	AR	C (from date)	d.drh.	1	714	3.89 g	Tübingen 92-10-24
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Abbreviations

DenkWien = *Denkschriften der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* (after 1918, ... *der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*; after 1972, ... *der Österreichische Akademie* ...) Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
EI² = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed, Leiden, London, 1960–2008
KST = *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* [yearly reports on archaeological excavations], Ankara
TTKY = Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları

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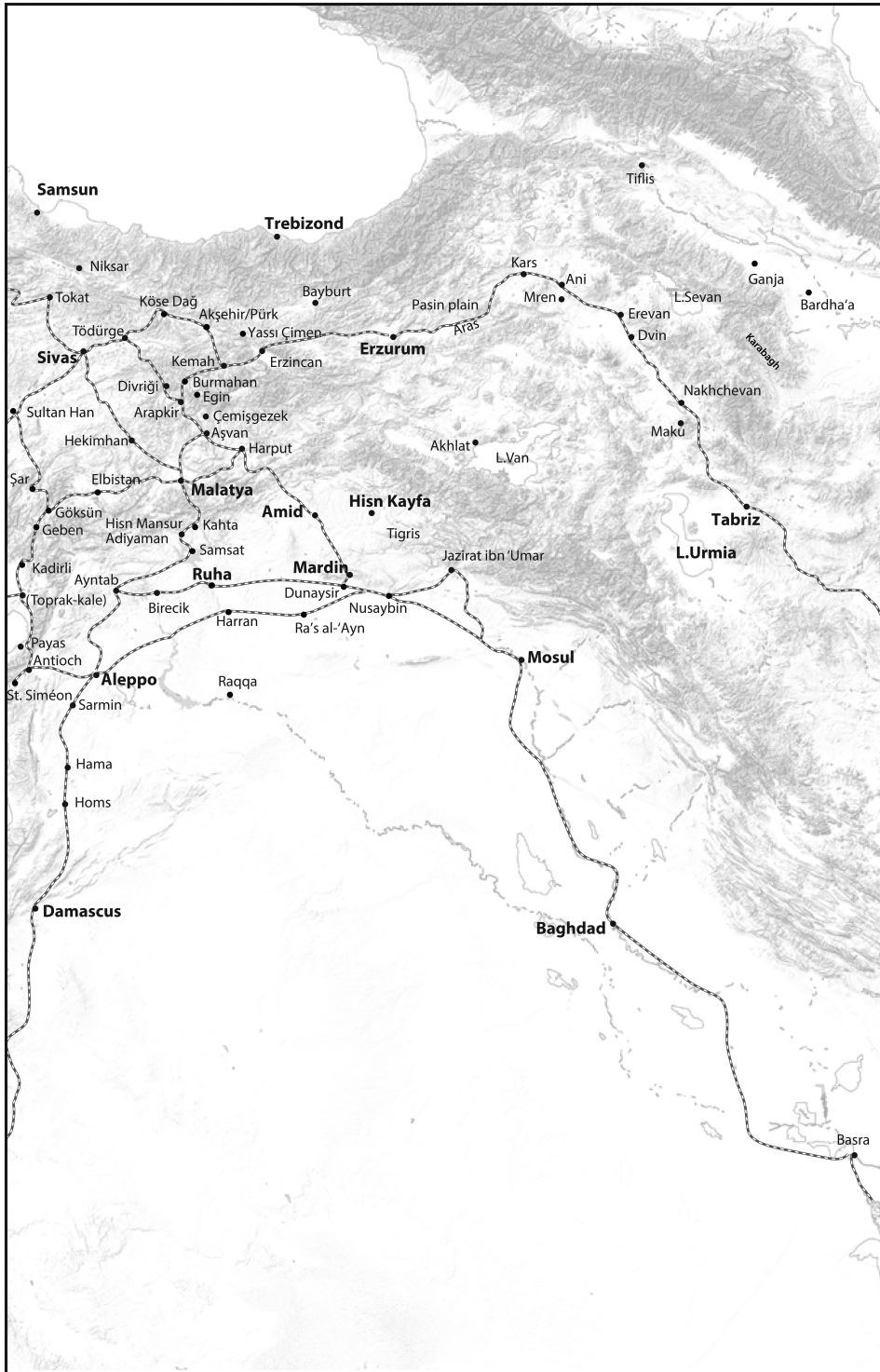
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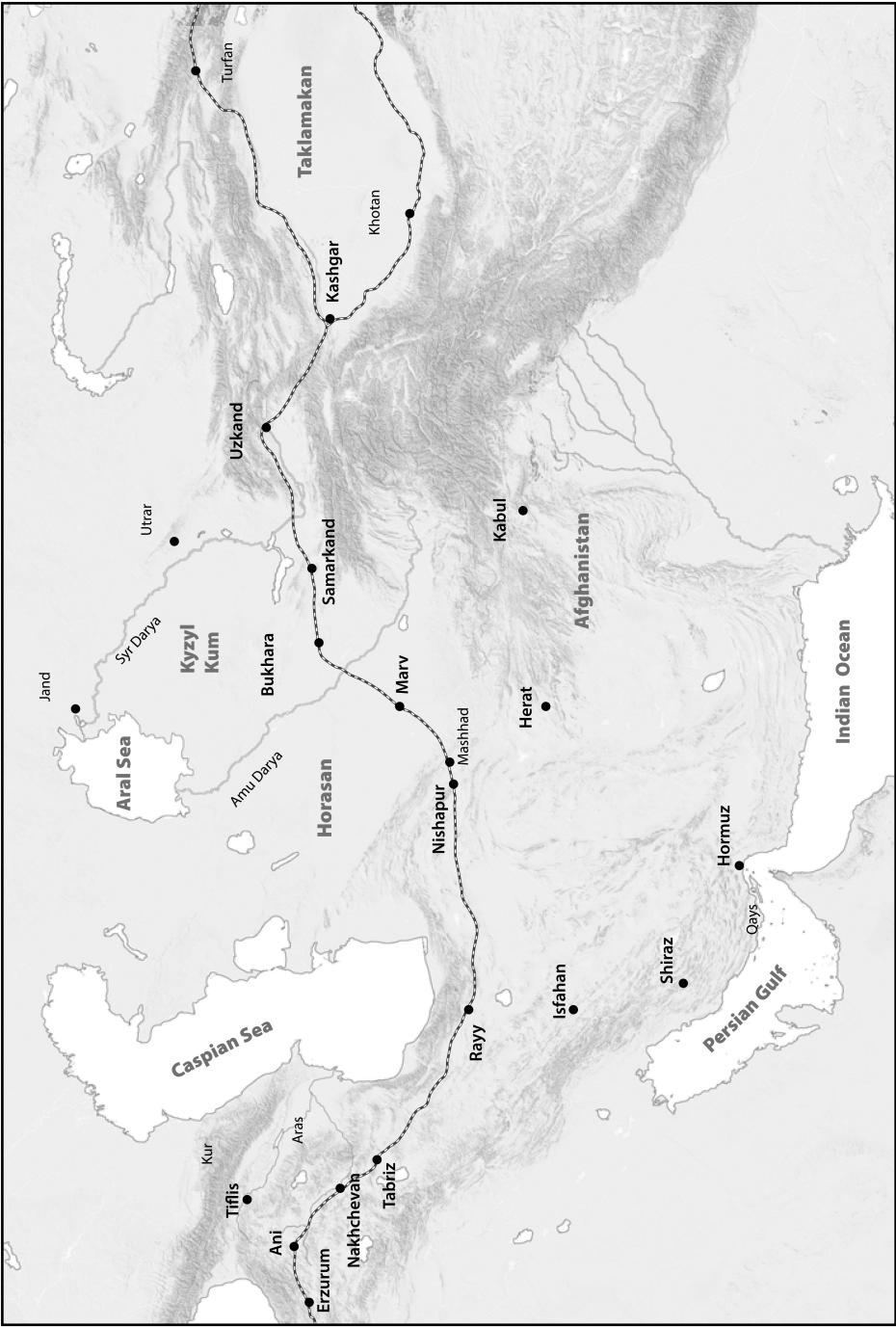
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Maps

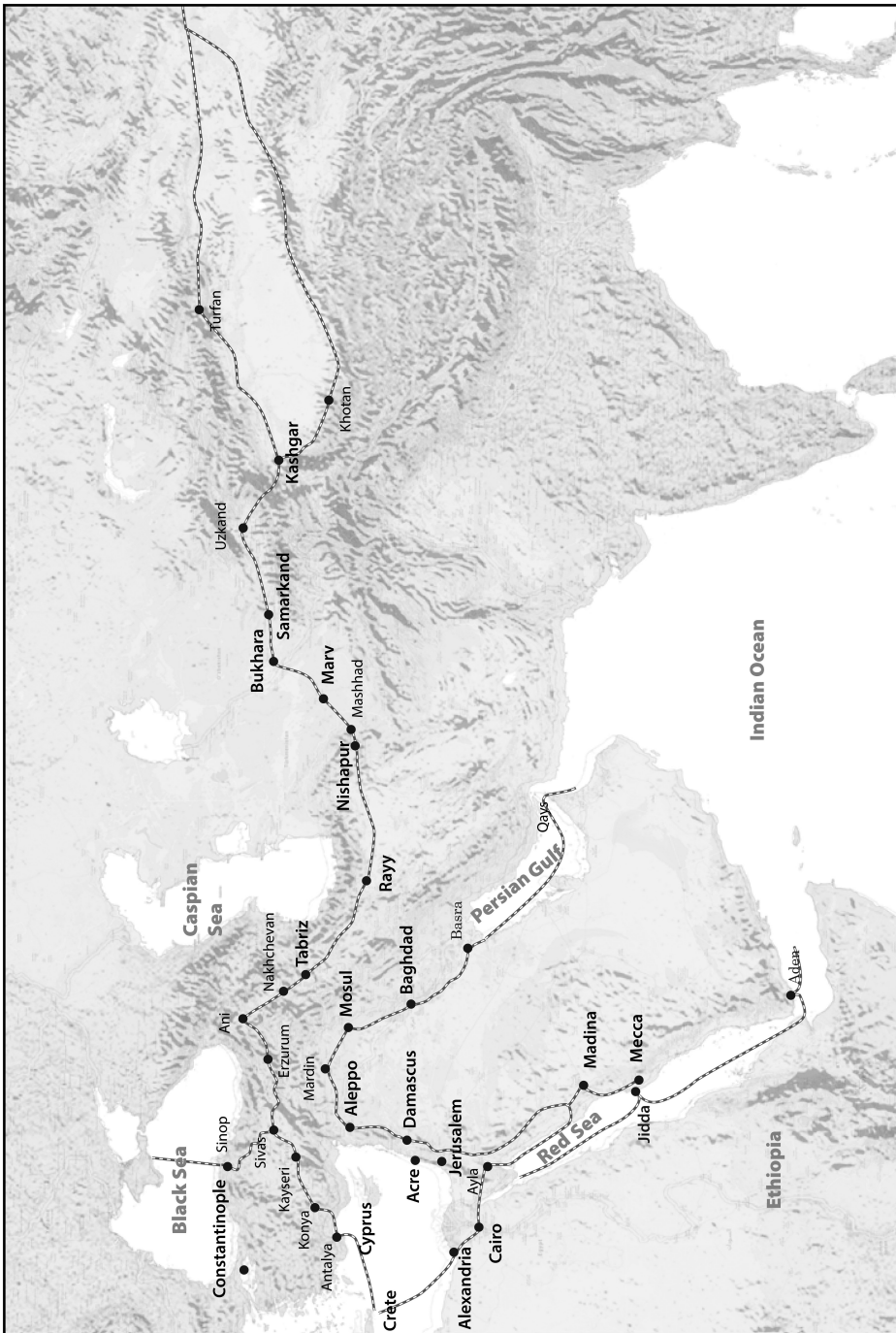


Map A1 Pre-Ayas. Asia Minor and Armenia: principal routes.

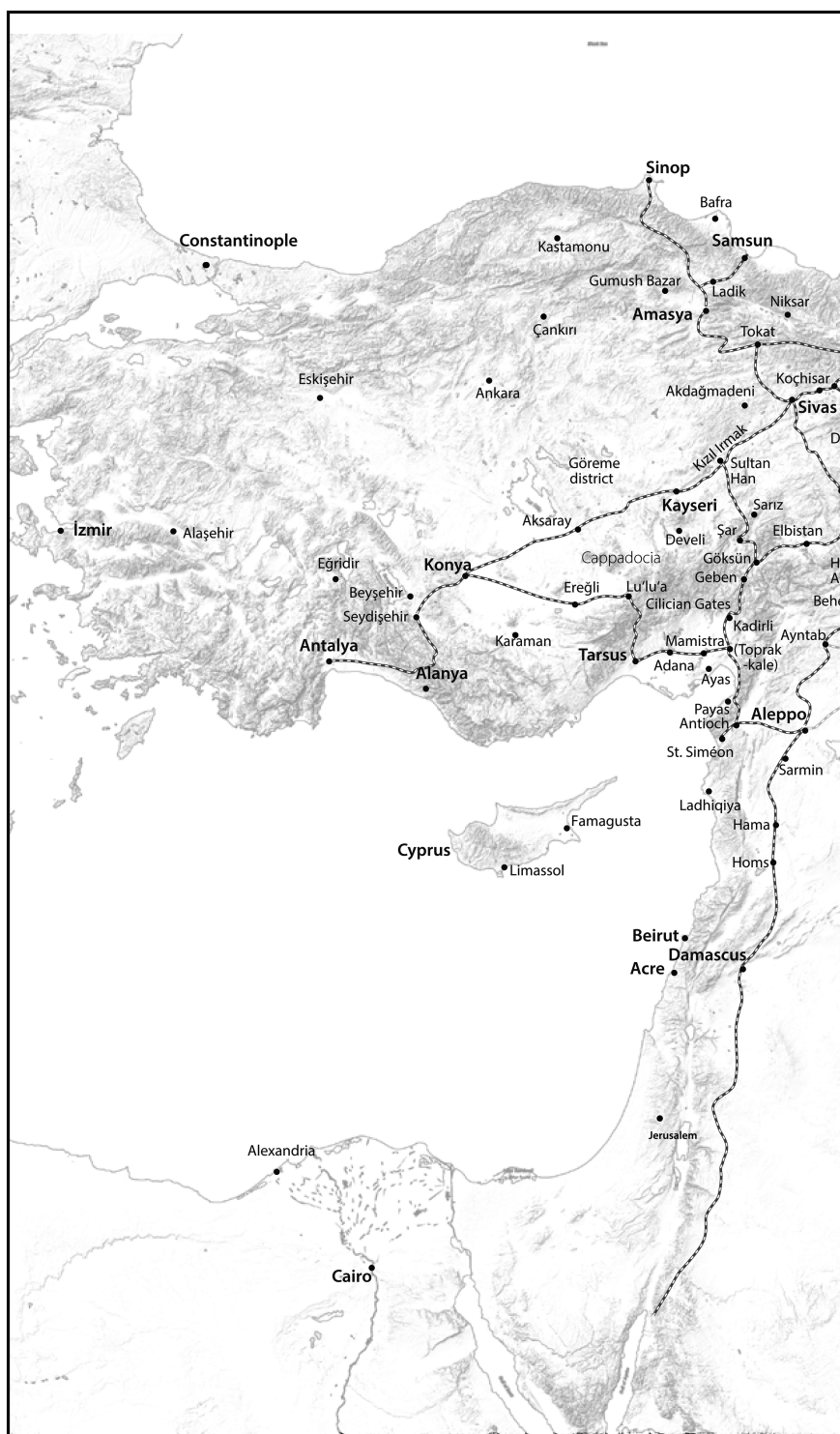




Map A2 Pre-Ayas. Northern Iran; extension of route to Central Asia.

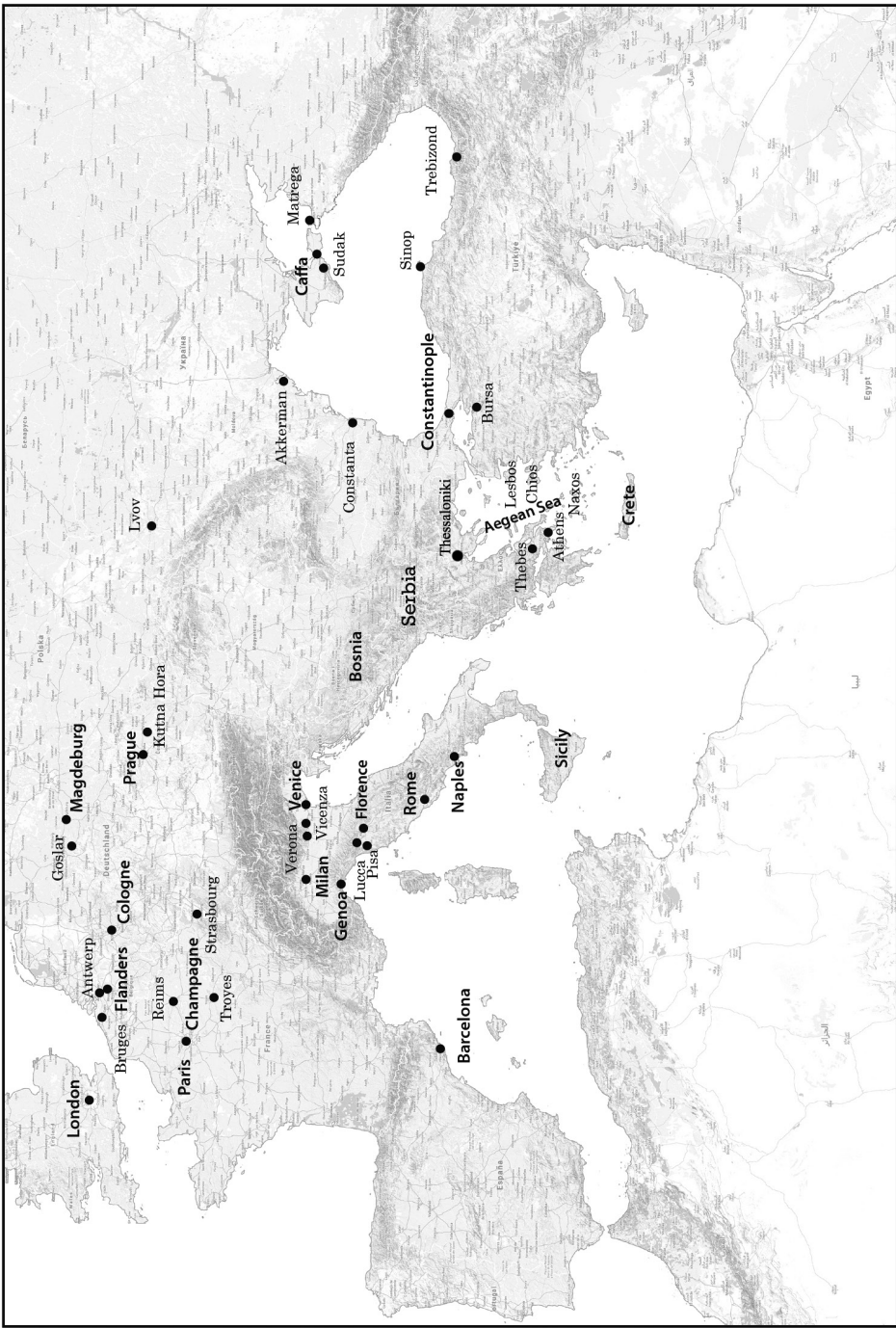


Map A3 Pre-Ayas. Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Iraq, India.

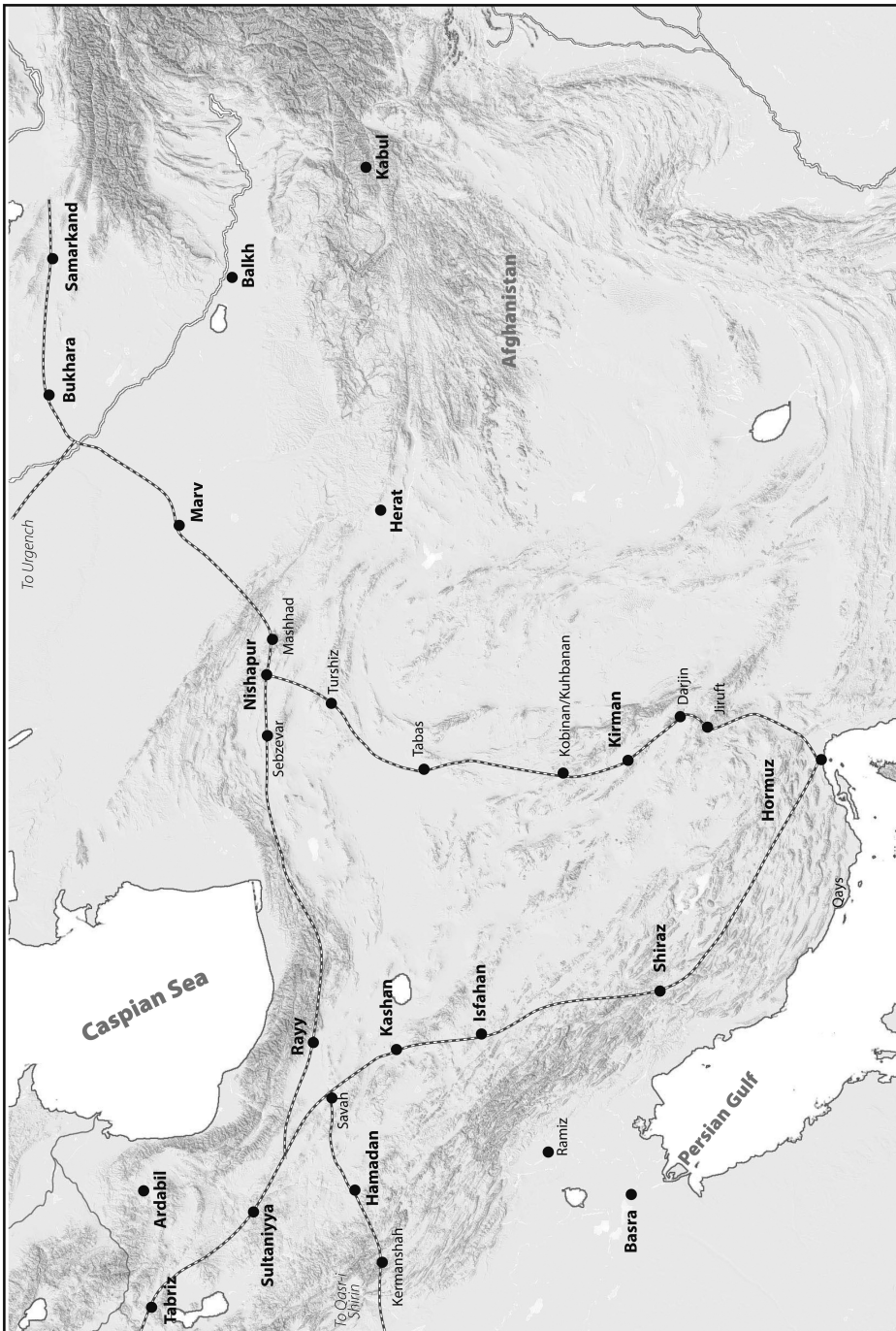


Map A4 Ayas period. Asia Minor and Armenia: principal routes.

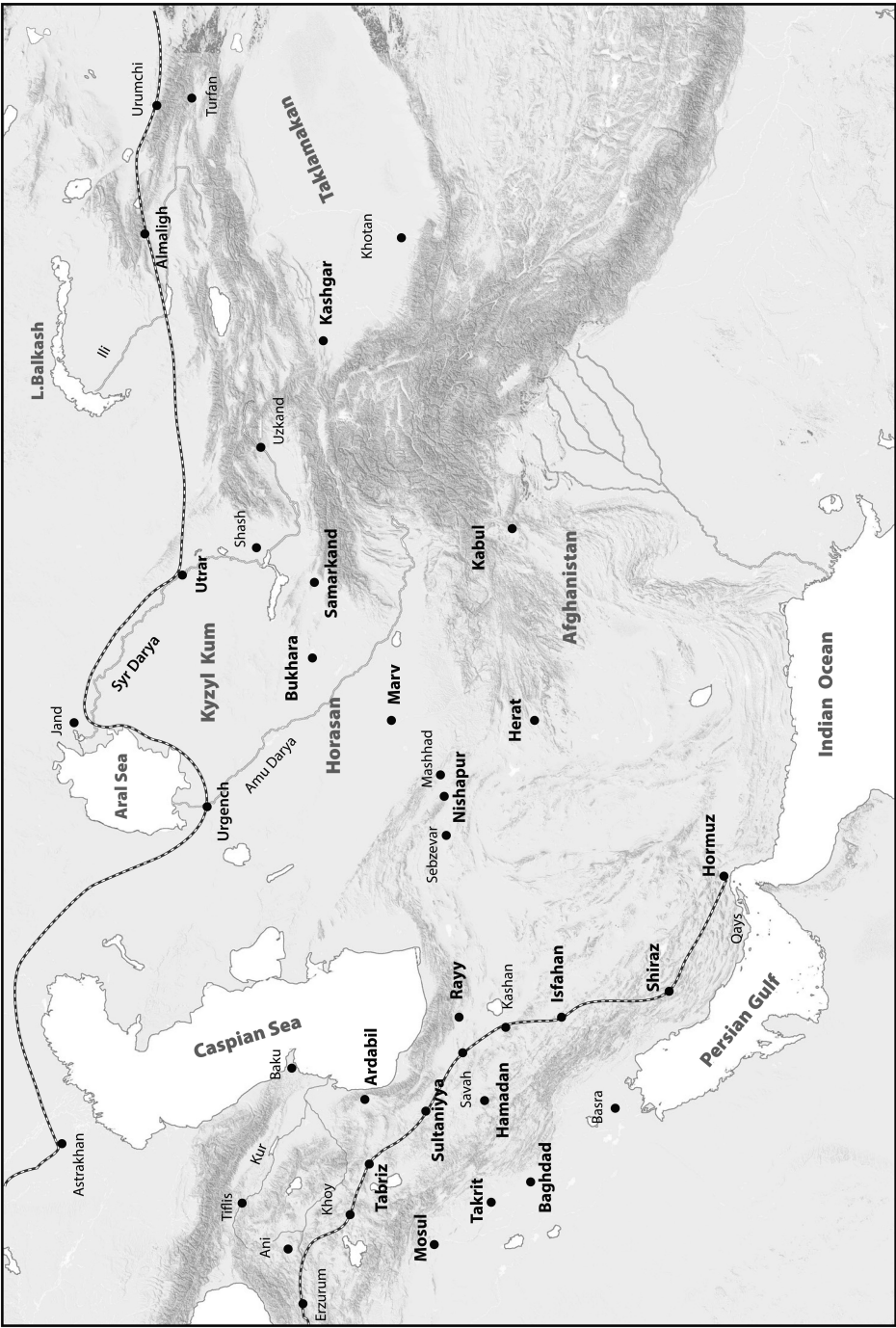




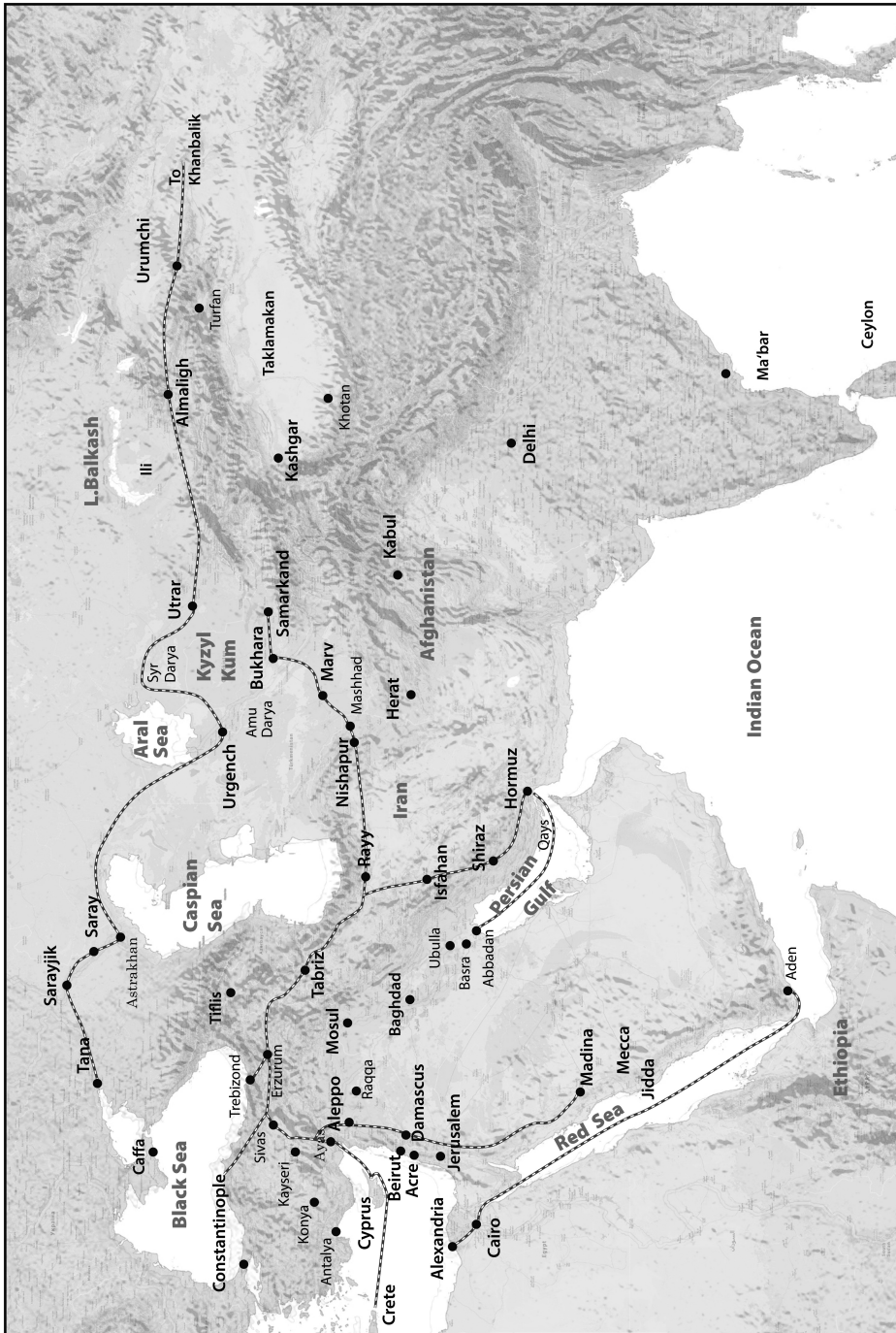
Map A5 The Mediterranean: Italian cities in relation to Egypt, Syria, Black Sea.



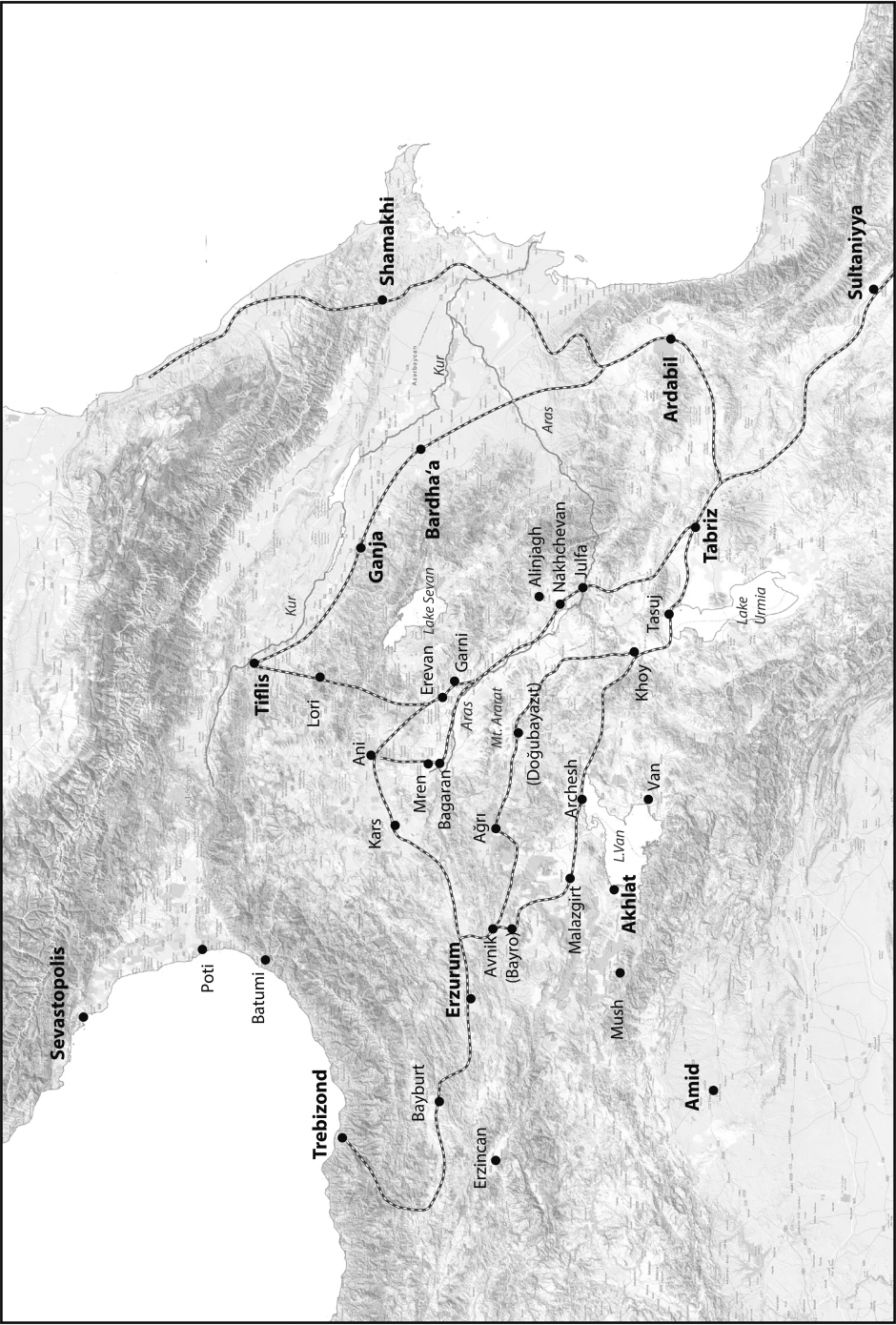
Map A6 Achaemenid period. Iran, routes, including Hormuz, Khurasan, Central Asia.



Map A7 Ayas period. Hormuz route and Inner Asia route.



Map 48. Ayas period. Sea routes: Egypt, Arabia, Iran, India.



Map 49 Ayas period. Caucasus: Georgia, Arran, Shirvan.



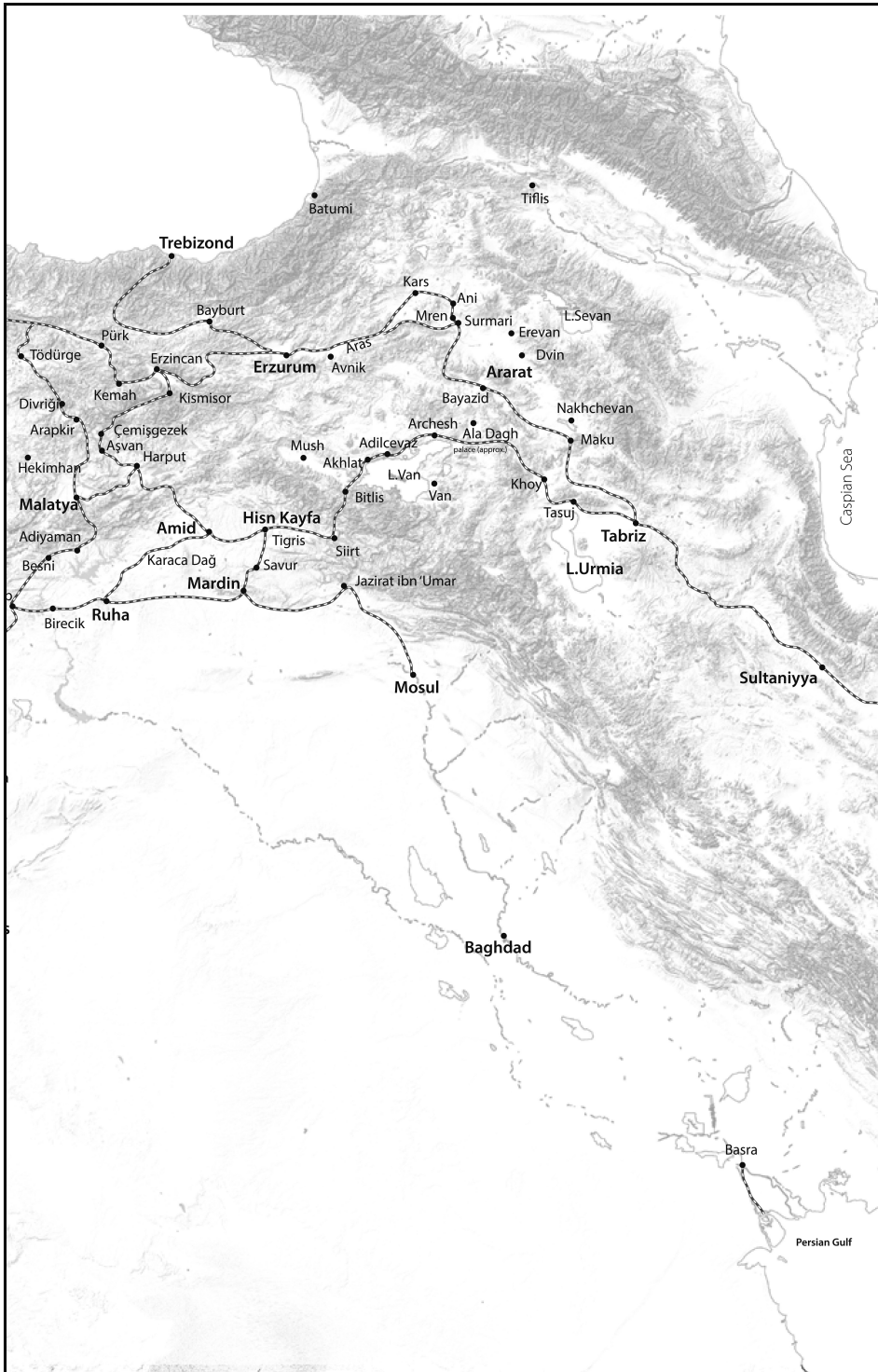
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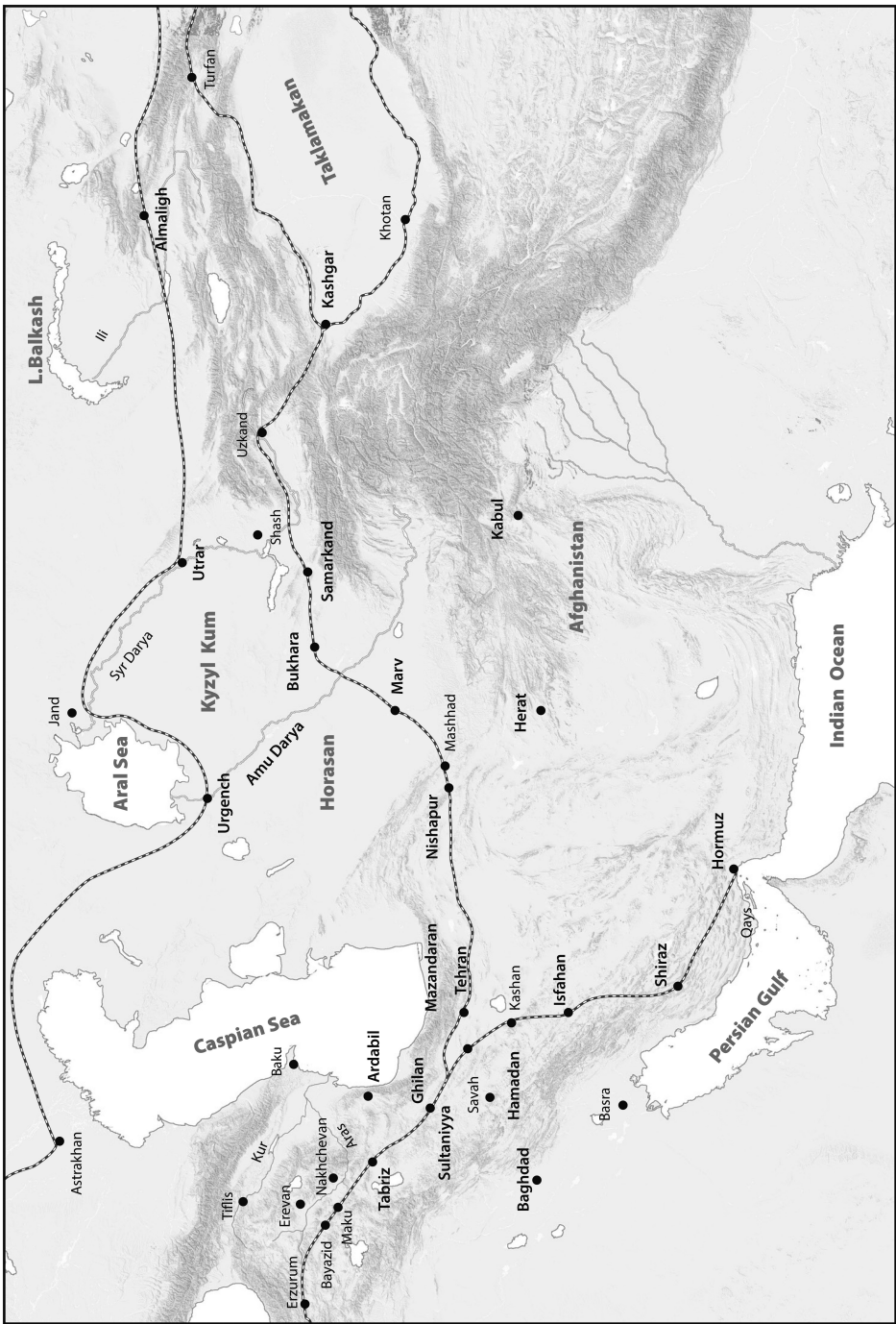
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Map A10 Post-Ayas. Ayas period. Asia Minor and Armenia: principal routes.

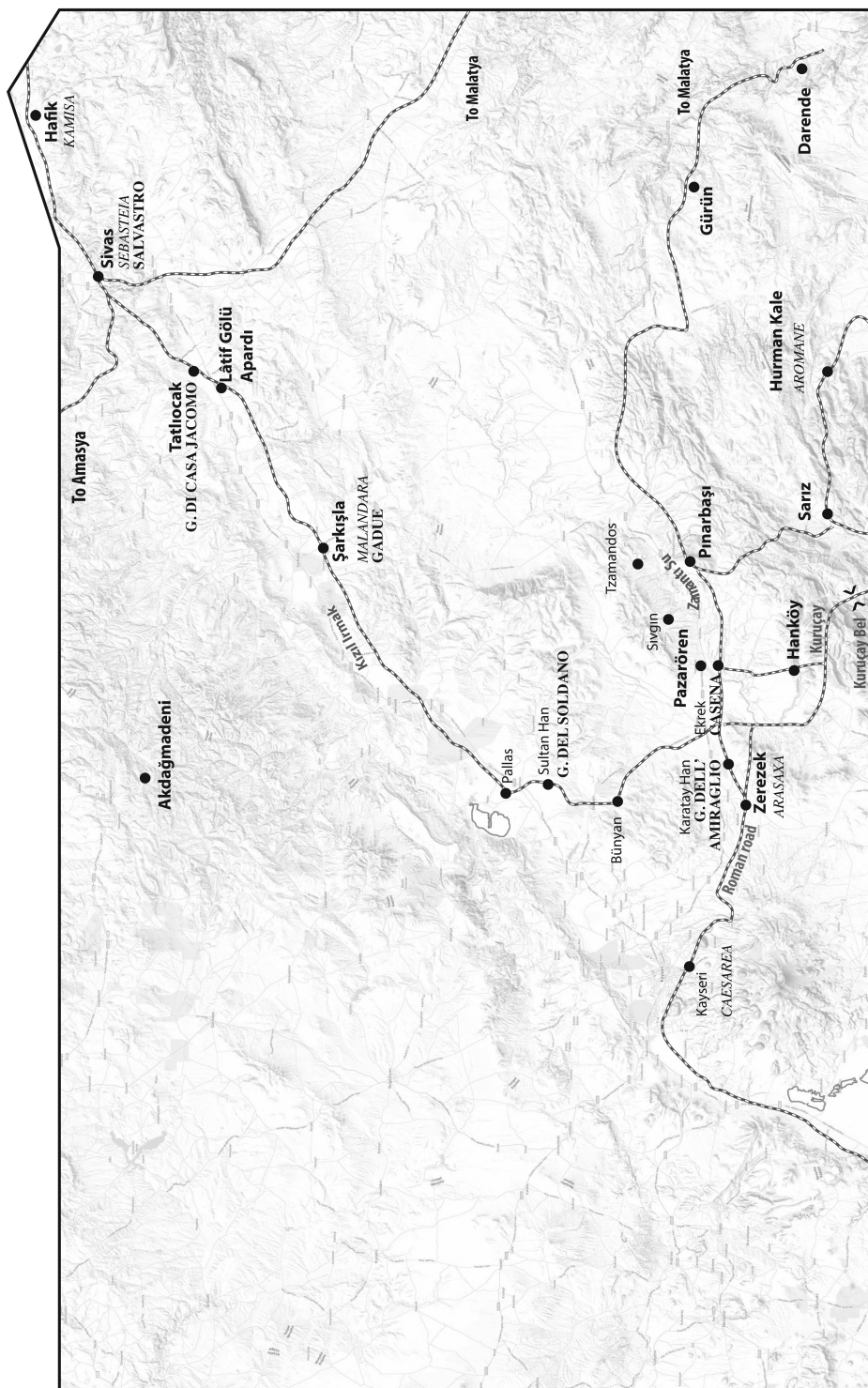


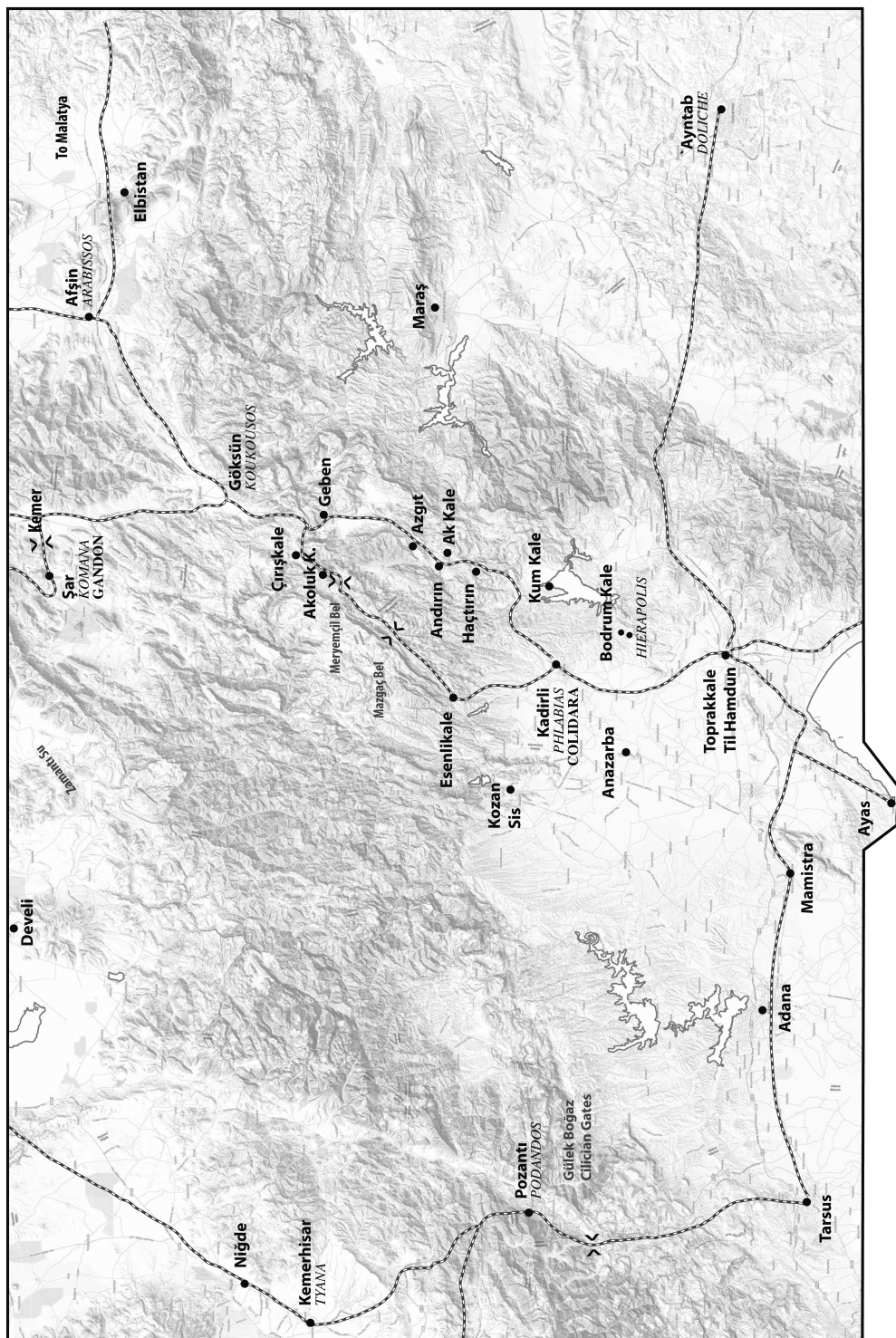


Map A11 Post-Ayas. Land routes in Iran, Central Asia, Inner Asia.

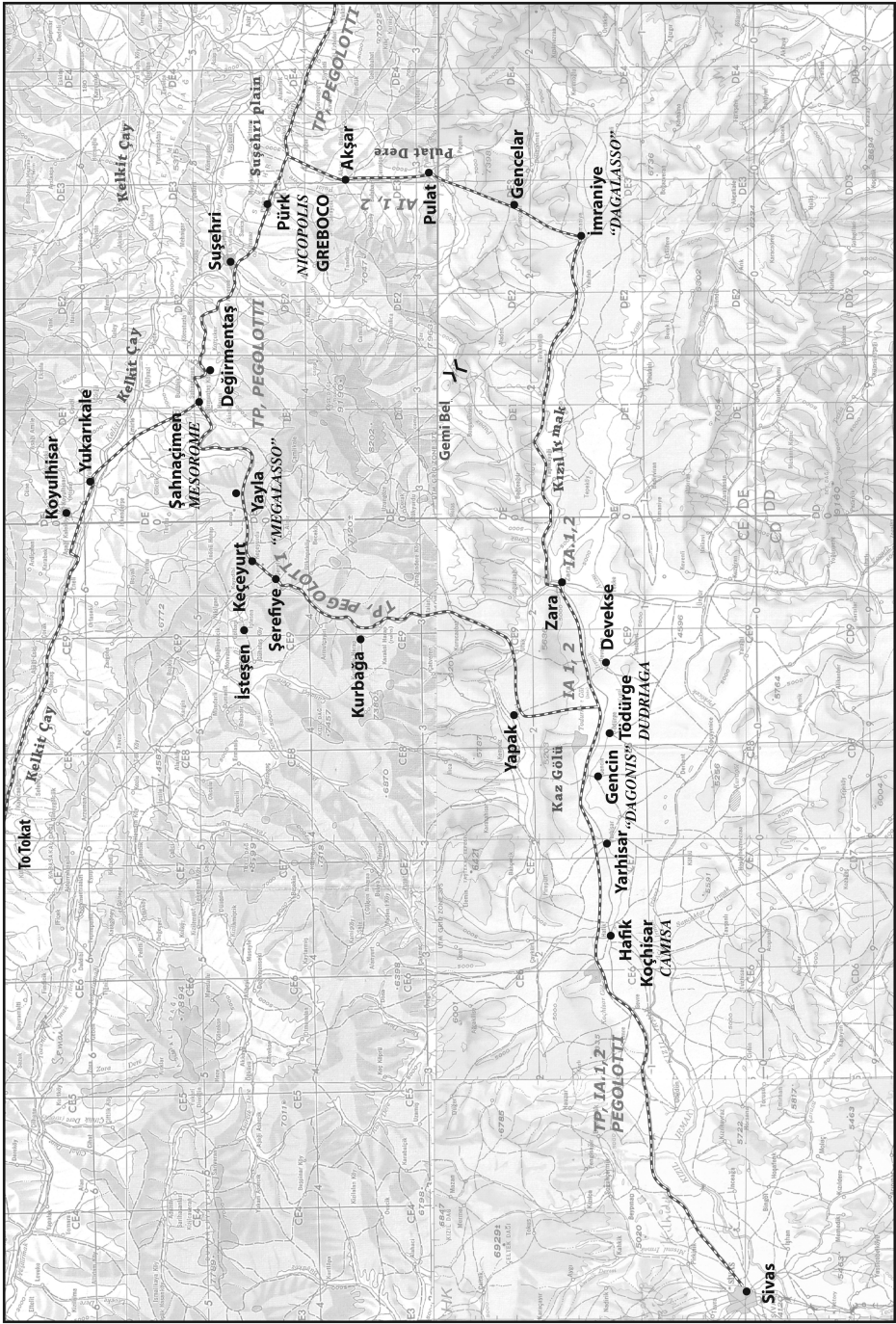


Map B1 Ayas to Sivas. Regional context.

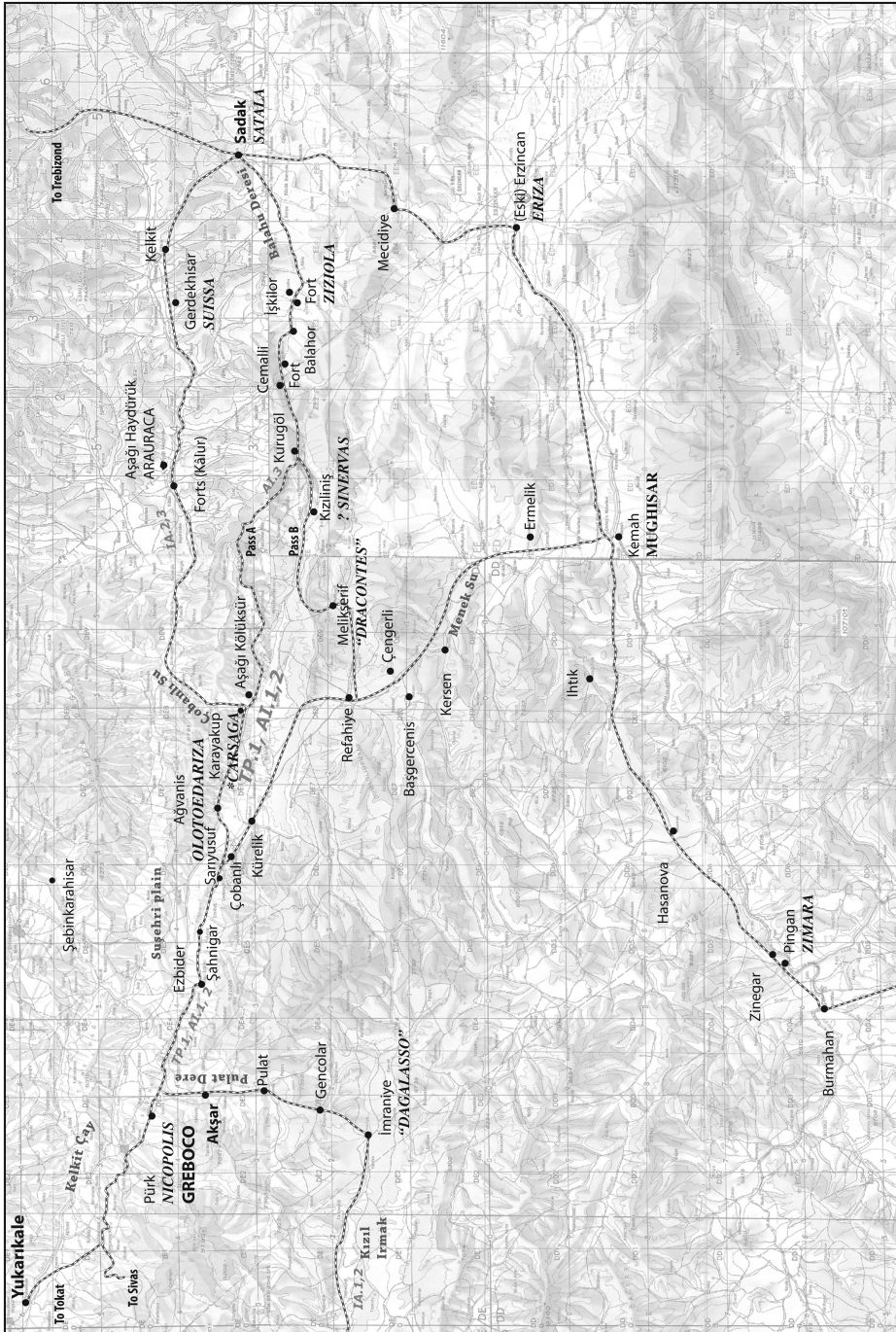




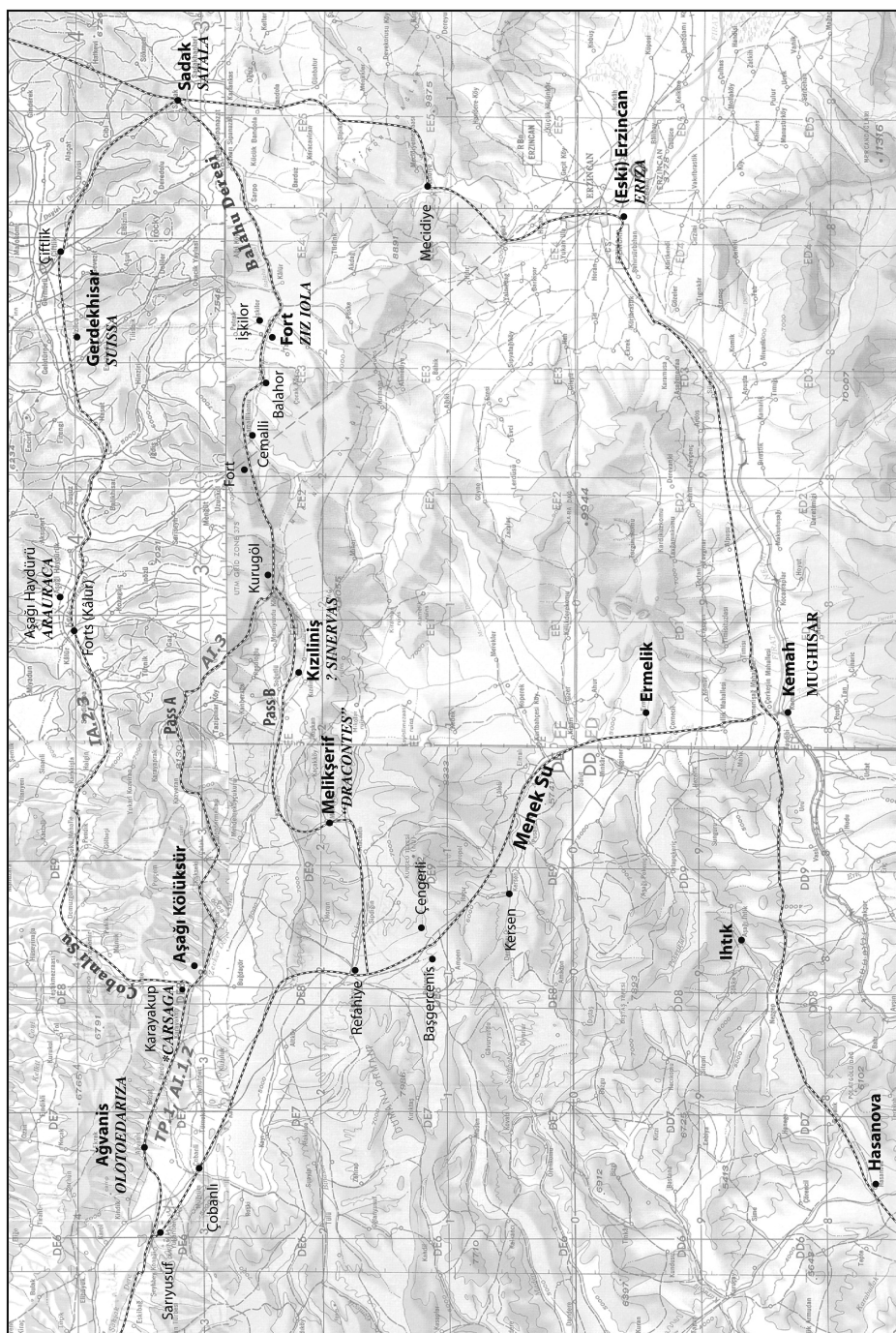
Map B2 Ayas to Sivas



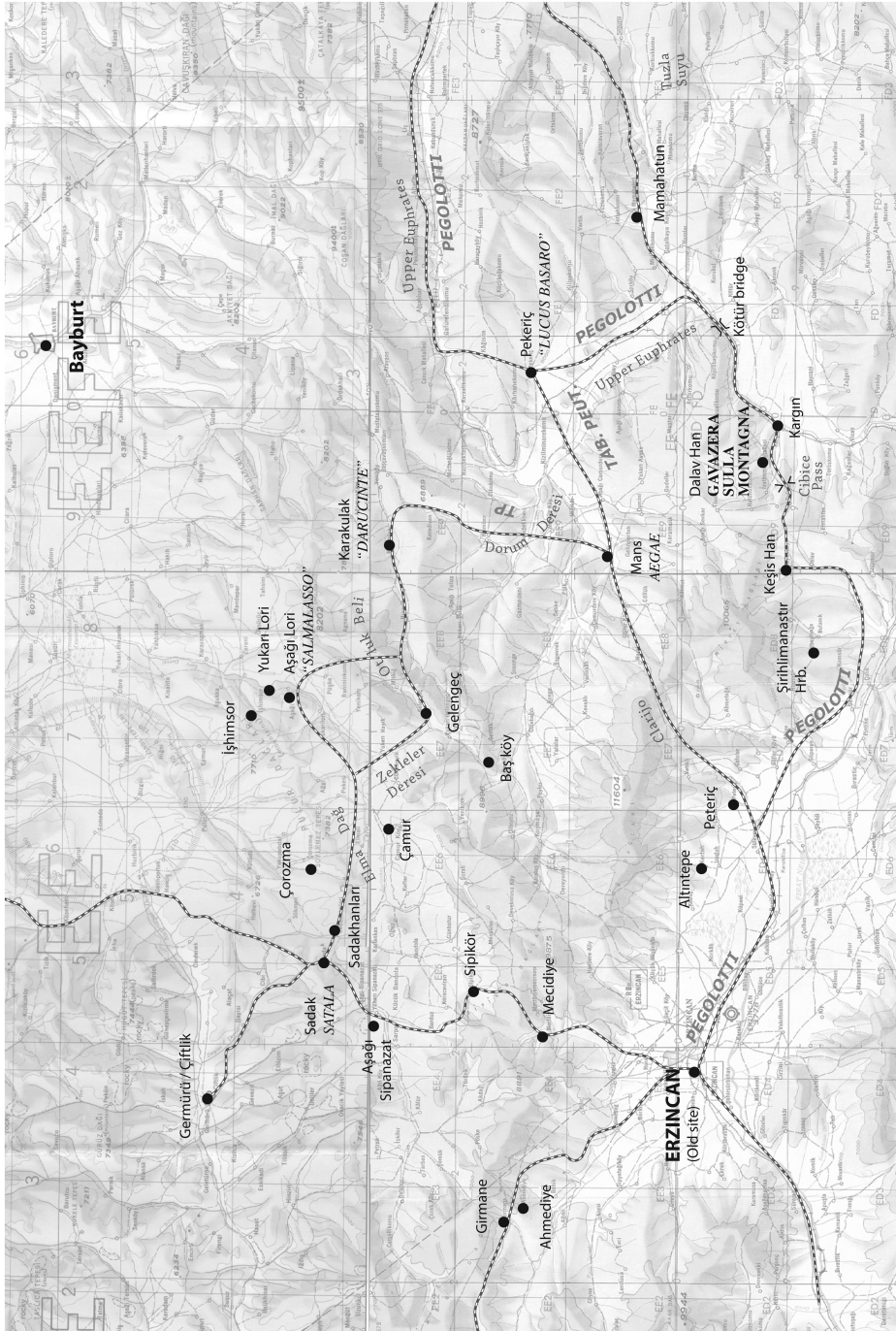
Map B3 Sivas to Pürk.



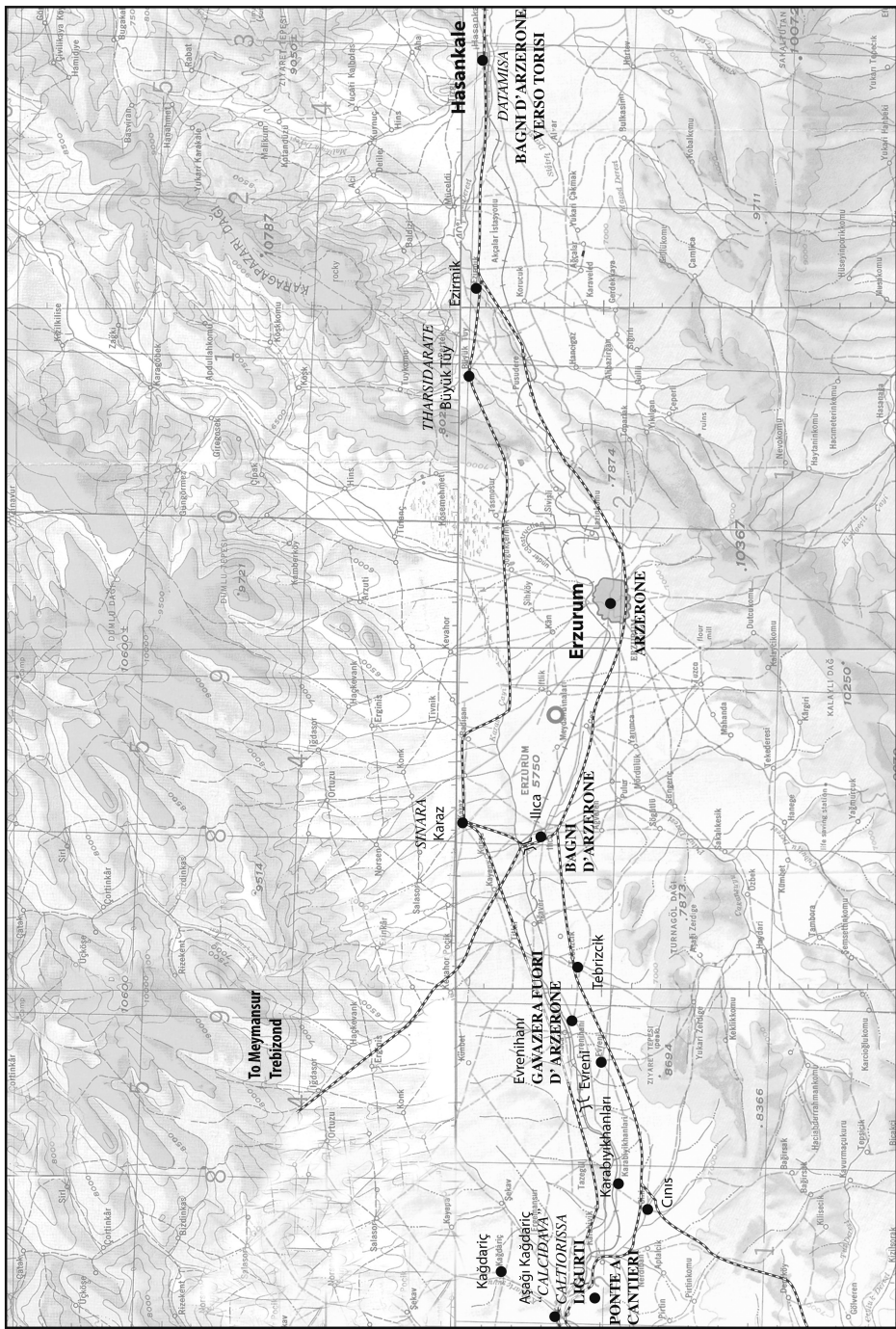
Map B4 Pürk to Erzincan.



Map B4a Detail of map B4.



Map B5 Erzincan to the Erzurum plain.



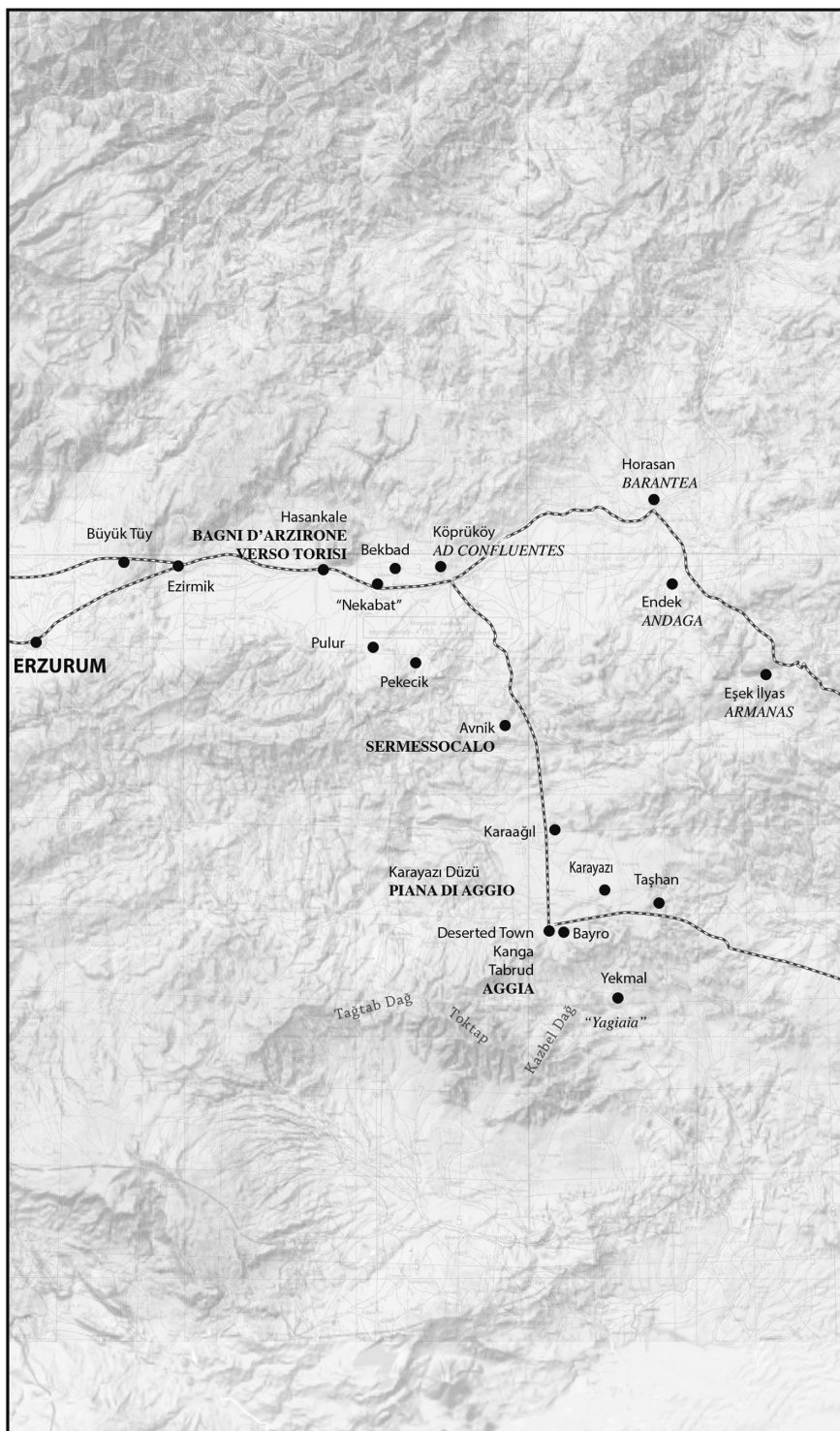
Map B6 The Erzurum plain.



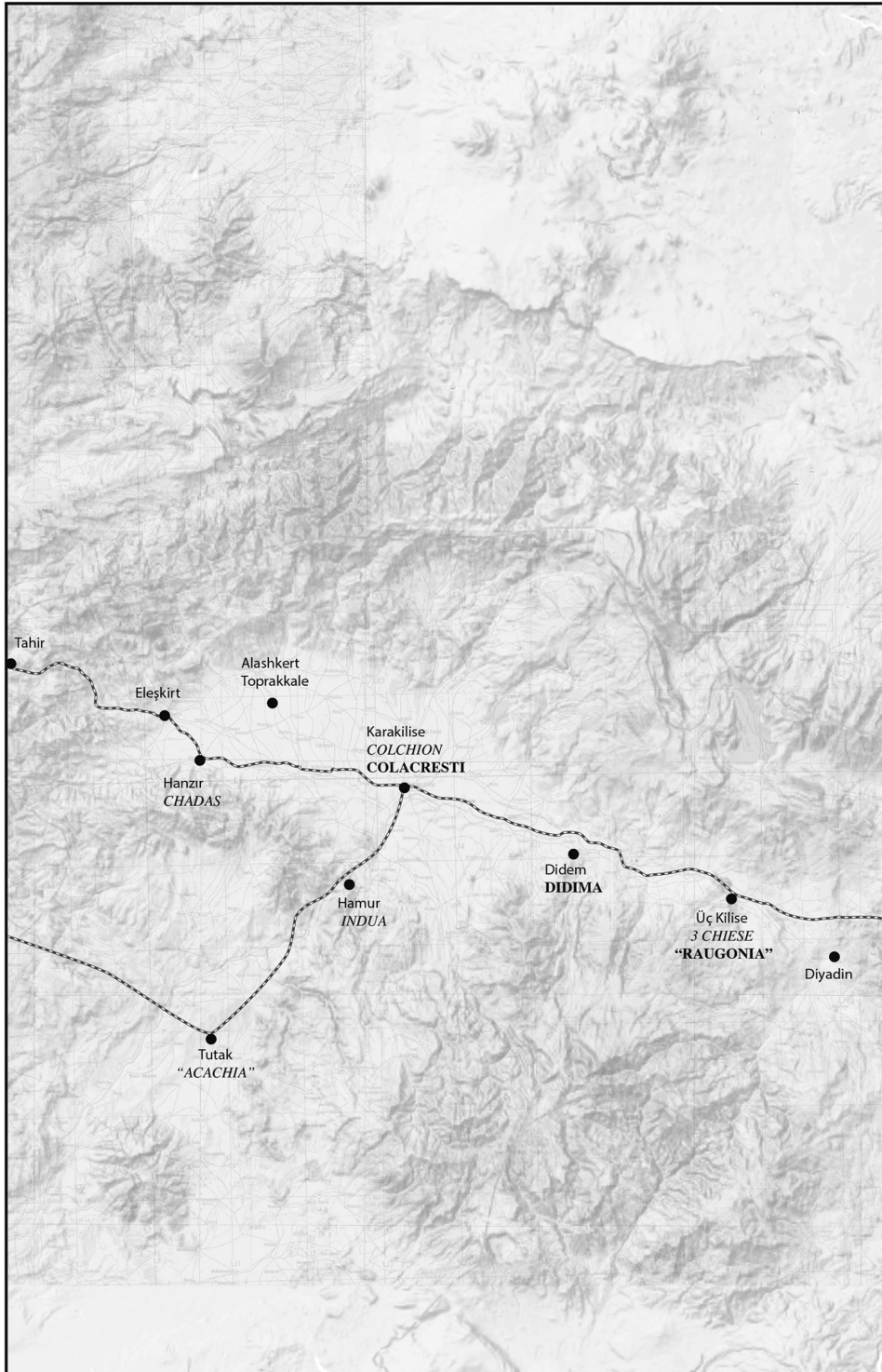
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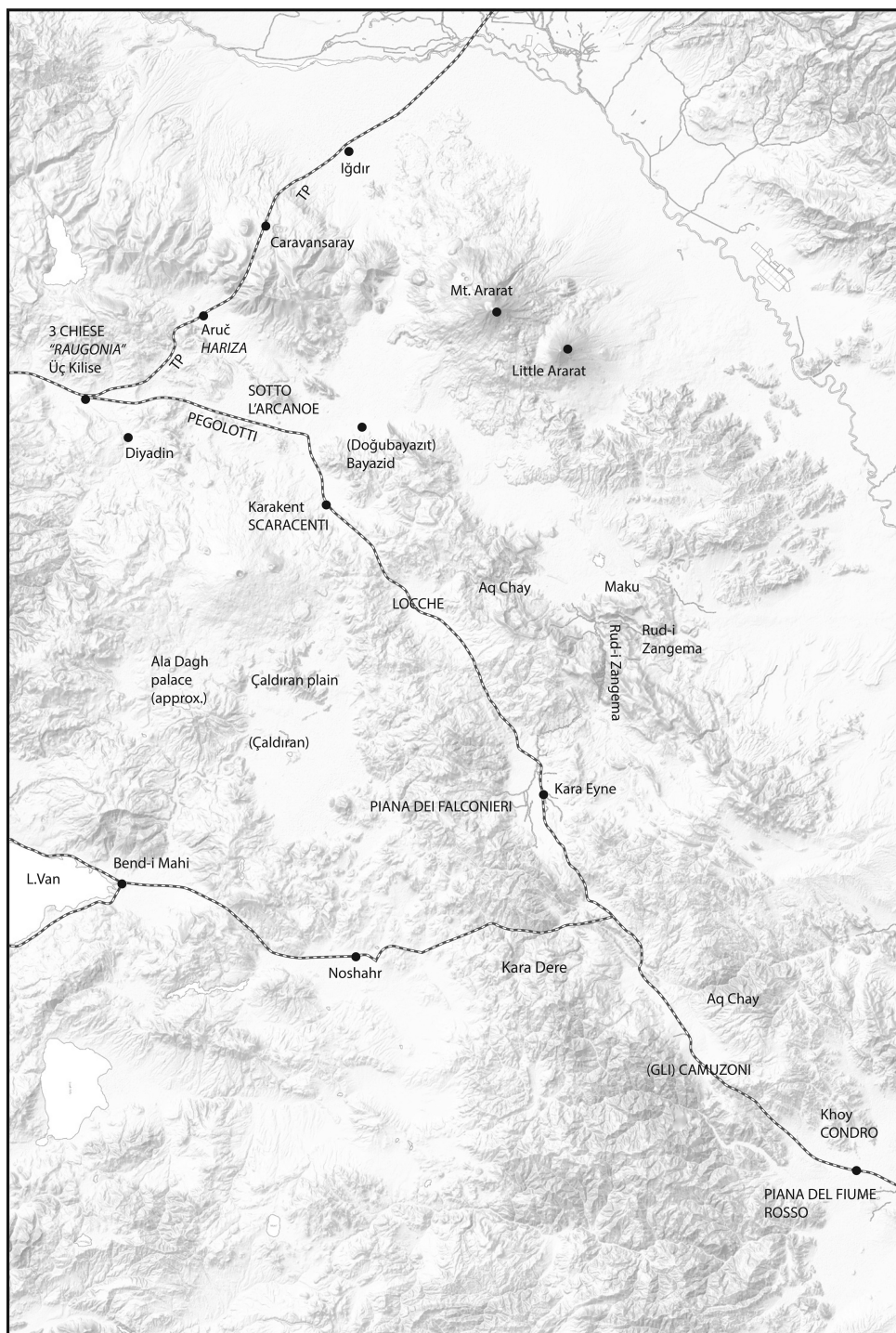
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Map B7 Erzurum to Üç Kilise.





Map B8 Üç Kilise to Khoy.

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